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1630 · 1620
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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1930–1933

Committee of Publication

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
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Editor of Publications

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES

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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXVIII

TRANSACTIONS

1930–1933

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PREFACE

VOLUME XXVIII, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at eleven meetings, from December, 1930, to April, 1933, both included, in continuation of Volume XXVII.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to many friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, especially: Mrs. William W. Fowler; Mr. Matt B. Jones; Mr. George P. Morey; the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; the Boston Public Library; the American Antiquarian Society; the Massachusetts Historical Society; and the Harvard College Library.

For the Committee of Publication,

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON,

Chairman.

BOSTON, November 15, 1935.

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OF

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NOVEMBER 15, 1935

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1935

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MEMBERS DECEASED

Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with the Date of Death

Resident

Ezra Henry Baker	September 22, 1932
Rev. James Hardy Ropes	January 8, 1933
Alfred Johnson	January 13, 1933
Charles Sedgwick Rackemann	March 29, 1933
Waldo Lincoln	April 7, 1933
Heman Merrick Burr	April 14, 1933
Francis Henshaw Dewey	April 20, 1933
John Eliot Thayer	July 20, 1933
Harold Murdock	April 5, 1934
Frank Brewer Bemis	March 10, 1935

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Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes	March 6, 1935

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Hosea Ballou Morse	February 13, 1934
William Lawrence Clements	November 9, 1934
Charles Evans	February 8, 1935
Clarence Winthrop Bowen	November 2, 1935

Associate

Emile Bourgeois	August 25, 1934

TRANSACTIONS

1930–1933

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

DECEMBER MEETING, 1930

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the invitation of the President, at No. 44 Brimmer Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 18, 1930, at three o'clock, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death of George Wigglesworth, a Resident Member, on November 26, 1930.

Mr. Matt Bushnell Jones, of Boston, and Mr. James Duncan Phillips, of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. George Lyman Kittredge read the following paper:

A HARVARD SALUTATORY ORATION OF 1662

Some time ago our President handed me a little manuscript volume and asked me to identify some of the poetical quotations therein and, in general, to make a report upon the contents. It is the commonplace book of Elnathan Chauncy (A. B. Harvard 1661, A. M. 1664), one of President Chauncy's sons. Elnathan Chauncy, of whom there is a sketch in Sibley's Harvard Graduates (II. 80–81), died in Barbados in 1684, leaving a widow but no children. The volume bears marks of subsequent ownership by Israel Chauncy (A. B. Harvard 1724), who was the son of Isaac Chauncy (A. B. Harvard 1693; minister of Hadley) and a grandnephew of Elnathan. From him it probably went to another descendant of President Chauncy, Nathaniel Chauncy (A. B. Yale 1702) of Durham, Connecticut;

for it descended to Nathaniel's great-grandson, Professor William Chauncey Fowler (A. B. Yale 1816), and is now owned by his grandchildren and heirs. The Society is indebted to Mrs. William W. Fowler, of Durham, Connecticut, for the loan of the manuscript, and permission to print extracts from it.

Everything in the book, except for a few scribbles of no account, appears to be in Elnathan's small and neat writing, which is available in autograph in two inscriptions [1] on the first page:[2]

Omn[ia] dum reputat tra[ctata] [3]
tempora vitæ,
Vel malé vel temere vel nihil
agit homo. Elnath: Chauncy

and

Elnathan
Chauncy
Elnathan
Chauncy:
Ejus liber:
anno: dom:
1661: oct: 5.[4]

Some extracts "Out of Arthur Warwickes meditations" [5] are dated "61. July." [6] Certain homiletic notes, to which I shall return presently, are dated "March 20.$\frac{69}{70}$" [7] and "May. 15. 70." [8] Besides the elegant extracts — the *flores* — to register which the volume was first employed, the contents include also one item of real historical

[1] Another signature is partly discernible. It reads: "Elnath: Ch[ ]."

[2] This page is not numbered. The first numbered page, "4," is really page 5. The last numbered page is "64." In referring to the manuscript I follow Chauncy's numbering and continue it throughout the volume (263 pages in all, plus the unnumbered page).

[3] Throughout this article, brackets indicate letters or words lost by wear and tear of the paper or by fading of the ink.

[4] This same page also exhibits the signature "Israel Chaun[c]y" in a large sprawling hand. I do not think this is the signature of Elnathan's brother and classmate Israel. Probably it was written by the later Israel (A.B. Harvard 1724), into whose hands the volume doubtless fell. To this Israel I ascribe also the grotesque pen-drawing of a man's face which adorns the centre of the page.

[5] Spare Minutes: or Resolved Meditations (4th ed., 1635).

[6] MS., p. 237.

[7] MS., p. 118.

[8] MS., p. 129.

importance — a contemporary copy of the Latin salutatory oration delivered at the Harvard Commencement of 1662.

The first leaf is badly mutilated, but the verso[1] preserves almost the whole of an elegy on Silvanus Walderne, whom I cannot identify. This runs as follows:

[ ] tear bedewed eyes [2]
[ ] herse attende these obsequyes.

Silvanus Walderne.

[Ana]gram: All wailes under sun.

[Yo]u Muses d[ar]linges aid me wth your crys,
Come help me sing thes mourneful elegys,
Which wailing dictates sorrow doth endite,
[W]hich sad Minervaes beadsman weepes to write.

[h]ere mans woful m	A p Lamenting see
[ ]d here ye wor	L ds epitomy,
[Learni]ngs abridgment	W hose disactrous fate
[Our] expectation checks, de	A les, hope ye mate,
[All g]reeve, all waile, all th	I s our earthly glory,
[It] flowers y^{n} fades thus	L ife is transitory,
Vnconquerd death terror	S affrighting king,
Strikes up aloud alar	V m horrors sting
Will serve ye 2^{d} course the	N Looke about
And once at Last Lets fin	D this meaning out
Let showers of teares cō	E from Minervaes eyes
Deep mouthed quiristers	R oare out your crys
Endeered muses Nephew	S ayd your mother
Raise up your notes Lament yo	V r silent brother.
Neere shall those brests be dra	w ne by such another.[3]

We observe that Walderne's name is anagrammatized to "All wailes under sun" and that this anagram is worked into a medial acrostic. The letters that make the acrostic are set off by vertical lines in the manuscript.

[1] The back of the unnumbered page that contains Elnathan Chauncy's signatures, etc., as just described.

[2] Page torn away at top and part of left-hand margin.

[3] By a slip of the pen *w*, instead of *n*, is included between the vertical lines. In the fifth line the reading *all this* is uncertain.

Page 3[1] is taken up by a similar elegy on President Dunster:

and bleeding eyes [2]
obsequys

[Henry Dun]st[er]

[Anagram:]he runnes tried.

[Come] ye parnassus nymphs and help to sound,
[The] dittys sad wth wch our harts abound,
[And a]lso turne your pleasant eulogys,
[Into] ye most hart breaking elegys.

[A t]ragedy | How sad is this,
[A] troph-|E y^{t} portends no blisse:
ye fairest flow'|r our garlond 'mong,
is fader q-|V ite, to dust is gon.
My muse now mour-|N wth tears bespren
Dunster is re-|N t from sight of men
Y^{e} fame of H-|E nry Neer shall rust
although he i-|S now turnd to dust
[N]o presiden-|T in learning's bin
excelling Dunste-|R Learned men
from earth to sk-|I es he takes his rode
a way wher-|E in few 'fore him trode
but he was try'|D or ere he went
at last wth tryall he was spent

Now vertue's dead and quite [3] destroyd
of all but noysome wormes anoyd
wch shewes us like a buble-glasse
fraile earthy men must soone h: [4] passe.

The first page of the manuscript (the same that contains Chauncy's signatures) seems to show him laboring with his muse in the composition of these verses on Dunster. There we find:

Although he is Now turnd to dur[ ]
ye fame of Henry neer sh[all]
It shew's us like a buble glasse
Fraile earthy man must soone h: passe.

[1] The verso of the second leaf. This leaf is also mutilated.
[2] The page is torn away irregularly at the upper left-hand corner.
[3] The word *quite* is written above the line to replace *honour is* (which is cancelled).
[4] I. e. *hence.*

Although appears to be a correction for an original *What though*. *Henry Dunster* is written above a cancelled word or words (illegible), and *Dunster* is cancelled; *earthy* is substituted for a cancelled *sinful*. The reading *dur* (which must be for *durt*) is queer; we expect *dust*. It is reasonably safe to regard the two elegies as Elnathan Chauncy's own work. Such an ascription is confirmed by the fact that the tribute to Dunster embodies two lines adapted from a couplet which occurs among Chauncy's extracts from Spenser.[1]

Compare

> [And al]so turne your pleasant eulogys,
> [Into] ye most heart breaking elegys

with Spenser, The Teares of the Muses, vv. 371–372:

> Now change your praises into piteous cries,
> And Eulogies turne into Elegies.[2]

Chauncy's Spenserian quotations, which run to more than a score of pages, cover almost all of Spenser's poems except The Faerie Queene;[3] they include all but one[4] of the elegies and epitaphs on Sidney by divers authors that were appended to Colin Clouts Come Home Againe; and they follow the order of the folio editions of 1611 and 1617. Apparently he had at hand a mutilated copy of one of these editions. This accounts for his apparent neglect of The Faerie Queene, which stands first in the folios, and of Muiopotmos and the three series of Visions, which stand at the end. The only other important omission, The Foure Hymnes, is in the body of the folios.[5] Chauncy's

[1] MS., p. 22.

[2] Further confirmation is afforded by the change of *honour is* to *quite* in the elegy on Dunster (see above, p. 4, note 3).

[3] There are extracts from the following (the non-Spenserian Sidney poems I italicize): The Shepheards Calender, Mother Hubberds Tale, Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Astrophel, *The Dolefull Lay of Clorinda*, *A Pastorall Æglogue* (by Lodowick Brysket), *An Elegie* (by Matthew Roydon), *An Epitaph*, *Another of the Same*, Prothalamion, Amoretti, Epithalamion, Daphnaïda, The Ruines of Time, The Teares of the Muses, Virgil's Gnat, The Ruines of Rome. The Dolefull Lay is claimed for Spenser by some scholars of repute: see F. I. Carpenter, A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser (1923), p. 131. A few brief passages from The Faerie Queene are included in Chauncy's extracts from Robert Allot's anthology, England's Parnassus (MS., pp. 60–62).

[4] The Mourning Muse of Thestylis, supposed to be by Lodowick Brysket.

[5] Between Epithalamion and Daphnaïda.

copy was probably mutilated here also, for he could hardly have ignored these Hymnes if they were in his text. His excerpts are enlightening. They show no trace of the sullenness and severity so often alleged against our Puritan ancestors. Love, beauty, nature in its poetical aspects attract him powerfully, and he manifests a decided fondness (natural enough in those days) for classical figures and allusions. Thus:

> Yee dainty Nymphes that in the blessed brook
> doth bathe you [1] brest
> forsake your watry bowres and hither looke
> at my request;
> And eke you virgins that on Parnasse dwell
> whence floweth Helicon the learned well
> Helpe me to blaze
> Her worthy praise,
> wch in her sex doth all excell.[2]

> But freindly fa[r]ys met wth many graces
> And Lightfoot Nymphs can chase the lingring night
> wth heydegiues [3] and trimly, trodden, traces,
> while sisters nine wch dwell on parnasse hight
> doe make y^{m} musicke for y^{r} more delight
> And pan himselfe to kisse y^{r} christal faces;
> will pipe and dance while Phœbe shineth bright
> such pierlesse pleasures haue wee in these places.[4]

> Calme was the day and through the trembling aire
> Sweet breathing Zephyrus did softly play
> A gentle spirit that Lightly did delay
> Hot Titans beames wch then did glister faire.

> A flocke of Nimphes I chaũced to espy
> all louely daughters of the floud y^{r}by

> That Like the twinnes of Joue they seemed in sight
> wch decke the bauldricke of ye heavens bright.[5]

---

[1] Error for *your*.
[2] The Shepheards Calender, April, vv. 37–45.
[3] Read *heydeguyes*.
[4] The Shepheards Calender, June, vv. 25–32.
[5] Prothalamion, vv. 1–4, 20–21, 173–174.

Spenser's elegiac strains, however, appealed with equal force to Elnathan Chauncy, as was to be expected at a time when poetical obituary tributes were so much in fashion both here and in the mother country.[1] He copies the beautiful Lament for Dido almost entire from the November eclogue in The Shepheards Calender, and many other doleful — but not Puritanical! — extracts from Spenser give evidence of his indulgence in pleasing melancholy. For example:

> My muse is hoarse and weary of his [2] stound.
>
> Winter is come that blowes the bitter blast
> and after winter dreery death doth hast.[3]
>
> The woodes w^{r} heard to waile full many a sithe
> and all y^{r} birds with silence to complaine
> the feildes with faded flowers did seeme to mourne
> and all y^{r} flockes from feeding to refraine.
> the running waters wept for thy returne
> and all y^{r} fish wth languor did lament.[4]

Chauncy's quotations from other authors likewise testify, in the main, to his keen and intelligent interest in *belles lettres*. Of Herrick's "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may" he copies three-quarters, and the whole of "A willow garland thou didst send." Similarly un-Puritanical is "A song of Mark Anthony," by Cleveland, which he also copies entire, appending the same poet's parody or indecorously satirical counterpart, which begins "W^{n} as ye night-raven sung Plutoe's mattins." [5] So far as I can discover, Chauncy quotes Shakespeare but once: "The tonge is the hearts aturnye." [6] This is from Venus and Adonis, vv. 335–336:

> But when the heart's attorney once is mute,
> The client breaks, as desperate in his suit.

He owes the quotation to Robert Allot's England's Parnassus. The groups of *flores* are usually headed by a more or less exact note of the

[1] See W. C. Ford, Broadsides, Ballads &c. Printed in Massachusetts, 1639–1800 (M. H. S. Collections, LXXV); John W. Draper, A Century of Broadside Elegies.

[2] Error for *this*.

[3] The Shepheards Calender, December, vv. 140, 143–144.

[4] Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, vv. 23–28.

[5] Cleveland, pp. 51–53.

[6] MS., p. 62.

source: as, — "some recollections out of Argalus and Parthenia"; "Some Collection out of Natures Paradox sive Iphigenes"; "Some recollections out of Winter nights vision"; "Collections out of Godfrey de Bulloigne"; "some collections out of ye character of a London diurnal"; "Some recollections out of Barclay his Argenis"; "some collections out of Psyche or Loves Mystery"; "collections out of Mr Purchas his theatre of flying insects"; "Some Collections out of Englands Pernassus"; "collect: out of ye worldly pollicy." A few of the *flores* have eluded my attempts at identification, but in most cases the heading is definite enough to indicate the source. Thus, of the works just noted, "Argalus and Parthenia" is Francis Quarles's romance in verse (1628 or 1629), the plot of which is taken from Sidney's Arcadia; "Nature's Paradox" is a translation of the celebrated prose romance "Iphigène" by Jean Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, — "Nature's Paradox: or, The Innocent Impostor. A pleasant Polonian History, originally intituled Iphigenes. Englished by Major Wright" [1] (1652); "A Winter Nights Vision" is a poem by Richard Niccols printed in the 1610 edition of "A Mirrour for Magistrates." About a score of the excerpts under this heading, however, are taken from earlier poems in the "Mirrour" and several others are from Niccols's "Englands Eliza," which follows the "Mirrour" in the edition of 1610. "Godfrey de Bulloigne" is Edward Fairfax's version of Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata (1600).[2] "The character of a London diurnal" is John Cleveland's little volume, "The Character of A London-Diurnall: With severall select Poems. By the same Author. Nova & castigatissima Editio" (1647). The extracts from the Argenis are from "Barclay his Argenis: or, The Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis: Faithfully translated out of Latine into English, By Kingesmill Long, Gent." (1625). "Psyche" is Joseph Beaumont's "Psyche: or Loves Mysterie in XX. Canto's: Displaying the Intercourse Betwixt Christ, and the Soule" (1648). "Mr Purchas" is Samuel Purchas, whose book about bees, "A Theatre of Politicall Flying-Insects," appeared in 1657. "Englands Pernassus" (for "Parnassus") is the celebrated anthology edited by Robert Allot (1600). "Y^e^ worldly pollicy" is Charles Herle's "Wisdomes Tripos, or rather its Inscription, Detur Sapienti, In Three treatises. I.

[1] Major John Wright.

[2] Godfrey of Boulogne: or The Recouerie of Ierusalem (2d ed., 1624).

Worldly Policy. II. Of Moral Prudence. III. Of Christian Wisedome" (1655).

Other works which our young Puritan had read and admired were: Bacon's "Advancement of Learning"; "A Preface, or rather A Briefe Apologie of Poetrie, and of the Author and Translator of this Poeme" prefixed to Sir John Harington's "Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse" (1591; 2d ed., 1607); "The Arraignement of the Whole Creature, at the Barre of Religion, Reason, and Experience" (1631), anonymous, but known to be by Stephen Jerome; John Bulwer's "Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or, The Artificiall Changling Historically presented. By J. B." (1653), a learned and very curious treatise on costume;[1] Æmilia Lanyer's book of poems entitled "Salve Rex Judeorum" (1611); "The Flower of Fidelitie" (1650), by John Reynolds, author of the famous "God's Revenge against Murther"; "A Sixe-folde Politician. Together with a Sixe-folde Precept of Policy," by Sir John Melton (1609); "A Collection of Emblemes" by George Wither (1634, 1635). A particularly vague heading — "some collections out of characters" — refers to John Stephens's "Satyrical Essayes Characters and Others. Or Accurate and quick Descriptions, fitted to the life of their Subjects" (1615).

Epigrammatic quips and pretty or fanciful conceits always attracted Elnathan, especially when they involved a paradox.

shee teacheth smiles to weep and teares to smile [2]

By this ye feather'd Belman of ye night
sent forth his midnight sum̃ons, to invite
All eyes to slumber.[3]

when grizly night her iron carre had driven
from her dark mansion house that hidden Lyes
In plutoes Kingdome to ye top of heav'n
and wth black cloake of cloudes muffling ye skys
wth sable wings shut up all wakeful eyes.[4]

[1] Some of the extracts, however, are from "A Letter directed to the Author" prefixed to Bulwer's treatise and signed "R. Mason."

[2] Quarles, Argalus and Parthenia (1st ed.), p. 17.

[3] Id. pp. 39–40.

[4] Niccols, Englands Eliza, in the 1610 edition of A Mirrour for Magistrates, p. 806.

The sand Like minutes, fly away so fast
that yeeres are out ere wee thinke months are past.[1]

Her Lips cast forth a chaine of sugred wordes.[2]

The rude Chaos of prysbutery.[3]

A periwigged phrase.[4]

Oppositions highest tides roare in my way.[5]

They like Hellish graduates have comenct in ye highest degree of sin.[6]

a man may as soone fill a quart pot wth vertue, as a rational mind wth wealth.[7]

an impudent censurer is the torture monger of wit.

A gamester is fortunes vassaile, temptations Anvile, or an outlandish text wch may be soone translated into cheaters English.

A begging scoller is an artificial vagabond.

A Huntsman is a lievetenant of dogs and foe to harvest.

A witch is the divels hostess, he takes housroome and diet of her and yet she payes the reckoning.[8]

A gorgeous specimen of the florid style is extracted from R. Mason's preface to John Bulwer's curiously learned treatise on costume: Anthropometamorphosis or The Artificial Changeling (1653):

Your curious diligence lookes not only into civil societys, but prying also unto ye ruder crouds and silvestrous heards of mankind peeping into every latibulum and solitary bush, to devellope ye effect and incongruous results of ye phantastical projects of (ye now little better y^n^ ye pfecter sort of ape called man) it became my just wonder, to find the

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[1] George Wither, A Collection of Emblemes (1635), p. 235.
[2] Fairfax, Godfrey of Bulloigne (2d ed., 1624), p. 71.
[3] Cleveland, p. 28.
[4] Cleveland, p. 40 ("Periwigg'd the Phrase").
[5] Beaumont, Psyche (1648), p. 21 ("its way").
[6] [Stephen Jerome,] The Arraignement of the Whole Creature (1631), p. 7.
[7] Charles Herle, Wisdomes Tripos (1655), p. 13.
[8] John Stephens, Satyrical Essayes Characters and Others (1615), pp. 163, 236, 275, 305, 374.

magistery of ye creation in ye crucible of his owne folly so calcined into a trifle.[1]

Elnathan Chauncy is described in the bond which his widow gave as administratrix on May 22, 1684, as "late of Boston Physician."[2] It is interesting, therefore, to observe the diligence with which he perused and excerpted various scientific and philosophical treatises of high standing in his day. One of these is "A Ternary of Paradoxes," by the eminent medical reformer and occult speculator van Helmont, "Translated, Illustrated, and Ampliated" by William Charleton (1650), Physician to Charles I. He also copies largely from several tracts by the mystical alchemist Eugenius Philalethes — that is, Thomas Vaughan, who accidentally killed himself while experimenting with mercury in 1666.[3]

Of Helmontian lore a single specimen must suffice:

The material nature does uncessantly by Its secret Magnetisme, sucke downe formes from ye brest of ye supiõr orbs and greedily thirst after ye favour and benigne influence[4] of cœlestial luminarys, and ye star[s] in exchange attract some tribute from inferior bodyes so y^t^ y^r^ is a free cõmerce and reciprocal returne from each to other and one harmonious concord and conspiracy of all pts in ye whole universe:[5]

Vaughan's philosophy may be illustrated by three or four of Chauncy's extracts:

ye soule consistes of two portions inferior and superior the superior is masculine and æternal. ye inferior fœminine and mortal. . . . Marriage is a cõment on life, a meer Hieroglyphick, or outward representation of our inward vital composition. For life is noth: but ye union of male and female principles.[6]

I speake not here of ye symbolical exterior descent from ye prototypical-planets to ye created sphæres, and y^nce^ in noctem corporis: but I speake of that most secret and silent laps of ye spirit p formarum naturalium seriem.[7]

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[1] Sig. ***3, lf. 2 r°.

[2] Sibley, II. 81.

[3] Not to be confused with Eirenæus Philalethes, i.e. George Stirk (or Starkey), A.B. Harvard 1646. See our Publications, XXI. 123–125, 132–146.

[4] This word is omitted in the MS.

[5] Of the Magnetick Cure of Wounds, § 11 (A Ternary of Paradoxes, p. 8).

[6] Anthroposophia Theomagica (1650), p. 30.

[7] Id., p. 45.

Pearles and diamondes are noth: else but water and salt of ye earth concocted.[1]

the philosophers stone is a sperme y^t^ nature hers: drawes out of ye elements w^th^out ye help of art.[2]

Vaughan engaged in a furious literary and scientific (or philosophical) quarrel with Dr. Henry More, the celebrated Cambridge Platonist. He answered some of More's strictures by publishing a vituperative tract picturesquely entitled "The Man-Mouse Taken in a Trap, and tortur'd to death for gnawing the Margins of Eugenius Philalethes" (1650). Chauncy selects therefrom a longish list of smart sayings, which manifestly amused him, and which perhaps he thought he might find convenient some day in the composition of a diatribe of his own. I give a few samples of his extracted gems, observing, by the way, that others are not quite quotable.

I have put his hog-noddle in pickle, and here I present to ye world a peice of sound non sense.[3]

Could thy alma mater teach ye noth: but anticks [4]

he is a heated nodle, a mome a mimicke, an ape a meere animal a snaile a philosophical hog, a nip-crust, a pick-pocket, a niggard, tom foole wth a devils head and hornes:[5]

I will pick your bones and afterwards bestow you on cambridge for a fooles anatomy.[6]

from a very dry mouse thou art become a drowned ra[t] [7]

There is also a long series of excerpts from the philosophico-theological works of the once famous Scot, John Weemse (or Weemes) of Lathlocker, credited by Chauncy to his "Observations natural

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[1] Magia Adamica: or The Antiquitie of Magic and The Descent thereof from Adam downwards, proved. Whereunto is added a perfect, and full Discoverie of the true Cœlum Terrae (1650), sig. B4, lf. 2 v°-lf. 3 r°. Wrongly ascribed in the MS. to "eugenius philalethes his man mouse."

[2] Id., p. 86.

[3] The Man-Mouse, sig. A2.

[4] Id., p. 2.

[5] Id., p. 4.

[6] Id., p. 18.

[7] Id., p. 52.

and mora[l]," [1] but including a good deal from his treatise entitled "The Portraiture of the Image of God in Man." They are all worth reading, but space fails for further quotation.

Several of the books excerpted by Chauncy were in John Harvard's library: viz., Jerome's "Arraignement of the Whole Creature," Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," the 1610 edition of "A Mirrour for Magistrates," Warwick's "Spare Minutes" (fourth edition, 1635), and Weemse's "Portraiture." [2] "Godfrey of Bollogn" and Herle's "Wisdomes Tripos" appear in the 1723 Catalogus of the Harvard College Library, as well as Barclay's "Argenis" in Latin and all four volumes of Weemse.[3]

There are also many pages of sermon notes. These were written in where the commonplace material — the *flores* plucked from various authors — had left blank pages or parts of pages. At the head of the first sermon occurs a date with an ascription: "By Mr Benjamin Blackmā March. 20 $\frac{69}{70}$." This is the Blakeman (or Blackman) who graduated at Harvard in 1663. The text is "prov. 18. 14. a spirit of a man &c." [4] i.e. "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear?" After several pages of notes from this discourse, there is a considerable interruption [5] caused by the occurrence of extracts (previously made) "out of Reynold his flower of fidelity." Then we have the same homiletic subject continued,[6] but with a new text and a new date (with ascription):

May. 15. 70. By Mr Blackmā:
Rom. 7. 9.[7]

It is interesting to observe that the earlier of the two sermon dates (March 20, 1669–70) is only four days later than that on which the townsmen of Stratford, Connecticut, were directed by vote of the

[1] Workes, 1636 (1633–36), 4 volumes. Vols. II and III in the Harvard College Library have the autograph of Mather Byles on the title page.

[2] See A. C. Potter, Catalogue of John Harvard's Library (in our Publications, XXI. 190–230), Nos. 17, 34, 156, 240, 243.

[3] Catalogus, pp. 15, 70, 64.

[4] MS., p. 118.

[5] MS., pp. 126–128. The Flower of Fidelity (1650), by John Reynolds, merchant of Exeter.

[6] MS., p. 129.

[7] "For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died."

town to "endeavour the obtaining" of Blakeman to teach their school, and that on the twentieth of December following he was made freeman.[1]

Besides the notes from Blakeman's sermons there is a long discourse on Faith, which I suppose is Chauncy's own. As nearly as I can make out, the order of this sermon is pp. 180–215, 218–220, 222–224, 232–234, 133–138, 141–151, 154–156. But it seems to begin in the middle, with "17" (i. e. "seventeenthly"), and "18" is on p. 184. At all events, the sermon on Faith does not connect with Mr. Blakeman's second sermon, which breaks off abruptly on p. 132. The first words on p. 133 follow directly in sense the last words on p. 234.

The manuscript contains also the bare outline of a fourth sermon. The text is "2. Sam. 24. 10. now I beseech take away ye Iniquity of thy servant for I have done very foolishly."[2]

The Latin Salutatory Oration is so great a curiosity that it must needs be printed in full.[3] The manuscript gives no direct evidence as to the date or authorship. The date, however, is settled by a passage in the document itself. The orator, in speaking "of the Candidates in Arts at this commencement,"[4] informs his hearers that

> Mother Academy has had a miscarriage in the birth of Masters and has brought forth no Masters for this year. . . . As to candidates for the First Degree, we have presented to you six, according to the number of the jars filled with water at the wedding at Cana in Galilee, from whom some hope has shown itself that by the miraculous power of Christ good and cheering wine will sometime be drawn.

Elnathan Chauncy died in 1684. Accordingly we must find, before 1684, a year in which there were but six A.B.'s and no A.M.'s. Thus our choice is restricted to 1662[5] and 1677. In 1677, Chauncy had

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[1] Sibley, II. 141.

[2] MS., pp. 221, 220, being pp. 43–44 from the end of the volume. A contemporary outline of a sermon "By m^r^ Elnath: Chauncy. — 12. day of feb. 1670" is preserved in a manuscript in the Harvard College Library (MS. Am. 566). It is not in his handwriting, though the script resembles his in many ways.

[3] It occupies pp. 231–225 and the first half of p. 224 (or pp. 33–39 and the first half of p. 40, if we count from the end of the book), and is a part of the matter written in after reversing the volume.

[4] "De candidatis bonarū artium in hisce comitiis."

[5] Samuel Willard (A.B. 1659) received a Master's degree at some time. If the ordinary term of three years only had elapsed, his A.M. would have been

been sixteen years out of college, and in August of that year he had been in England, apparently practising medicine, long enough to have "gained a good estimation." [1] Thus we arrive at 1662 as the date of our oration.

The authorship of the oration must remain a mystery. Elnathan Chauncy himself is ruled out, since the oration is in his handwriting and since there are errors in the copy that prove that it is not autograph.[2] Benjamin Blakeman (or Blackman), of the Class of 1663, has been suggested, but he is out of the question, for there is no likelihood that a junior would have been appointed Salutatorian, and, indeed, the language of the oration hardly accords with the status of an undergraduate.[3] If the orator was a member of the graduating class of 1662 and not a Tutor or a Fellow, I should be tempted to identify him conjecturally with Benjamin Tompson, the "renowned poet of New England" as his tombstone calls him. The oration is clever enough to be Tompson's, and Tompson was clever enough to compose it. His New England's Crisis (1676) contains at least one passage which seems akin in its wit and humor to some of the quips and cranks of our Salutatorian. I refer to King Philip's speech in Indian English, beginning:

> My friends, our Fathers were not half so wise
> As we our selves, who see with younger eyes;

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granted in 1662. In the Triennial of 1674 Willard's name occurs without the A.M.; so also in that of 1682; but in the Triennial of 1698 he appears as "Samuel Willard Mr Socius." It is clear, then, that Willard received his A. M. out of course, in some year after 1674 but before or in 1698. Thus the year 1662 remains Masterless. Mr. Albert Matthews has helped me here by excluding Willard from 1662.

[1] The Rev. Richard Blinman writes from England to Increase Mather on August 14, 1677: "Mr Elnathan Chancey is like to return to N. E., who hath had advantages from his 2 broth^{r}s here for the practice of physick. I believe he is truly Godly, & hath gained a good estimation here, with the better sort, that know him." Mather Papers, 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 330.

[2] Note *ardentibus* miscopied for *ardenter*, *habent* for *habeant*, *crepedine* for *crepidine*, ὁμως for ὅμως, *perigrinam* for *peregrinum*, *removeretur* for *remuneretur*, and in particular ὁπον for ὅπου, τήχνη for τέχνη, and the *vox nihili* κτιθος (for κτῆσις or κέρδος), — the last three errors all occurring in one brief quotation.

[3] Note especially "Quod ad primi gradus candidatos spectat, sex vobis obtulimus, ad numerū Hydriarum aquâ repletarū in nuptiis canæ Galilææ, de quibus spei non nihil affulsit, fore ut virtute Christi mirificâ, vinum optimum et exhilarans aliquando exhauriendum esse" [error for *sit*].

They sel our land to english man, who teach
Our nation all so fast to pray and preach.
Of all our countrey they enjoy the best,
And quickly they intend to have the rest.

However, I doubt if any undergraduate is to be credited with our salutatory address.[1]

I reproduce the oration as exactly as may be, retaining the scribe's capitals and his sometimes eccentric punctuation. Brackets, as heretofore, indicate words or letters lost by wear and tear or by the fading of the ink. In the foot-notes I supply what I can in the way of identifying the author's biblical and classical references and allusions.

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Honorandi et ter illustres viri, penes quos jus et imperium est, quibus salus populi, summa lex est:[2] in Rep: administrandâ, vobis jure primatum [3] tribuimus, et salutem in salutari illo [4] summam apprecamur.

Reverendi Ecclesiastæ et Occonomi Mysteriorū Dei,[5] præcones salutiferæ doctrinæ, vobis, ut par est, e suggesto salutem plurimam annunciamus.

Viri Mæ[ce]nates Benignissimi qui mercaturam aut mi[lit]iam exercetis, qui in cumulandis beneficiis [l]argi et effusi, utinam cū fœnore gratiarum et salutum vicem vobis rependere valeamus.

Denique vos Hospites pientiss:[i] viri desideriorum [6] qui estis εὐγενέστεροι [7]

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[1] The programme of *Quaestiones* for 1655 notes an *Oratio Demegorica* by John Angeir, who graduated in 1653; that for 1663 notes an *Oratio Gratulatoria* by Nathaniel Collins, who graduated in 1660; that for 1664 notes an *Oratio Gratulatoria* by Israel Chauncy, Elnathan's brother, who graduated in 1661 (Sibley, I, 323; II, 53, 72). "S[r] Clark (Senior Bachelour)," the Records inform us, "made" the oration when the Corporation dined Governor Burnet in 1728 (our Publications, XVI, 565). This was William Clark, A.B. 1726. For other orators, see "Orations" in index, id., p. 959.

[2] Cicero, De Legibus, iii, 3, 3, 8: "Regio imperio duo sunto, iique praeeundo, iudicando, consulendo, praetores, iudices, consules appellamino: militiae summum ius habento: . . . ollis salus populi suprema lex esto."

[3] For *primatum* the MS. abbreviates to *primaȝ*.

[4] Cf. Lactantius, iv, 12, 6: "[Iesus] Latine dicitur salutaris sive salvator." Philippians, iv: 21: "Salute every saint in Christ Jesus."

[5] 1 Corinthians, iv: 1: "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God."

[6] Daniel, ix: 23: "Thou art greatly beloved" (Vulgate: "vir desideriorum es," a literal translation of the Hebrew idiom). So also in x: 11, 19.

[7] Acts, xvii: 11: "These were more noble [εὐγενέστεροι] than those in Thessa-

quiq; terras et maria tantis cum sumptibus et vitæ discrimin[e] transivistis, ut nobiscum crucem atq; unà jugū suave Jesu Christi [1] subeatis et instituta divina observetis, jungimus putate vobis hospitio, dextras,[2] et in amplexus vestros effundimur.[3] Quid obsecro, nobis gratiùs aut exoptatiùs potuit accidere, quàm adventus et aspectus vester [4] qu[i] præsto estis, vel in præsidiis agentes ἀλεξικακ[οι] ἢ ἀποτρόπαιοι,[5] vel in subsidiis operam ves[tram] commodantes

Audivimus quid factum sit Regnante Rehoboa[m] quando sacerdotes et Levitæ Israëlitici sua liquerunt suburbana prædia et possessiones et alii [ex] tribubus Israëlis, qui stabili sententiâ in animum induxerunt se Deum Israelis ex[qui]situros; qui migrarunt Hierosolymas, illi m[u]niverunt et corroborarunt regnum Judæ:[6] et consimilis planè vestra [7] transmigratio hodierna quod est pietatis vestræ argumentū non vulgare certè non exiguum nobis robur et firmamentum [8] subministrabit.

Vt dicamus igitur vobis, appositè ad rem, oh præclari advenæ, quod Boaz olim illi quæ exiit ex aviis servatoris, Dominus remuneretur,[9] opus vestrum, ut plena merces vobis retribuatur a Domino Deo Israelis sub cujus alis accessistis crediturī.[10]

Dicamus cum psalte Regio aud[ite] mansueti, et collætamini, magnificate J[eh]ovam nobiscum et extollamus nomen ejus pa[r]iter,[11] cum non tantum mulierem eremicolam[12] hactenus incolumem á faucibus

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lonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether these things were so."

[1] Matthew, xi: 30: "For my yoke is easy [iugum enim meum suave est], and my burden is light."

[2] Virgil, Aeneid, iii, 83: "Iungimus hospitio dextras."

[3] Tacitus, Annales, xii, 47: "in amplexus eius effusus."

[4] Cicero, ad Atticum, v, 15, 1: "Nihil exoptatius adventu meo, nihil carius."

[5] Pausanias, viii, 41, 5: ['Απόλλων] ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν 'Αλεξίκακος, ἀποτρέψας καὶ τούτοις τὴν νόσον. Cf. ii, 11, 2 (ἀποτρόπαιοι θεοί); Plato, Legg., 845 B (θεῶν ἀποτροπαίων ἱερά); Xenophon, Hellenica, iii, 3, 4 (θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτῆρσι).

[6] II Chronicles, xi: 14, 16.

[7] MS., *vester.*

[8] Cicero, pro Murena, xxviii, 58: "firmamentum ac robur." So also in his oration for the Manilian Law, iv, 10.

[9] Miscopied *removeretur* in MS.

[10] Ruth, ii: 12: "The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust."

[11] Psalms, xxxiv: 2, 3: "My soul shall make her boast in the Lord: the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad. O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together."

[12] Revelation, xii: 6: "And the woman fled into the wilderness (εἰς τὴν ἔρημον)." Cf. xii: 14.

immanis rubri Draconis eripuit,[1] et sartum tectum [2] mirificè á diluvio conservavit nè esset ποταμοφόρητος:[3] sed etiam adhuc alas [4] animumq; addit, et plures obstetricantes et auxiliares manus præbentes [5] ultrò suppeditavit[.] ille, ille, nobis hacc otia fecit [6] et salutem posuit pro munimentis et propugnaculis [7]

Oh si omnes sancti conjunctim valeant assequi et compr[ehen]dere [8] et justis ponderibus librari το ὑπερίσσυον μέτρον [9] clementiæ divinæ.

Oh si de Monte Sionis diceretur quod in vallem subsiderit, et depressa sit, vallem autem non Lachrymarum; sed vallem Berakah, quæ nomen sortita est tam á benedictione Dei in Israelem quàm ab Israelis ad Deum Benedicentem reciprocâ benedictione,[10] usque et usque [11] ascendente.

Sed fortè dicat aliquis de statu Reipub. quod libris sæpe voluminosis appingi et subscribi assolet, multa desiderantur vel non-nulla desiderantur.

Hoc liberè profitemur neque tamen despondemus animos;[12] sumus adhuc in viâ et exules à patria; sed quæ suppetant nobis volumina pervolvamus, quæ praesentia sunt animo læto amplectamur.

sed quia multa desiderantur, multa importunè et ardenter [13] [a] vobis, efflagitamus, et á Deo desideramus. Magnum est et memorabile nomen [14] et au[re]is literis [15] insculpendum semper Nomen omnipotentis fœdere

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[1] Revelation, xii.

[2] Cf. Cicero, Ad Familiares, xiii, 50, 2: "ut M.' Curium sartum et tectum, ut aiunt, detrimento . . . conserves."

[3] Revelation, xii: 15: ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ.

[4] Id., xii: 14: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness."

[5] Lucina is called "dea auxiliaris" in Ovid, Metamorphoses, ix, 699.

[6] Virgil, Eclogues, i, 6: "Deus nobis haec otia fecit."

[7] Isaiah, xxvi: 1: "Salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks."

[8] Ephesians, iii: 17, 18: "That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints," etc.

[9] So in MS. Miscopied for τὸ περισσὸν μέτρον or τὸ ὑπερπερισσὸν μέτρον or τὸ ὑπερπερισσεῦον μέτρον. Cf. Romans, v: 20 (ὑπερπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις).

[10] II Chronicles, xx: 26: "They assembled themselves in the valley of Berachah; for there they blessed the Lord: therefore the name of the same place was called, The valley of Berachah, unto this day."

[11] Martial, v, 60, 1: "usque . . . et usque."

[12] Cf. Livy, iii, 38; xxvi, 7; xxxi, 22.

[13] Miscopied *ardentibus*. The MS. also has *desideremus* for *desideramus*.

[14] Virgil, Aeneid, ii, 583: "memorabile nomen."

[15] Pliny, vii, 32, 119: "Rursus mortales oraculorum societatem dedere Chiloni Lacedaemonio tria praecepta eius Delphis consecrando aureis litteris."

et pactione se obstringentis,[1] nomen inquam שַׁדַּי [2] quod 70 Interpretes reddiderunt ἱκανός et παντοκράτωρ,[3] quid tandem desit illis bonis quibus Deu[s] ἵκανος, aut quid tandem mali iis accidat quibu[s] Deus est παντοκράτωρ aut παντοδυνάστης, hu[c] si cursum corripiamus tanquam ad unicū asylum habemus validam consolationem et fieri no[n] potest ut Deus mentiatur. Hic si anchoram spei figamus intra velum,[4] sævientibus et fe[r]ventibus procellis in portu navigabimus.[5] Neq[ue] nos terrebit ut μορμολυκεῖα pueros [6] mise[rri]ma præsentis seculi facies; cum singulæ perio[di] rerum, sicut annorum habeant [7] itidem solstitia bina; vidimus non ita pridem solem culmina[n]tem et quasi in quadrijugo curru gloriosè triumphantem,[8] mox á solstitio æstivo declinantem subito et vergentem ad inferiorem circulu[m] videbimus prope diem, ut verisimile est in Tropico Capricorni in maximâ declinatione, quod Bruma Nivalē interiore diem gyro trahit [9] horrida cano gelu:[10] tum sensim sine sensu [11] redit infimus ab hyberno solstitio sol in apertiorem lucendi campum: sic videre est in periodis regnorum et ecclesiarum, vidimus religionem quæ per tot annorum centurias sepulta magna ex parte et obruta jacuerat, ex alto lethaeoque somno [12] superstitionis evigilantem et redivivā: [13] vidimus inquam ingens et stupendum incrementum lucis in novâ παλι[γγ]ενεσία [14] reformationis, datis quasi in

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[1] See Genesis, ix: 9–12.

[2] *Shaddai*, "sufficient," "mighty."

[3] These are the Greek words used by the Septuagint ("70 Interpretes") to translate the Hebrew term. The second is miswritten παντακράτωρ in the MS. here, but is given correctly just below. The MS. has ἵκανος for ἱκανός.

[4] Hebrews, vi: 18, 19: "That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us: which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil."

[5] "In portu navigare" is a proverbial phrase for "to be safe" (Terence, Andria, iii, 1, 22).

[6] Plato, Phaedo, 77 E: Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔνι τις καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν παῖς, ὅστις τὰ τοιαῦτα φοβεῖται. τοῦτον οὖν πειρώμεθα πείθειν μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον ὥσπερ τὰ μορμολυκεῖα.

[7] MS., *habent*.

[8] Cicero, ad Familiares, ii, 12, 3: "Satis gloriose triumpharam."

[9] Horace, Satires, ii, 6, 25–26: "Bruma nivalem Interiore diem gyro trahit." Our MS. has *die* for *diem* and perhaps *Nivali* for *nivalem*.

[10] Virgil, Georgics, iii, 442–443: "Horrida cano Bruma gelu."

[11] Cicero, De Senectute, xi, 38: "sensim sine sensu."

[12] Virgil, Georgics, i, 78: "Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno."

[13] For *redivivam* the MS. has *redivivū*.

[14] Matthew, xix: 28; Titus, iii: 5. The MS. omits iota subscript.

dotem Religionis literis universis. sed solstitium æ[sti]vum prætervecti sumus, hinc fluere et multum retrò sublapsa referri [1] res christi visa, et præceps ad hybernum solstitium festinat, mundo qui præbet lumina Titan:[2] hinc dies est contractior. Sed pater luminum *οὐκ ἔχει παραλλαγὴν* [3] *οὔτε τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα.*[4] Altissima lux nullam patitur parallaxin et qui solus immutabilis suum illud, semper idem, in æternū tenet:[5] ne umbraculum quidem *τρο*picorū aut variationum patitur: licet omnia loco mota huc et illuc transferantur et in cor maris p[r]æ[ci]pitentur.[6] Præterea jam quasi in crepi[d]ine [7] novi seculi positi sumus, nova lucis *αὐγασματα* [8] et incrementa exspectamus, et certè *ἀποκαραδοκοῦντες*, estq; non vespertinum sed matutinum crepusculum, cujus in ipso pene sumus caliginoso articulo, quod fieri amat breve nigricat horrore tenebrarum plusquam cimmeriarum; [9] sed erit honore lucis lætissimum, mox orituri solis æterni prodromum.

Adhuc sacra capita cœlum volvitur;
Non omnium dierum sol occidit.[10]
Durate igitur et rebus vosmet servate secundis.[11]
Et Dicet Ecclesia Christi (date verbo veniam) vasallis Antichristi; ut vitis in Anthologia capro,

κἀν με φ[αγ]ῃς ἐπι ῥιζαν ὁμως ἐτι καρποφορήσω
ὁσσον ἐπισ[πεῖσ]αι σοι τραγε θυομένω.[12]

i. e. Rode cape[r] [v]item tamen hin[c] cū stabis ad aras
In tua quo[d] spargi cornua possit erit.

[1] Virgil, Aeneid, ii, 169–170: "Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri Spes Danaum."

[2] Ovid, Metamorphoses, i, 10: "Nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan."

[3] MS., *παραλλογὴν.*

[4] James, i: 17: "'Απὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν φώτων, παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔνι παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα."

[5] Hebrews, xiii: 8: "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever."

[6] Ezekiel, xxvii: 25: "Cadent in corde maris."

[7] MS., *crepe[d]ine.*

[8] Cf. II Corinthians, iv: 4: "Τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ."

[9] Cf. Odyssey, xi, 14–19.

[10] Livy, xxxix, 26, 9: a remark of Philip V of Macedon's — "Nondum omnium dierum solem occidisse" (E. K. Rand). Cf. Isaiah, lx: 20: "Non occidet ultra sol tuus et luna tua non minuetur, quod Dominus erit tibi in lucem sempiternam."

[11] Virgil, Aeneid, i, 207: "Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis."

[12] Anthologia Palatina, ix, 75. The usual text reads:

Κἤν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω
ὅσσον ἐπισπεῖσαι σοὶ, τράγε, θυομένῳ.

The Latin version that follows ("Rode . . . erit") is that of Bothe (see Dübner's edition, II. 15). The MS. has *hin* for *hinc.*

Bono animo esto, dixit Gubernatori meticuloso imperator Magnanimus, intempesto cœlo mare procellosum trajecturus, bono animo esto Cæsarem vehis et fortunam Cæsaris [1] imò Christum vehitis Magnanimi Naucleres, Christum, inquam, cui ventus et m[are] auscultant,[2] Christum qui pro Israele perennes excubias agit [3] suavissimum est illu[d] quod in proverbii consuetudine venit: fluctus insurgunt, potest navicula jactari,[4] sed quia Christus ad clavum sedit, et oratorē agit, non potest submergi; infracto igitu[r] animo estote [5] Christophori Remiges, circ[um]spicite pericula curiosi, sed suspicite præsidia fideles et magnanimi. Eadem manu[s] quæ cœlum fecit, et terram sustentat Beli Mah, super non aliquid,[6] ecclesiam fecit omnipotens suam.

Ridete circumlatrantes impetu fracto [7] gubernaculum vestrum vortices, et serpente[s] abdito capite calcaneū vestrum mordentes [8]

Sed quo feror? oratio forte longius provecta est quam res et ratio proposita postulat.[9] Compendio verborum brevissimo reliqua amplectar in quibus de re nostra pauca dicturus sum: *[10] quia Dixit nobis Dominus, ne quæratis vobis grandia; ecce inducam malū &c.[11] Nolite quæso, res magnas aut novas in novo orbe exspectare, sive de rebus publicis,

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[1] Plutarch, Caesar, 38. Florus, iv, 2, 37: "Quid times? Caesarem vehis."

[2] Matthew, viii: 27: "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him!"

[3] Psalms, cxxi: 4: "Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

[4] Matthew, xiv: 24: "The ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves."

[5] Cf. Matthew, xiv: 27: "Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid."

[6] Job, xxvi: 7: "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." The orator translates the Hebrew *belīmah* by *non aliquid*; the Vulgate has "appendit terram super nihilum" (G. F. Moore).

[7] MS., *fracta*.

[8] Genesis, iii: 14–15: "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, . . . I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel (tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius)."

[9] Cicero, de Finibus, iii, 22, 74: "Sed iam sentio me esse longius provectum quam proposita ratio postularet."

[10] In the MS. there is an asterisk (shaped like an x) before *quia* and another after *faciam*. Perhaps the scribe meant that the sentence should be rearranged as follows: "de re nostra pauca dicturus sum. Nolite, quaeso, res magnas aut novas in novo orbe exspectare, sive de rebus publicis sive de Academia nostra verba faciam, quia dixit nobis Dominus, 'Ne quaeratis vobis grandia; ecce inducam malum,' &c. Dicam de utraque libere."

[11] Jeremiah, xlv: 5: "Et tu quaeris tibi grandia? Noli quaerere, quia ecce ego adducam malum super omnem carnem, ait Dominus."

sive de Academiâ verba faciam*; dicam de utrâque liberè. CALAMITAS NOSTRA MAGNUS EST, nolite ungues [ro]dere [1] aut caput rodere superciliosi [g]ramatiscastri, repeto, non est lapsus lingu[æ]: CALAMITAS NOSTRA MAGNUS EST, dictum olim de pompeio plaudente populo Romano tam eleganti solœcismo [2]: dico consimiliter Fælicitas nostra minutulus [3] est perpusillus, nam pauperes evangelizantur,[4] et cantat vacuus coram latrone viator.[5]

Sed neq; omnia exspectate nova, habemus multa nomina urbium et oppidorum veteris Angliæ, sed nomina tantum; et vitiorū nomina non pauca, utinam tantum nomina; sed vereor ne quod quorundam sermone jactatū est pro comperto á vobis habeatur, ut dicatis de novo orbe quod sit mundus alter et idem; [6] alter et ex diametro appositus si intervallum spectetur, idem si mores habitumq; peregrinum [7] consideretis: Academiam quod spectat, si magna aut nova pollicemur, sanè exspectationi non respondebimus. Celebre est illud Ciceronianū Honos alit artes,[8] at·

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[1] Cf. Martial, iv, 27: "Ecce iterum nigros corrodit lividus ungues."

[2] See the anecdote in Cicero, ad Atticum, ii, 19, 3: "Ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter invectus est: 'Nostra miseria tu es magnus' miliens coactus est dicere." Cowley makes an interesting use of the same anecdote in his Discourse by way of Vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell (Essays, p. 67, Works, 7th ed., 1681): "We must begin the consideration of his greatness from the unlucky *Æra* of our own misfortunes; which puts me in mind of what was said less truly of *Pompey* the Great, *Nostra Miseria Magnus es.*" The passage printed in capitals and that printed in capitals and small capitals seem to be distinguished in the MS. by somewhat larger script.

[3] MS., *minutilus.*

[4] Luke, vii: 22: "To the poor the gospel is preached."

[5] Juvenal, x, 22: "Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator."

[6] This seems to be an allusion to Bishop Hall's satirical romance (Mundus Alter et Idem Siue Terra Australis antehac semper incognita longis itineribus peregrini Academici nuperrime lustrata, Authore Mercurio Britannico, 1605). The orator remarks that "we have many names of cities and towns of Old England, but merely the names; and not a few names of vices — would they were names only! But I fear that what has been common talk (*quod quorundam sermone jactatum est*) may be regarded by you as ascertained fact, so that you will say of the new world that it is *mundus alter et idem.*" Place names derived from vices are a feature of Hall's romance. Thus one of the districts in his Terra Australis is Pamphagonia (Glutton-land, from παμφάγος, "all-devouring"); another is Yvronia (Drunkard-land, from *ivrogne*); still another is Lavernia (from Laverna, the Roman goddess of rogues and thieves).

[7] MS., *perigrinam.*

[8] Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes, i, 2, 4: "Honos alit artes omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria."

è contrà ὁπον οὐτε κτιθος οὐτε τήχνη.[1] Haud facilè emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat — res angusta domi: —[2]

Sunt Mæcenates, non deerunt Flacce Marones
Virgiliumq; tibi vel tua rura dabunt.[3]

Hactenus spes nos aluit, sed spe non saginatur venter, Magister artis ingeniiq;[4] largitur rex ut [largia]tur poeta.

Neque nova expectetis licet Athenienses simus, et ut est humana natura sumus novitatis avidi[.][5] antiquitas, libros, quibus operam impendimus, solet commendare, et lacera si spectetis ædificia, et si quandoq; vestimenta, Gabeonitas, nos esse existimabitis;[6] non est novum quod unà vobiscum, ut spero, magni facimus, et omnibus aliis facile præponimus, novum nempe Testamentum et Novū Cor.[7]

Sed ut summam rationū vobis exhibeamus de candidatis bonarū artium in hisce comitiis: Abortum fecit mater Academia in pa[r]tu magistrorū, neque in lucem protulit magistros hujus anni; aut quod suspicor; p[as]tores doctores rurales per saltum inaugurati magisterium fastidiosè prætereun[t] et nullo in numero habent, ne sint retrogradi, et in inferiorem conditionem dilabantur, poro ἀδάπανον et εὔωνον σοφ[ί]αν (ut scité vocat Plutarchus)[8] frugi sapientiæ adolescentes præferunt; itaq; calidè se subduxerunt, quod ad primi gradus candidatos spectat, sex vobis obtulimus, ad numerū Hydriarum aquâ repletarū in nuptiis canæ Galilææ,[9] de quibus spei non nihil affulsit,[10] fore ut virtute Christi mirificâ, vinum optimum et exhilarans aliquando exhauriendum esse.[11]

Depromamus si placet et desistemus, vos vero viri amplissimi qui

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[1] The Greek stands thus in the MS., κτι coming at the end of a line. What the orator wrote can only be conjectured. The sense seems to require, "Where there is no profit, there is no art." Obviously ὁπον is miscopied for ὅπου and τήχνη for τέχνη. For κτιθος (a *vox nihili*) one might conjecture κτῆσις or κέρδος.

[2] Juvenal, iii, 164, 165: "Haut facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat Res angusta domi."

[3] Martial, viii, 56: "Sunt Maecenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones
Vergiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt."

[4] Persius, Prologue, 10–11: "Magister artis ingenique Venter."

[5] Acts, xvii: 21: "For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or hear some new thing."

[6] See Joshua, ix: 3–6, 9, 12, 13.

[7] Ezekiel, xviii: 31: "Make you a new heart and a new spirit."

[8] Plutarch, De Liberis Educandis, 7, II, p. 4 F: "εὔωνον ἀμαθίαν διώκοντες." The MS. reads *poro* and *vocet*.

[9] John, ii: 1–10.

[10] Livy, xxvii, 28: "Prima spes . . . affulsit."

[11] So MS. for *sit*. The grammar is wrong, but the sense is clear.

a[d r]em literariam animū habetis propens[um][1] ac benevolū estote propitii interpretes pro candore et clementiâ vestrâ, quale quale fuerit boni consulatis.[2]

Mr. FULMER MOOD read the following paper:

NOTES ON JOHN JOSSELYN, GENT.

I

John Josselyn (*ca.* 1608–1675) was the second son of Sir Thomas Josselyn, Kt., of Torrell's Hall, Willingdale-Doe, Essex, and his second wife, Theodora Cooke Bere, daughter of a Kentish house.[3] Josselyn first came to New England, with his father, in the summer of 1638. Sir Thomas and John spent some time at the house of the elder brother, Henry Josselyn, of Black Point (now Scarborough), Maine. Sir Thomas for a short while held an appointment as Councillor of the Province of Maine, but soon relinquished it, probably by reason of his advanced age. John returned to England in October, 1639. A second visit was much longer, extending from July, 1663, till August, 1671. It was during this second sojourn that he accumulated most of the materials for his books.

Although he seems to have relished life in the plantations, he never intended to make a permanent home in the new country, and he commends himself, in the closing passage in his second book, for having "in part made good the *French* proverb, Travail where thou canst, but dye where thou oughtest, that is, in thine own Countrey." Josselyn[4] was an educated gentleman, as his writings plainly attest, and he found much in the American wilderness to attract his attention. One infers from his published works that he had been trained as a physician and surgeon. Certainly his opportunities in the frontier

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[1] Cicero, Ad Atticum, xiii, 21, 7: "propenso animo."

[2] Cf. Quintilian, i, 6, 32: "Rogat boni consulas, id est, bonum iudices."

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, LXXI. 248–250.

[4] For biographical treatments of Josselyn, see the account by Edward Tuckerman prefixed to his edition of New England's Rarities (Boston, 1865); the article by Gordon Goodwin in the Dictionary of National Biography; an article by the present writer in the Dictionary of American Biography; and the account by Moses C. Tyler in his History of American Literature during the Colonial Period, I. 180–185.

settlements of Maine for using such medical knowledge as he possessed were not few, and he must have been a valued person in those parts where his brother Henry[1] was so staunch a political leader in the interests of the heirs of Mason and Gorges. John Josselyn was, one feels from a reading of his books, a genial and pleasant man, fond of good cheer and a comic anecdote, the sort of person who liked to wander through the woods with gun and dogs, seeking what he might bring down, till the setting sun drove him home to a hot supper, a refreshing drink, and a comfortable seat by the fireside. He was not much of a church-goer, for while residing in Maine he was presented by the grand jury for not being a regular attendant at divine service.

II

It is the word "rarity" that offers the master key to the interpretation of Josselyn's writings. His two volumes were collections of rarities, and as such they made a strong appeal to their seventeenth-century readers. To the men of that day this word was as fashionable as the word "complex" has lately been with us. Now a "rarity," according to the New English Dictionary, is pertinently defined thus: "an unusual or exceptional character, especially in respect of excellence . . . a rare or uncommon thing, or occurrence." The interest of the seventeenth century in such things was but one phase of the rising tide of curiosity about scientific matters. It is conventionally correct to point out that Bacon had led the way, that in England a group of gentlemen interested in experimental and natural philosophy had begun to meet in London by 1645, and that by 1662 their efforts and interests had brought about the chartering of the Royal Society. The fact is sometimes overlooked that the discovery of the New World, with its myriads of new plants, animals, and other natural phenomena, had proved to be a powerful stimulant to scientific curiosity and a powerful solvent of antiquated scientific notions. As the English commercial empire widened, so, too, did the field of

[1] Much biographical information concerning Henry Josselyn can be derived from such works as: Documentary History of the State of Maine — The Trelawny Papers, III, and the Farnham Papers, VII; J. P. Baxter, George Cleeve of Casco Bay (1885); C. W. Tuttle and J. W. Dean, Capt. John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire (1887); Province and Court Records of Maine, I, II.

observation lying open to the student of nature. New conquests for English mercantilism afforded fresh opportunities for English collectors. Let a single example suffice. To the London merchant princes of the day, Jamaica was richly valued as the potential source of vast fortunes in sugar and other tropical produce. But to Sir Hans Sloane, who visited it in 1687, the island was worthy of close study by reason of the hundreds of new species of plants that it yielded. Sloane brought back a rich collection of specimens, and then prepared a lengthy catalogue of his findings.

When Josselyn sailed for New England the second time,[1] this trend in science was well under way, and it must have been sympathetically observed by him. The evidence on the point is, in fact, quite clear. Of his life at Black Point he writes, "I resided eight years, and made it my business to discover all along the Natural, Physical, and Chyrurgical Rarities of this New-found World." [2]

As discoveries of interest to science were made close at home or in remote quarters of the globe, it came to be thought desirable by certain far-seeing men that these new facts should be published, in order that such stocks of fresh knowledge should be made available for the benefit of other thinkers and observers. To that end the Royal Society, in 1665, established an organ of publication, the Philosophical Transactions, which should give "some Accompt of the Present Undertakings, Studies, and Labours of the Ingenious in many considerable parts of the World." Its columns, under the editorship of Henry Oldenburg, gladly laid new learning before its readers, and the journal was in a flourishing condition when Josselyn returned to London in 1671. Its pages were filled with accounts of new discoveries in many departments of science, and it carried reviews of books and articles of a scientific character. Typical of many others are the following:

Mineral Observations touching the mines of Cornwall and Devon. (March 25, 1671.)

A further account of the Stellar Fish, formerly described by Mr. Winthrop in New England. (August 14, 1671.)

A review of Simon Paul's book on Scandinavian Simples. (October 22, 1671.)

An account of a mineral balsam found in a wine in Italy. (January, 1672.)

[1] Josselyn, New-England's Rarities (Boston, 1865), 32. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[2] Id., 35.

An account of a Description of the East-Indian coasts, Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon. . . . From the Dutch. (February 19, 1672. The reviewer pays special attention to the plants, commerce, and rarities of these Eastern countries.)

A review of "The American Physitian; or a Treatise of Roots, Plants, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, Herbs, &c. growing in the English Plantations in America; whereunto is annexed a Discourse of the Cacao-nut-Tree and the use of its Fruit." (May 20, 1672. Of this the reviewer writes that "though the Author of the Tract only promises in his title to give an account of vegetables, which is of good use, forasmuch as it may make a part of the Universal History of Nature, now more than ever laboured after by the generous Philosophers of this Age," he really does more, for he tells of the coral rocks of Jamaica, gives descriptions of the sea star-fish and of alligators, and relates an easy way of making salt in Jamaica.)

An account of the currents and of the tides about the Orcades. (November 17, 1673.)

Josselyn, who had employed much of his time in the collection of precisely this kind of information, was doubtless well aware of its utility. He had reached London on December 1, 1671,[1] and by midsummer his first book was completed, for it was licensed on June 24, 1672.[2] It bore a generous dedication to his kinsman Samuel Fortrey.[3] The plan of the work, as Josselyn unfolds it, is simple enough. It comprises a systematic listing of New England's rarities

cast . . . . into this form: 1. Birds. 2. Beasts. 3. Fishes. 4. Serpents and Insects. 5. Plants, of these, 1. such Plants as are common with us,

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[1] Josselyn, Two Voyages to New-England (Boston, 1865), 164. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[2] Arber, Term Catalogues, I. 112. The title-page of the work reads: New-England's Rarities Discovered: In Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, and Plants of that Country. Together with The Physical and Chyrurgical Remedies wherewith the Natives constantly use to Cure their Distempers, Wounds, and Sores. Also A perfect Description of an Indian Squa, in all her Bravery; with a Poem not improperly conferr'd upon her. Lastly A Chronological Table of the most remarkable Passages in that Country amongst the English. . . . By John Josselyn, Gent.

[3] Samuel Fortrey (1622–1681), a clerk of the deliveries of the ordnance in the Tower of London, was the author of an essay published at Cambridge, England, 1663, with the title, England's Interest and Improvement. Consisting in the increase of the store, and trade of this Kingdom. (Reprinted and edited by J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, 1907.) Josselyn was his half-uncle by marriage, Fortrey having married Theodora, daughter of Torrell Josselyn, son of Sir Thomas Josselyn by his first wife. There is a notice of Fortrey by Edwin Cannan in the Dictionary of National Biography.

2. of such Plants as are proper to the country, 3. of such Plants as are proper to the Country and have no name known to us, 4. of such Plants as have sprung up since the *English* Planted and kept Cattle there, 5. of such Garden Herbs (amongst us) as do thrive and of such as do not. 6. Of Stones, Minerals, Metals, and Earths.[1]

Recognition of his work was not tardy in coming to the traveller now turned author. On July 15, 1672, Number 85 of the Philosophical Transactions was published with a notice on the title-page calling the attention of the reader to four items in its pages as of especial interest: an account of a group of curiosities; a set of questions by Isaac Newton treating of his theories of color and light; a description of a satisfactory method of preparing certain substances for physical use; and a review of Josselyn's Rarities. It was probably Henry Oldenburg who was responsible for singling out these items for comment, and it was probably his pen which drafted the favorable review of Josselyn's book which followed.

Thus New England, too, furnished her share of rarities to grace the London booksellers' stalls, and Josselyn played his modest part in introducing her novelties to European readers. He, of course, was not the first to do this, and, indeed, even the use of the key word in his title was not wholly original. Two years earlier there had come to Oldenburg a communication in reply to one of his own sent out to John Winthrop of Connecticut. In the course of his letter, Winthrop wrote: "I know not, whether I may recommend some of the productions of this Wilderness as rarities or novelties, but they are such as the place affords."[2] Winthrop, too, then, was already thinking of "New-England Rarities."

Just as the theological controversies of New England, if they are to be understood in their final historical meaning, must be related to the contemporaneous controversies in Protestant Europe, so Josselyn's modest study of the new regions across the Atlantic served to produce a book which yields up its ultimate historical significance only when it is placed against the background of contemporary European scientific thought. Josselyn's first book, then, is, in effect, an answering voice from out New England to that summons to scientific

[1] New-England's Rarities, 39.

[2] Philosophical Transactions, 1670, p. 1151.

observation uttered to his countrymen by Bacon a half century earlier.[1]

III

To explain why Josselyn's second book fell in so well with the temper of the times is no less easy than to account for the success of his first. Consider for a moment its lengthy title:

An Account of Two Voyages to New-England. Wherein you have the setting out of a Ship, with the charges; The prices of all necessaries for furnishing a Planter and his Family at his first coming; A Description of the Countrey, Natives and Creatures, with their Merchantil and Physical use; The Government of the Country as it is now possessed by the *English*, &c. A large Chronological Table of the most remarkable passages, from the first discovering of the Continent of *America*, to the year 1673.

So sprawling a title indicates that not one mark is to be shot at, but several. Here is plainly an appeal to the scientific public that appreciated his first production. Here, too, is good store of information about the Puritan settlements oversea. Here is a racy style spiced now and again with the broad humor that doubtless more than one of his Restoration readers enjoyed. Josselyn thus shot his arrows at a broad target, whether by design or no; but if by design, then our author had his reward, for in 1675 his book came from the press in a second edition.[2]

It is a bounteous feast that Josselyn provides for his reader, and one may sample it here or there according to one's humor. It is not always skilfully served up, for Josselyn's was no practised pen, and its arts, such as they were, will be passed by in favor of other matters. First, to what extent is Josselyn's book a work of hostile propaganda directed against the Massachusetts Bay Colony? Secondly, if not that, what influence, if any, was behind him as a moving force?

That the Two Voyages is openly scornful of the Massachusetts

[1] See J. A. Gillespie, The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. Columbia University Studies in History, etc., XCI; also C. S. Duncan, The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period (1913).

[2] In a note prefixed to the second edition of the Two Voyages the publisher makes this comment: "You are desired by the Author to correct some literal faults, which by reason of the raggedness of the Copy have been committed. G. Widdows." Does this "raggedness" imply haste in composition?

settlers is apparent from even a hasty reading. This dislike crops out in more than one place. But that it is, all things considered, primarily devoted to discredit the Puritan colony with the English public is a proposition that can be shown to be false. Let us examine the passages from which emerges Josselyn's distaste, taking pains, however, to make a distinction between those that note Puritan habits and social customs which he disapproved as a Cavalier gentleman, and those in which he rebuked the men of Massachusetts because of their illegal or unjust political actions. Josselyn's judgments are thus based either on personal prejudice or on his own understanding of law and chartered right.

The total effect of those passages which are founded upon his personal prejudices is clear enough.[1] He disliked the men of the Bay because they did not measure up to his standard of hospitality. They were much too smug, too impressed by their own transcendency. Samuel Maverick, of Noddle's Island, was the only open-handed man in the country. These men of the Bay were independent walkers in church and state: such people he disliked. He himself was a good king's man, one who could refer to Charles I as "our Royal Martyr."[2] He disliked them equally for their grasping ways in trade, their debauching of the Maine fishermen, their harsh treatment of the unhappy debtors who had fallen into their power. He was a cheery man of the world, fond of a good dinner and a warm settle, content to enjoy life; they, he thought, were dour saints and grimly bent on a godly discipline indeed. There was no reconciling such diverse attitudes.

Yet Josselyn did not single out the Puritans to receive all his rebukes. Pointedly, though with moderation, he could complain of other defects in the Maine settlers. Did they not now and again neglect work, did they not tipple overmuch, spend too many hours at table, or roam about the countryside, gun in hand, when it would have been better for themselves had they tended their crops more carefully? By such observations, indeed, Josselyn appears as something of a Puritan himself, since he, too, reproached the sluggardly and the "droanish" with the waste of precious time.[3]

[1] The collection of such passages from the Two Voyages includes these: pp. 11, 13, 27, 115, 132–133, 137, 158, 161, 162.

[2] Id., 49.

[3] Id., 159.

There are certain other passages in the Two Voyages which reflect on the Bay Colony.[1] These arise from Josselyn's understanding of the rights, established by royal charter, that were possessed by the younger Mason and the younger Gorges to their proprietary provinces of New Hampshire and Maine. When he charges that Massachusetts usurped their rights, and unjustly extended her jurisdiction over their lands, he makes such charges in view of parchments lawfully conceding these territories to the grandsires of the two claimants. The authorities in England well knew that Josselyn's friends were being deprived of what was rightfully their own, and Massachusetts well knew that she was a usurper. So when Josselyn affirmed as much, he did no more than to publish the truth, though, as it happened, that truth was not very palatable to the taste of the Bay leaders, and its publication was not precisely calculated to help their cause and polity. Josselyn is of the opinion that recompense ought to be made to his brother Henry, whose interests had been much injured by the Massachusetts usurpation in Maine. After a lifetime of effort, the brother had little to show for his years in the wilderness. Such complaints as John Josselyn indulges in are, however, voiced with dignity and moderation, and are inserted in his book at places proper or natural for their expression. He then proceeds with his narrative, and says no more of such unhappy things.

A second important circumstance which tends to show that Josselyn did not set out to write a work primarily tendentious is to be found in the structure of the Two Voyages.[2] When that is examined,

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[1] Id., 150–153.

[2] Analysis of the structure of Josselyn's Two Voyages to New England.

The first voyage, 1638–39, pp. 5–29.

Josselyn crosses the Atlantic. 5–13.
Notes on the cost of articles to provision intending settlers. 20–24.
In Maine. 20–24.
Prepares to depart from New England. 24–27.
Returns to England. 27–29.

The second voyage, 1663–1671, pp. 30–164.

Apologia to the incredulous. 30–31.
Crosses the Atlantic and arrives in New England. 31–36.
The metes and bounds of New England; its natural products, stars, seasons, and a description of the country. 36–49.

we at once see that the arrangement of the work is at bottom chronological. The author tells the story of his experiences roughly in the sequence that they happened. There is, thus, a first voyage, then a second. He next arranges his material in geographical order, and in his description of the several districts of New England proceeds from the Hudson River eastward. As he comes to a particular colony or region, he offers whatever information he has relating to it which he thinks may be of interest to his readers. This simple scheme is several times interrupted: by the two apologies to the home-keeping Englishmen, who, in their ignorance, may be tempted to doubt the truth of his assertions; by his remarks on the diseases current in New England; and, finally, by his second note on the trees and plants of the country. This last interpellation serves to separate sharply his remarks on the Massachusetts Bay colony from the passages dealing with the settlements in Maine and New Hampshire, but one is at a loss to see that in this severance there is anything of significance.

The plants, trees, shrubs, and vegetables of New England. 49–66.
The animals, their species and habits. 66–75.
The birds. 75–81.
The fish. 81–90.
The snakes, reptiles, and insects. 90–96.
The Indians: their customs, number, government, etc. 96–115.
A second apologia.
The English settlers in New England. 115–117.
The discovery of New England. 117–118.
A description of the southern country of New England (i. e., modern New York). 118–120.
Note on New Haven colony. 120.
Note on Connecticut colony. 120–121.
Note on Rhode Island colony. 121.
Plymouth plantation. 122.
Description of Massachusetts Bay colony: form of government, social customs. 122–140.
Diseases to which the English in America are subject. 141–144.
A further note on the trees and plants of New England. 141–146.
Note on the cattle and poultry of the country. 146–149.
Takes ship for Maine. 149.
Note on New Hampshire province and its rightful proprietor. 150.
The land, the people and the rightful lord of Maine. 151–156.
Note on Sagadahoc, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. 156–158.
Social customs of the Maine coast. 158–162.
Josselyn leaves for England by way of Boston.

Josselyn has here composed, in brief, a rudimentary sociological description of New England. The physiography and scenery, the Indians and their way of life, the produce of the land, the English settlers, their distribution and their frames of government: all find a place in his pages. Now and again he finds room for some information of a historical character, and to augment the store of this sort of knowledge he appends a chronological table at the close of his book, wherein are listed important names, dates, and events. Thus the Two Voyages is primarily a work of information for English readers who seek a general handbook on New England, and not a work of propaganda directed against Massachusetts Bay. If he reproaches the settlers of that locality, he does so in passing, and he has not shaped the structure of his book with that as his main purpose. If this be a work of hostile propaganda, then most certainly it is a sly and subtle one.

How did Josselyn come to know so much about the legal rights of the heirs of Mason and Gorges? Doubtless he heard much on that question while he was with his brother Henry in Maine, where it was the great political problem of the day. Probably he learned more when he returned to London and came in contact with the younger Ferdinando Gorges, who was in the metropolis at this very time. Such strictures as he passed upon the political activities and usurpations of the Bay Colony leaders arose from his sympathy with his brother and his brother's principals.

In 1676, at which time Josselyn's book had been twice published, Edward Randolph was sent out to correct wayward Massachusetts, and Josselyn (if he yet lived) must have rejoiced with Gorges' grandson in the thought that affairs were now, perhaps, about to be settled more to their liking. Did the book contribute to bring about this mission? It is impossible to affirm as much. Charles II was very tardy in sending out his commissioner, but for years he had had the matter in mind. Josselyn's book would certainly not operate to weaken such an intention, though whether it worked to stiffen it is quite another matter, since in those days not popular opinion but royal conviction and a sense of royal expediency were the springs of policy.

That Josselyn's picture of an oversea community which was worth controlling in the Crown's interest because it was worth taxing in

the king's name did not sink unnoticed into obscurity, is vouched for by one neglected circumstance. This is a third publication with which he must be credited, though it has seldom been connected with his name. This item consists of a reprint of Josselyn's description of the form of government in vogue in Massachusetts Bay excerpted from the Two Voyages, four folio leaves bound together with a map of New England from the hand of John Seller, Hydrographer to the King. In these pages his English readers found an account of Independency in action across the Atlantic. Unfortunately, though not fatally, the date when this item was published has not been fixed. It is variously given as 1680[1] and 1682.[2] In all probability it was published at London. A suggestion as to the significance of this tract (which must be slight at the most) may not be out of place here. Since the reprint is a summary description of the all-but-too autonomous Massachusetts civil government which certain groups in England desired to see laid low, is it not reasonable to conjecture that the publication of this description is to be related to the movement, even then under way, which was to result in the revocation of the Massachusetts Charter?

IV

Thus not only the current interest in natural philosophy, but also the contemporary concern for the right ordering of the king's dominions oversea help to explain the timeliness of Josselyn's books and their utility to the men of that day. Copies of both of them, it may be pointed out, found their way into the library of useful reference works then being gathered by authority at the Plantation Office in London.[3]

The right relation of New England to the Crown was a matter that had been responsible for much strenuous thinking on the part of royal officials before Josselyn's time. Indeed, the nature of this connection was being discussed frequently at the very time when he was publishing his writings. The New England problem, taken in its entirety, was a tangled skein of yarn. Men who were conscious

[1] A typewritten note inserted in the copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] Entry-card of the Library of Congress.

[3] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXVIII. 260–261.

of the defects of the mercantilist system as it actually operated gave much thought to it. The London merchants, who longed for the day when stiff-necked colonies would be forced to abide by the canons of mercantilism; proprietors like Mason and Gorges; members of the Privy Council; and the king himself, all of them had turned the problem over in their minds. Their consideration of this issue and Josselyn's publications were occurring at the same time. Consider this schedule of items, which makes it clear how frequently New England affairs obtruded themselves upon the responsible leaders in the short space of five years:

1669–70, January.	Gorges petitions the King in Council.[1]
1670–1, March 5.	Gorges petitions the King in Council again.[2]
1671, April 27.	Gorges petitions the King in Council a third time.[3]
1671, April 27.	Mason petitions the King in Council.[4]
1671, July 24.	Mason petitions the King in Council a second time.[5]
1671, November 13.	Mason proposes to exchange the province for a commercial privilege.[6]
1671, December 11.	Mason's memorial on the value of New Hampshire.[7]
1673–4, March 20.	Gorges, Mason, and the Earl of Stirling jointly petition the King and Council.[8]
1674, May 20 ?	William Dyer of New England petitions the King and Council to purchase the rights of Mason and Gorges.[9]
1674, December 2.	Mason drafts a memorial on the New England provinces.[10]
1674, December 25.	Gorges to the King and Council.[11]

The submission of such documents to the royal officers, however, does not complete the series. The King and Council, on their part, were not indifferent to the issue. Among some of the Council meetings held to discuss one or more phases of the issue were these: January 26, May 9, and May 11, 1670; June 16, June 21, June 26, July 12, July 24, August 3, August 12, September 19, November 13, 1671; January 22, February 6, February 13, April 30, May 10, 1672; then the war with the Dutch interfered.[12] On December 18, 1674, the King had a draft of a letter to the leaders at Boston prepared;[13] on April 22, 1675, the royal officers again undertook a general

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[1] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669–1674, no. 150.
[2] Id., no. 439. [3] Id., no. 512. [4] Id., no. 512. [5] Id., no. 512.
[6] Id., no. 651. [7] Id., no. 687. [8] Id., no. 1247. [9] Id., no. 1279.
[10] Id., no. 1397. [11] Id., no. 1420.
[12] Calendar, 1669–1674, no. 150, 150-ii, no. 439, no. 184, no. 753, no. 512.
[13] J. P. Baxter, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, II. 210–213.

review of the entire ease, and a year later Randolph was given his instructions.[1]

In sum, then, Josselyn's writings appealed to two sets of readers: to the scientists of the age, and to certain contemporary groups with political and economie interests at stake, who were eager to be informed of what was going on in the New England settlements, For both classes of readers his contributions had a freshness of appeal. and a timeliness which go far to explain their moderate popularity.

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[1] R. N. Toppan, Edward Randolph, II. 196–197.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1931

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the invitation of Mrs. Bayard Thayer, at No. 84 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 26, 1931, at three o'clock, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, announced the death of Edward Channing, a Resident Member, on January 7, 1931; of Morris Gray, a Resident Member, on January 12, 1931; and of Michael J. Canavan, an Associate Member, on January 21, 1931.

Announcement was made of the receipt of letters from Mr. Matt Bushnell Jones and Mr. James Duncan Phillips accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. Leverett Saltonstall, of Chestnut Hill, and Mr. Edward Allen Whitney, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. Morison read a paper on "The Case of the Ketch Recovery," based on documents in the files of the Suffolk County Court.

Mr. George Andrews Moriarty, Jr., communicated several documents, among them "A Letter from Admiral Durrell to the Hon. Thomas Hancock."

Mr. Kenneth B. Murdock read, on behalf of Professor Oliver Elton, a paper on

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR THOMAS OLIVER, 1734–1815

The figure of the last royal Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts is well remembered in New England tradition. His enforced resigna-

tion, on September 2, 1774, of his seat on the Mandamus Council is described in the standard books,[1] and thence has filtered down, often in inaccurate shape, into other works. Amongst these is the Dictionary of National Biography, where Oliver receives little justice. Neither by nature nor by choice was he an official, or even a public man. He was an honest, loyal, undistinguished, but well-educated private gentleman, pitchforked into a cruel and impossible position. Even so, he did good service: he managed, if only for a moment, to postpone the shedding of blood. It may be useful to relate once more the chief incidents of his career and to put into connected form, for the first time, what is known of his family history. The information is widely scattered; and I write in the hope that others may add to it and may be able to carry back the record to the original sources wherever I have failed to do so.

I

Thomas Oliver was the grandson of Richard Oliver, a wealthy and prominent planter in Antigua, and of his second wife, Sarah (*d* 1726).[2] Richard was first a member, then Speaker, of the General Assembly of the Island; a J. P., and successively Captain, Major, and Colonel (1715) in the militia. In 1708, he was a member of the Council. He was buried at St. John's, Antigua, on May 29, 1716. His signature, in a bold script, is preserved.[3] His arms are known: "ermine, on a

[1] Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, II. 129–135; L. R. Paige, History of Cambridge, pp. 150–156; V. L. Oliver, History of the Island of Antigua, 3 vols. (cited here as "V. L. Oliver"; see next note); J. H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp. 183–188; article by Gordon Goodwin in D. N. B., chiefly drawn from Paige and Appleton, incomplete and unsatisfactory; The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785, being the Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M.P., one of the Commissioners during that Period (H. E. Egerton, ed.), pp. 227–228 (cited here as "Coke, ed. Egerton"); C. H. Van Tyne, The Loyalists of the American Revolution, pp. 36–38 (largely from Sabine); E. Alfred Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, their Memorials, Petitions, and Claims, pp. 225-226 (cited here as "Jones").

[2] V. L. Oliver (see last note) is by far the fullest authority for the trees of the Oliver (and Freeman) families, for their wills and legal transactions, and for many contemporary notices. The sequel will show my debts to this rare and splendidly produced work. The material on Thomas Oliver's pedigree is in II. 318 ff., 346 ff.

[3] Facsimile in V. L. Oliver, II. 318; whence the details about Richard and Robert, including those about arms and crest. Mr. Robert D. Weston, of Cambridge, has been good enough to inform me that Burke, in his General Armoury,

chief sable three lions rampant argent." Crest: "a lion's head erased ermines, collared and ringed argent." The arms are on the monument of Thomas Oliver in St. Paul's Church, Bristol, England (see p. 65 *post*). It has been surmised that Richard's family had originally come from Bristol, where Olivers had long abounded, and where Thomas Oliver spent his later life; but the evidence is not yet forthcoming.[1] Richard had plantations in Virginia as well as in Antigua; he bequeathed £1500 to Robert, his third child and the father of Thomas.

Born in 1700, Robert on February 3, 1722 (N.S.), married at St. John's Anne Brown, daughter of James Brown, of Antigua, and of his wife Elizabeth Eliot.[2] He was a colonel of militia and a member of the Assembly for Nonsuch, where he owned an estate. About 1736, Robert migrated and settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, where he bought real estate from Isaac Royall for £2516. Here he built, it is said in 1745, a handsome house in the Georgian colonial style, photographs of which remain.[3] Stones in Dorchester cemetery mark

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assigns this shield and crest to Oliver of Exeter, County Devon; the shield, but a different crest, to Oliver of Musbury, County Devon, Bristol, and Wollescote Hall, Stourbridge, County Worcester; a variant of the shield to Oliver of Croomhill, Kent; and the shield, exactly, to Ollivier of Alderney. "It looks," adds Mr. Weston, "as if your family of Olivers came originally from the Channel Islands." The actual kinship of our Thomas Oliver with any of these families still remains to be proved. In any case, there is everything to show that he had none with the clan of Peter, C. J., (and Andrew), who perhaps owned and, at any rate, used quite a different coat of arms. See other evidence in my text.

[1] See V. L. Oliver in Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, v. 158–160; and H. S. Grazebrook in id., pp. 322–325. See too W. Ensign Lincoln, Some Descendants of Stephen Lincoln, Edward Larkin, Thomas Oliver of Bristol, Esq., etc. (1930). This Thomas Oliver died in 1557. Mr. Lincoln has been good enough, in answer to inquiries, to confirm the view that no kinship with the Olivers of Antigua is yet established.

At this point the author would express his best thanks to all the ladies and gentlemen mentioned in these notes; and also, for much aid and encouragement, to Mr. Walter B. Briggs of the Harvard College Library, to Mr. Frank W. C. Hersey, and to Professor James H. Ropes.

[2] Anne Oliver's second husband was to be Isaac Royall, of the well-known clan; and their daughter Penelope, who married Col. Henry Vassall, was thus aunt by marriage of Elizabeth Vassall, first wife of Thomas Oliver. For Oliver's befriending of Penelope after the Revolution, see p. 63 below.

[3] See Stark, p. 183; also S. A. Drake, Our Colonial Homes, who describes the house at length. It was razed in 1900, but a bronze tablet, in what is now Edward Everett Square, marks the site.

the graves of three of his Negro slaves, Anne (daughter of Mimbo), Cambridge, and Betty.[1] Robert died on December 16, 1762, aged 62; and it was noted in the Post-Boy that he had been "a gentleman of extensive acquaintance, remarkable for his hospitality to all; was kind to the poor; and, in his military character, beloved and esteemed." In his will, dated August 3, 1761, Robert bequeaths: "To my son Thomas Oliver a suit of mourning, a ring, and 20*s* and no more because his grandfather James Brown and his great-uncle Robert Oliver gave him a greater estate than I am able to give him."[2] This Antiguan estate was to stand Thomas in good stead when he had lost all his land and property in Cambridge, and was waiting in Bristol for compensation from the Crown.

II

Thomas Oliver, Robert's second son, was born in Antigua[3] on January 5, 1734 (N.S.) and was a child of two when his father came to Dorchester. We hear of him on April 16, 1750, at a meeting of the President (Holyoke) and Tutors of Harvard College, when he is placed ninth in a list of twenty-one freshmen.[4] We have further glimpses, from the same source, of the boy's doings. In his freshman year, as was customary, he has a Hebrew Grammar "delivered" to him, though not as a gift;[5] and on March 13, 1750, at a meeting of the President and Tutors, we read: "Agreed that for playing at cards, which is a breach of the College law, the students here immediately

[1] Annual Report, Boston Cemetery Department, 1904, pp. 68, 85, 160. Legend states that his slaves were so ignorant of the uses of the wheelbarrow that they bore them upon their heads to carry the soil.

[2] V. L. Oliver, II. 346.

[3] Not as Sabine states (p. 129), at Dorchester. The Dorchester town records specify Antigua (V. L. Oliver, II. 351).

[4] The MS. Faculty Records, in the Harvard College Library, and the indexes now in preparation, I have seen through the kindness of Mr. Tufts and Mrs. Shipton. Oliver is listed as coming from Dorchester; his birthdate is given as "Jan. 5 1733/4"; his age at admission as "15½." A marginal note states that he was among the "pupils of Mr. Hancock," a tutor present at that meeting. According to the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue (1930, p. 167), the names of students were listed during the freshman year according to the precedence of their parents; the exact basis for determining this order is not known.

[5] Faculty Records, I. 297–298. For details in regard to the cost and distribution of Judah Monis' Hebrew Grammar, see the Publications of this Society, XVI. 625–632, 640.

after mentioned be punished the sum of ten shillings each and be publicly admonished in the Chapel. . . ." Sixteen names follow, six being those of freshmen, and one of these is Oliver's.[1] On April 3, 1750, the Corporation voted: "That four pounds eighteen shillings and eight pence be given to Oliver this year, being the income of Honorable Mr. Stoughton's Lands in Dorchester, he being intitled to it, by the said Mr. Stoughton's will."[2] In the Commencement programme for 1753 he is named fifth in a list of seventeen youths who graduated A.B. A list of their "theses" follows, but without the names of the sustainers. In 1756, however, when he took his second degree, we are luckier. A long sheet of *Quaestiones* for the A.M., *Prid. Idus Quint.* (July 14), is printed, and number 5 runs: "*An Polygamia Lege naturali sit prohibita. Negat respondens Thomas Oliver.*" Probably he fell back upon Divine Law for the prohibition. In any case he graduated A.M.; and he must have been able to make at least a show of Latin and of argument in scholastic form.

To the year 1760, when he was twenty-six, belongs the only portrait of him that has so far been discovered.[3] It is here reproduced; and though now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, it seems to be little known. It is an excellent half-length pastel by Joseph Blackburn. Thomas appears as a well-favored youth, clean-shaven, with brown hair worn long; with brown eyes, arched eyebrows, wide fore-

[1] Faculty Records, I. 312–313.

[2] Publications of this Society, XVI. 817. Oliver was "intitled" to this "exhibition" because he came from the town of Dorchester. That Thomas received an exhibition is singular because it seems to indicate that his father was, though perhaps only temporarily, in financial difficulties. Quite apart from that, however, the fact that it was granted so soon after the imposition of the fine indicates that his offense could not have been regarded as serious.

[3] The pedigree (attested by affidavit) of the painting was furnished to the Art Museum by Mr. F. W. Bayley, of Boston, who has obliged me with some further information. The owners are traced down from Mrs. Penelope Royall: — Elizabeth Vassall, who became Mrs. Charles Russell; her daughter Elizabeth Russell; two Charles Russell Degans, father and son; and Miss Elizabeth Degan. From her Mr. Bayley had the picture. He sold it to the Museum in 1929, and it is in the Archibald Cary Coolidge Collection, purchased from the fund bequeathed by the late Professor Coolidge of Harvard. It is here reproduced by the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.

In 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XI. 4, there is a letter from the Rev. John L. Anderton, of Chislehurst, England, stating that he owned a miniature of Thomas Oliver (his grandfather), which was possibly by Copley; but I have found no further reference to it.

head, and well-cut lips. He wears a blue coat with glimpses of gold lining, and a white stock. He also wears an expression, rather engaging, of modest complacency and inexperience; but not, I think, of weakness. Many years afterwards he is reported as saying that he "was bred to the profession of the Law but he was prevented following it."[1] We have no clue to the nature of his "breeding" or to the reasons for his being prevented; we only know that though a gentleman of means and leisure, he was active, as a layman, in quite another calling.

Within three years of taking his second degree he had moved to Cambridge and had found his place, despite his youthfulness, amongst the leading families — well-to-do, devout, and very exclusive. On April 5, 1759, he was one among eight signers of a petition to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, requesting support, moral and financial, for their project of building Christ Church, by Cambridge Common, the Episcopalian place of worship, full of historic memories, which is now the oldest church building in the city.[2] The request was also signed by Henry and John Vassall, with whom Oliver was soon to be allied by marriage. On April 25, they raised a local subscription, Oliver giving £50. Other letters to personages in England followed; the replies from the Society and from the Bishop of Bristol and others were favorable, and the work was begun. On September 28, 1759, Oliver sat on a committee which had "full power to build," and they set about choosing a minister. On November 24, a letter was sent thanking the Society, and Oliver was again a signer. Six years later, on April 30, 1765, he was chosen a vestrymen. On April 30, 1766, he became, along with David Phips, churchwarden for the year; and on April 20, 1767, his tenure was renewed. We now begin to see Oliver's small and clear handwriting; for he seems, as senior warden, usually to have penned the minutes.

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[1] Coke, ed. Egerton, p. 227.

[2] By the courtesy of the Rev. C. Leslie Glenn, Rector of Christ Church, I have been allowed to reproduce Oliver's signature, to verify birthdates from the church Register, and to extract the details in the text from the MS. volume: Copies of letters and other papers relating to the Episcopal Church at Cambridge in New England, MDCCLX. The church's archives break off with the Revolution, and do not begin again until 1795. There is another signature, on a receipt of 1775(?), in the Boston Public Library, for the discovery of which I am indebted to Miss Swift, of the Treasure Room.

Elson & Son, Belmont, Mass.

Attest Thomas Oliver Chh Warden

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a Portrait by Joseph Blackburn in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

In an entry for October 1767 is his signature (reproduced with the portrait) "attesting" a document raising the charge for pew-rent. This signature recurs in many other minutes. For his own pew he had paid, in 1762, a rent of £13:6:8; and he had another pew, at some date, in Trinity Church, Boston. In 1769 and 1770, he was again warden, together with John Vassall; and in most years, whenever he was not a warden, he was a vestryman. On April 19, 1772, he was made treasurer of the monies collected on Sacrament days, and was charged with the task of putting them out to interest; but on October 18, 1772, the vote was rescinded, "Col. Oliver" having "declined that service on account of his intended voyage to Antigua." Doubtless he went to look after his estates. The last notice of him in the church records is on April 4, 1774, when he was once more vestryman; some nine weeks later he was to be commissioned Lieutenant Governor. But I have anticipated the story.

It is probable that Thomas Oliver made verses. In an admirably printed volume issued in 1761 by Harvard College, entitled *Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos*, there are poems in Latin and English by many academic hands. The work is a string of loyal effusions offered to George III upon his accession. The king received the volume, but there is no record of his returning thanks for it. Many copies are extant,[1] three in the Harvard College Library; and often the names of the supposed authors are inked or pencilled in. The attributions vary much in different copies; but it may be that Oliver has to answer for certain rather blank verses which celebrate George and Charlotte his queen. They begin: "Though from thy happy shores, Britannia, far"; and they close with a pious wish that George's "other self," in "converse mild," may long

> Speak sweetness to his heart ineffable,
> Soothe all his cares, and foretaste give of Heaven.

III

On May 17, 1760, was published the "intention of marriage" between Thomas Oliver and Elizabeth Vassall;[2] and on June 11, it was

[1] See, for an elaborate analysis, Justin Winsor, in Library of Bibliographical Contributions, I. no. 4. The lines in question are attributed in six copies to Stephen Sewall (H. C. 1761); but in Sewall's own copy, and in two more, to Thomas Oliver.

[2] Vital Records of Cambridge, II. 292. For the birthdates of the daughters, see

fulfilled. Mrs. Oliver, born on September 12, 1739, was the daughter of John Vassall, Sr. The family was notable in the annals of Cambridge. Elizabeth's brother, John Vassall, Jr., married Thomas Oliver's sister, another Elizabeth. Such ties could hardly be drawn closer. Thomas was now firmly rooted among the conservatives of Cambridge, "a select circle," we hear, "to which few others were admitted." We may also imagine a somewhat select circle of ideas and prejudices,[1] a ring of true-blue persons, very gallant, very spirited, thoroughly comfortable, and hardly prescient of calamity despite all the omens in the sky. We think of Oliver as looking onward to many blissful years in Cambridge for himself and his posterity. True, he told the English Commissioners in 1784 that he "foresaw the storm,"[2] but he did not say how soon he foresaw it. Meantime his quiet life went on. His eldest child, Anne, was baptized on March 4, 1764 at Christ Church by the Reverend Mr. Troutbeck; the second, Elizabeth, on August 17, 1766; and the third, Penelope, on October 2, 1768. By Elizabeth Vassall, Oliver had three more daughters, Mary, Lucy (*b* 1771), and Frances.[3] All six were to share his exile in England and to survive into the next century. Oliver, in these prosperous years, seems to have lived handsomely. During a visit to Antigua in 1763 he is stated to have "spent £900 on slaves, silver, and pictures."[4] In Cambridge, after the appearance of Anne and

id., I. 526, and Christ Church Register. For the date of the wedding, see E. Harris, The Vassalls of New England, p. 62. It took place in Trinity Church, Boston: see Boston Records, xxx. 397. Elizabeth Vassall was "born at Cambridge, Sept. 12, 1739; married Thomas Oliver of Dorchester, June 11, 1760. She died in England previous to 1808." Thomas Oliver, remarks Harris, was "ever distinguished for his amiable and gentlemanly graces" — doubtless a family tradition.

[1] See a well-known passage in the Letters and Journals of Mrs. General Riedesel (1867), pp. 139 ff. In 1778, she was in Cambridge among the captured European troops, and was quartered "in one of the most beautiful houses of the place, which had formerly been built by the wealth of the royalists." She pictures, from recent hearsay, the "seven" allied families, who had once had "farms, gardens, & magnificent houses," and who visited one another "for music and the dance"; but they had gone, leaving "all their houses desolate except two," when "alas! this ruinous war severed them."

[2] Coke, ed. Egerton, p. 227; he is here speaking of the period of his official appointment, 1774.

[3] Jones, p. 225, names as a son of our Thomas Oliver one Peter Oliver, physician and surgeon at Salem. But "Thomas" is here an erratum for "Andrew"; see Stark, p. 190.

[4] S. F. Batchelder, Bits of Cambridge History, p. 147*n*. (This immense sum is

Elizabeth, he proceeded to construct what would surely be a permanent and delightful home. In 1766 or 1767, he bought, it is said for £1700, an estate of about a hundred acres, and there built the house Elmwood where he lived until his catastrophe, enjoying it, therefore, for some seven years.[1] It stands today in Elmwood Avenue, somewhat changed, but still occupied, and its later history will be referred to again. Meantime, Oliver is heard of in connection with certain official positions. In 1771, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the First Regiment in Middlesex County;[2] and in May, 1773, the report was being circulated that he had been appointed a judge of the Provincial Courts of Vice-Admiralty for Massachusetts and New Hampshire.[3]

New England, and the Massachusetts province in particular, teemed with Olivers. Their family trees are long and intricate; the Christian, or given, names recur without end. There are many Thomas Olivers of different races and generations. There is, however, nothing to show that, as some have supposed, our Thomas was akin to any other Olivers in the district. He was not connected by blood with the prominent brothers, Andrew and Peter Oliver. Andrew, his predecessor as Lieutenant Governor, had been appointed in 1770, had been fiercely assailed by the Whigs (including "Junius Americanus") in

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hard to credit; but the reference is from Antigua Records for 1763, communicated by V. L. Oliver.) The article on Colonel Henry Vassall (pp. 114–233) is a vivid and fully documented account of these tory clans and their way of life. See too Mrs. Mary I. Gozzaldi, "Elmwood and its Owners," in Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings for 1920 and 1921, pp. 41–45. "They had their chariots and horses, their negro slaves . . . they spent their days like the landed gentry of England of that time, or like the West Indian planters among whom many of them were born." See too 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., x. 41, paper by E. L. Pierce on the Diary of John Rowe, of Boston: "Rowe records festivities at several of them — at Col. Thomas Oliver's (Dec. 9, 1766; Feb. 22, 1768; Aug. 17, 1769), where were the Brattles, Temples, Vassalls, Byards, Phippses, Van Hornes, Edward Winslow, and Richard Lechmere."

[1] Coke, ed. Egerton, p. 228, gives the estimates of Richard Vassall and of Richard Lechmere as to the value of Elmwood in the market in the year 1774, before the troubles; they think it would then have sold for £2500. They assess the household property which Oliver was then forced to leave behind at £250 or £300 (he brought away much linen and plate); and make guesses at the worth of his carriages and horses, also confiscated. These Cambridge loyalists all testify on oath to the Commission about themselves and one another. In his Memorial of 1783 (Jones, p. 225), Oliver states that the stone of Elmwood came from Connecticut, and the glass from England (some of this glass is still shown).

[2] Paige, p. 407.

[3] Boston Gazette, May 3, 1773.

England, and had died in 1774, old and stricken, his funeral being insulted by the rabble. Peter, the Chief Justice, was even more unpopular, but of harder metal. He too suffered: was impeached, was often in danger of his life, and with other Loyalists was ejected. He came to England, and died in 1791 at Birmingham.

IV

The position of Thomas in the summer of 1774 is shown by two interesting documents. Thomas Hutchinson had been superseded as Governor of Massachusetts by General Gage, and had left America on June 1 of that year. His Diary relates how, on July 1, he was brought by Lord Dartmouth to kiss hands in his Majesty's "closet." He was questioned on the whole political situation by the King in the minute fashion that is made familiar to us in the satires of John Wolcot, *alias* "Peter Pindar":

King. Is the present L. Governor [Thomas] a relation to the late Mr. Oliver [Andrew]?

H. No, Sir, not of the same family. I have no connection with him, nor did I let him know that I had mentioned him as one of the persons I thought might be proper for a Lt Governor.

King. The Chief Justice [Peter], I think, is brother to the late Lt Governor?

H. Yes, Sir.

King. We had thought of him, but as he was not one of those you had named, the present Gentleman, upon enquiry, appeared under all circumstances the most proper.

H. I had some particular inducement not to mention the Chief Justice. He is related to me, and his appointment would have increased the envy against both of us.[1]

Long afterwards, on October 2, 1783, Thomas Oliver submitted a memorial to the Crown, asking for compensation. The substance of his statement was that

he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Council of Massachusetts in 1774 without his knowledge, and from principles of loyalty he accepted this trust, although he foresaw that he would be drawn from a state of tranquillity to a difficult situation.[2]

[1] Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, I. 173.

[2] Jones, p. 225. The wording of Jones's summary suggests a verbatim extract from the original.

There is yet another piece of evidence. Commissioner Coke's transcript of Oliver's personal statement in 1784 runs thus:

He says he foresaw the Storm & was sorry that the Situation of the Country made it necessary for him to accept the Appointm[t] tho' he did not hesitate to take it. And he thought he might be of service because he was a popular person with the people. His motives in taking it were to serve Gov[t].[1]

All this carries conviction, not merely as an *ex post facto* account but as a state of mind accurately recollected. Oliver's commission, accordingly, was duly signed on May 28, 1774,[2] and he was sworn in at Salem on August 8. Oaths were at the same time administered by Gage, at Salem, to Oliver and to ten other members of the Mandamus Council, Oliver's name heading the eleven signatures. As Lieutenant Governor he was to receive a salary of £300 a year, and in the absence of the Governor, £750.[3]

The grievance against Oliver was not that he was Lieutenant Governor, but that he was a member, and the President, of the Mandamus Council. In this capacity he received no emolument. It was, of course, the creation of the Council that lighted the heather. The tale is told in all the histories of the Revolution. It had been enacted that the Council should henceforth be appointed by the King instead of elected by the General Court,[4] a modification inevitably regarded by the people as an abrogation of the charter rather than as a "better

[1] Coke, ed. Egerton, p. 227.

[2] A copy of his commission is in the Book of Commissions, Archives Department, State House, Boston. The text is quoted in the Publications of this Society, II. 307–308. The gentlemen "took the oaths necessary to qualify themselves for a seat on the Council, being appointed by a mandamus from His Majesty." I find no evidence for the rumor (quoted by Stark, p. 184, and mentioned in D. N. B.) that Thomas was appointed by the King by mistake ("the King thought he was appointing Peter Oliver, a much more active man in the politics of the time"). Hutchinson's remark, quoted above, at once disproves and explains the "rumor."

[3] Details about pay from Oliver's personal sworn evidence, Coke, ed. Egerton, p. 227.

[4] Text of Massachusetts Government Act in S. E. Morison, Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution, pp. 100–101; and note: "unlike the other Colonies, where the Council or Upper House was appointed by the royal Governor, the Council of Massachusetts-Bay was annually elected by the whole legislature (General Court). Consequently it reflected the opinions of the whig majority."

regulating" of the government. With the dissolution of the General Court in June and the Governor's refusal to meet the newly elected House in October, the Governor and Council had all the legal authority. The eleven Councillors who had taken the oath were already a remnant.[1] Thirty-six had been originally named, but some had refused to be sworn in, and some who did take the oath soon resigned. The crisis for Oliver came on Friday, September 2, 1774; and here may follow, first Oliver's narrative of the affair, and then the whig account of it, to which it is an answer. The day was, we hear from Thomas Newell's Diary, "fair and warm," but "at dark, rain and thundered very hard."

V

The Narrative, with Oliver's preface, appeared on Thursday, September 8, in the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter.[2]

To the Printer of the Massachusetts Gazette.

In the publications of last Monday, the transactions at Cambridge, on Friday the 2d of September, having been so generally related, I am constrained, in support of my Character, to give the Public a more particular Account of those Parts, in which I was so unhappily involved.

Early in the morning of that day, a number of the inhabitants of Charlestown called at my house to acquaint me, that a large body of people from several towns in the county were on their way coming down to Cambridge; that they were affraid some bad consequences might ensue, and beged [*sic*] I would go out to meet them, and endeavor to prevail on them to return. In a very short time, before I could prepare myself to go, they appeared in sight. I went out to them and asked the reasons of their appearance in that manner. They respectfully answered "They came peaceably to enquire into their grievances, not with design to hurt any man." I perceived they were the land-holders of the neighbouring towns, and was thoroughly perswaded they *would* do no harm. I was desired to speak to them; I accordingly did, in such a manner, as I thought best calculated to quiet their minds. They thanked me for my advice, said they were no mob, but sober, orderly people, who would commit no dis-

[1] See, for details, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxviii. 61–62; figures from Boston Gazette of Sept. 12, 1774.

[2] No. 3702, p. 2. The Narrative is quoted by Sabine (ii. 130–133), but with many mistakes, and without the prefatory note; and (apparently from Sabine) both by Stark (pp. 185 ff.) and by V. L. Oliver (ii. 349–350).

orders. And then proceeded on their way. I returned to my house. Soon after they had arrived on the common at Cambridge, a report arose that the troops were on their march from Boston. I was desired to go and interceed with his Excellency [Gage], to prevent their coming. From principles of humanity to the country, from a general love of mankind, and from perswasions that they were this orderly people, I readily undertook it. And, is there a man on earth, who placed in my circumstances, could have refused it? I am imformed [*sic*], I am censured for having advised the General to a measure which may reflect on the troops; as being too inactive upon such a general disturbance. But surely such a reflection on the military, can never arise, but in the minds of such, as are entirely ignorant of these circumstances. Wherever this affair is known, it must also be known, it was at my request, the troops should not be sent. But to return. As I passed the people, I told them of my own accord, I would return and let them know the event, of my application: (Not as was related in the Papers *to confer with them on my own circumstances as President of the Council*). On my return, I went to the Committee, I told them no Troops had been ordered, and from the account I had given his Excellency none would be ordered. I was then thanked for the trouble I had taken in the affair, and was just about to leave them to their own business, when one of the Committee observed, that as I was present, it might be proper to mention a matter they had to propose to me: It was, that although they had a respect for me as Lieut. Governor of the province, they could wish I would resign my seat at the board [i. e. on the Mandamus Council]. I told them, I took it very unkind, that they should mention any thing on that subject: And among other reasons, I urged that, as Lieut. Governor, I stood in a particular relation to the province in general, and therefore, could not hear any thing upon that matter from a particular County. I was then pushed to know, if I would resign, when it appeared to be the sense of the province in general: I answered that when all the other Counsellors had resigned, if it appeared to be the sense of the province, I should resign, I would submit.

They then called for a vote upon the subject, and by a very great majority, voted my reasons satisfactory. I enquired whether they had full power to act for the people, and being answered in the affirmative, I desired they would take care to acquaint them of their votes, that so I should have no further application made me on that head. I was promised by the Chairman, and a general assent, it should be so. This left me entirely clear, and free from any apprehensions, of a further application upon this matter. And perhaps, will account for that confidence, which I had in the people, and for which I may be censured. *Indeed, it is true, the event proves*

I had too much. But reasoning from events yet to come, is a kind of reasoning I have not been used to.

In the afternoon, I observed large companies pouring in from different parts: I then began to apprehend they would become unmanageable; and that it was expedient, to go out of their way. I was just going into my carriage when a great croud advanced; and in a short time, my house was surrounded by three or four thousand people, and one quarter part in arms. I went to the front door, where I was met by five persons, who acquainted me they were a Committee from the people, to demand a resignation of my seat at the board. I was shocked at their ingratitude, and false dealings; and reproached them with it. They excused themselves, by saying, the people were dissatisfied with the vote of the Committee; and insisted on my signing a paper they had prepared for that purpose. I found I had been ensnared, and endeavoured to reason them out of such ungreateful behaviour. They gave such answers, that I found it was in vain to reason longer with them. I told them, my first considerations, were my honor, the next my life; that they might put me to death, or destroy my property; but I would not submit. They began then to reason in their turn, urging the power of the people, and the danger of opposing them. All this occasioned a delay, which enraged part of the multitude, who presing [*sic*] into my back yard, denounced vengance [*sic*] to the foes of their Liberties. They [the Committee] endeavoured to moderate them, and desired them to keep back, for they pressed up to my windows which then were open, I could from thence hear them, at a distance calling out for a determination; and, with their arms in their hands, swearing they would have my blood, if I refused. The Committee appeared to be anxious for me; still I refused to sign, part of the populace growing furious, and the distress of my Family (who heard their threats, and supposed them just about to be executed) called up feelings, which, I could not suppress; and nature ready to find new excuses, suggested a thought of the calamities I should occasion, if I did not comply. I found myself giving way, and began to cast about, to contrive means to come off with honor: I proposed they should call in the people, to take me out by force; but they said the people were enraged, and they could not answer for the consequences; I told them I would take the risk; but they refused to do it: Reduced to this extremity, I cast my eyes over the paper, with a hurry of mind, and conflict of passion, which rendered me unable to remark the contents, and wrote underneath the following words, "My house at Cambridge being surrounded by four thousand people, in compliance with their commands I sign my name, THO'S OLIVER." The five persons took it, carried it to the people and I believe used their endeavours to get it

accepted. I had several messages, that the people would not accept it with those additions. Upon which I walked into the court yard, and declared I would do no more, tho' they should put me to death.

I perceived that those persons, who formed the first body, which came down in the morning, consisting of the land holders of the neighbouring towns, used their utmost endeavours to get the paper received, with my additions. And I must in justice to them, observe, that during the whole of this transaction, they had never invaded my inclosures; but still were not able to protect me, from the insults which I received, from those who were in arms. From this consideration I am induced to quit the County, and seek protection in the town [Boston].

Boston, Sept. 7 THOMAS OLIVER

The original paper, signed by Oliver, with the additional clause just quoted runs:

Cambridge, Sept. 2, 1774.

I Thomas Oliver being appointed by his Majesty to a Seat at the Council Board, upon and in Conformity to the late Act of Parliament, entitled, An Act for the better Regulation of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, which being a manifest Infringement of the Charter Rights and Privileges of this People; I do hereby in conformity to the Commands of the Body of this County convened, now most solemnly renounce and resign my Seat at said unconstitutional Board, and hereby firmly Promise and Engage, as a Man of Honor and a Christian, that I never will hereafter upon any Terms whatsoever accept a Seat at said Board on the present novel and oppressive Plan of Government.

My House at Cambridge being surrounded by about four Thousand People, in Compliance with their Commands I sign my Name

THOMAS OLIVER [1]

VI

The version in the fiercely whig Boston Gazette of September 5, 1774, confirms, as far as it goes, Oliver's account, and does not throw

[1] This paper is given as in the Boston Gazette, Sept. 5, 1774. It is quoted in the Massachusetts Gazette (see last note); by Sabine (pp. 133–134); by Paige (pp. 155–156); and by V. L. Oliver (II. 350). A copy, in an eighteenth-century hand, is in the Treasure Room of the Boston Public Library, and Mrs. E. C. Jeffrey was good enough to put me on the track of it. It is not in Oliver's hand; and, besides, it is in holograph, whereas Oliver signed, with his own addendum, a paper presented to him. (I have found no trace of the original document.) The scene was staged as one of the pageants of Elmwood on June 14, 1930, under the auspices of the Cambridge Y. M. C. A.: and this copy was reproduced in the programme. The Lieut. Governor and "Mistress Oliver" were played by Mr. and Mrs. Truman D. Hayes; there were servants, and a delegation of five patriots.

doubt on his good faith;[1] and it makes clear, as he does not, the two incidents that provoked the "body," namely the affair of the Cambridge guns and the chance passing of Benjamin Hallowell whose service of the Crown as Comptroller of the Port and Commissioner of Customs had made him on more than one occasion an object of popular hatred. But for this last mishap, Oliver's declaration in his speech might still have been considered "satisfactory," at least for the time. As to his conduct: the mob was at the door, and out of hand; the committee could not hold it back, and his family were looking on. The phrase about the "novel and oppressive plan" must have been a bitter pill, if indeed in his "hurry of mind and conflict of passion" Oliver really took it in. The Gazette is naturally silent about his last desperate stand to get his "clause" inserted; it was at this point that he was willing to risk his life. Probably few men, with their women indoors and menaced, would have acted otherwise; although, indeed, an Englishman and a descendant may breathe a fleeting wish that Oliver could have told his persecutors to go to the nether regions. Moreover, the loyalist historians claim — and with much color — that his voluntary mission to General Gage prevented bloodshed — the first bloodshed of the war — in Cambridge.[2] In principle, of course, the Whigs were right; the new "plan" *was* "oppressive"; and its administrators, however innocent, must needs suffer, by methods however brutal and undiscriminating.

The account in the Gazette may be quoted and summarized as follows:

On Wednesday last [Aug. 31], the new Divan [i. e. Council] (consisting of the wretched Fugitives with whom the just Indignation of their re-

[1] Quoted at length by Paige, pp. 151 ff.

[2] Justin Winsor, in Narrative and Critical History of America, VI. 115, states that "Joseph Warren, in Boston, heard of the tumult and hastened to the spot. His influence prevailed, and the sun went down without the shedding of blood." See also R. Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, pp. 352–353, on the "Powder Alarm." The patriot Warren was called to Cambridge to "prevent an immediate outbreak"; he found himself there at 8 A.M. on September 2, "in the midst of the excited multitude"; used "his influence efficiently to prevent a collision with the troops"; watched the "*patience, temperance, and fortitude*" (italics mine) of the "freemen" as they forced "obnoxious officials" to resign; and judged that if the troops *had* come from Boston, "not a man would have returned." The "temperance" displayed against Oliver speaks for itself; there were 4000 against one. Neither Oliver nor the Gazette, however, refers to Warren's presence.

spective Townsmen by a well-deserved Expulsion, have filled this capital) usurped the Seats round the Council Board in Boston. Their Deliberations have not hitherto transpired: And with equal Secrecy, on Thursday morning half after four, about 260 troops embarked on 13 boats at the long-wharff, and proceeded up Mistic river to Temple's farm, where they landed, and went to the powder house on quarry hill in Charleston bounds, whence they have taken 250 half barrels of powder, the whole store there, and carried it to the castle.

Then a detachment of the military goes to Cambridge and takes off two field-pieces — "a scandalous expedition." Some who "were near the Governor" gave out that he had threatened to imprison the Salem committee — and even ship them to England! — if they did not recognize the Council. Salem is warned and replies that it is prepared. The whig paper goes on:

. . . The county of Middlesex took the alarm, and on Thursday evening [Sept. 1] began to collect in large bodies with their arms, provisions and ammunition, determining by some means to give a check to a power which openly threatened their destruction, and in such a clandestine manner robbed them of the means of their defence. And on Friday morning [Sept. 2] some thousands of them had advanced to Cambridge armed only with sticks, as they had left their firearms, &c. at some distance behind them.

The Committees of Boston and Charlestown join that of Cambridge, at Cambridge. Some thousands of people round the steps of the courthouse hear an address from Judge Danforth, who signs a document (not in offensive terms) confirming his resignation of his seat on the Council and undertaking never to resume it. Judge Joseph Lee signs a similar paper. The committee pass one vote saying that they are satisfied, and another against mob violence and destruction of private property; and they accept the plea of the high sheriff that in delivering the powder he had only followed instructions.

About 8 o'clock his honor Lieut. Governor Oliver set off from Cambridge to Boston and informed Governor Gage of the true state of matters, and the business of the people; which, as his honor told the Admiral, were not a mad mob, but the freeholders of the county promising to return in two hours & confer further with them on his own circumstance as president of the council. On mr. Oliver's return he came to the committee and signified what he had delivered to the body in the morning [N.B. the

Gazette had not previously mentioned this, and Oliver denies that any such point was raised "in the morning"], viz., that as the commissions of Lieut. Governor and president of the council, seem'd tack'd together, he should undoubtedly incur his majesty's displeasure if he resign'd the latter, and pretended to hold the former, and [as] nobody appeared to have any objection to his enjoying the place he held constitutionally, he begged he might not be pressed to incur that displeasure at the instance of a single county, while any other councellor held on the new establishment. Assuring them however, that in case the mind of the whole province collected in congress or otherwise appeared for his resignation, he would by no means act in opposition to it. This seemed satisfactory to the committee, and they were preparing to deliver it to the body, when commissioner Hallowell came through the town on his way to Boston. The sight of that obnoxious person so inflamed the people that in a few minutes above 160 horsemen were drawn up and proceeding in pursuit of him on the full gallop. Capt. Gardner of Cambridge first began a parley with one of the foremost, which caused them to halt till he delivered his mind very fully in dissuasion of the pursuit. . . . They generally observed that the object of the body's attention that day seemed to be the resignation of unconstitutional councellors, and that it might introduce confusion into the proceedings of the day if any thing less was brought upon the carpet till that important business was finished; and in a little time the gentlemen dismounted their horses and returned to the body.

Hallowell, however, is pursued by one of the gentlemen; snaps his pistol at him in vain; has to take his own servant's mount; hurries to escape, and gets into Boston

till the horse failing within the gate, he ran on foot to the camp, thro' which he spread consternation, telling them he was pursued by some thousands, who would be in town at his heels and destroy all friends of government before them.

The alarm spreads from Boston to Charlestown and thence to Cambridge; a Dr. Roberts on "a fleet horse" brings it to the Cambridge committee, who are at dinner.

The intelligence was instantly diffused, and the people whose arms were nearest sent persons to bring them, while horsemen were dispatched both ways to gain more certain advice of the true state of the soldiery. A greater fervour and Resolution probably never appeared among any

troops. The dispatches soon returning, and assuring the body that soldiers still remained, and were likely to remain in their camp, they resumed their business with spirit, and resolved to leave no unconstitutional officer within their reach in possession of his place. On this the committee assembled again, and drew up a paper of which the following is a copy, and at the head of the body delivered it to Lieut. Governor Oliver to sign, with which he complied, after obtaining their consent to add the latter clause implying the force by which he was compelled to do it. . . . [Here follows text of document he signed.]

The Gentlemen from Boston, Charlestown and Cambridge having provided some refreshment for their greatly fatigued brethren, they chearfully accepted it, took leave and departed in high good humour and well satisfied.

VII

One point in Oliver's narrative remains obscure. He told the people, he says, "of my own accord, I would return and let them know the event of my application [to Gage]: Not as was related in the papers [Boston Gazette] *to confer with them on my own circumstances as President of the Council*" [italics mine]. He does not expressly say that he told the General that he was returning for this purpose. He did return, and he told the people that no troops had been, or would be, ordered. Now, on December 10, 1774, ex-Governor Hutchinson, then in London, writes in his Diary (I. 320):

> M^r^. Welbore Ellis made me a long visit; and gave me an opportunity of explaining several parts of General Gage's conduct; — for his not *laying the L^t^. Govr. under Arrest* [italics mine], when he came to him from the Mob. I shewed him Judge [Peter] Oliver's letter, which says the General told him the L^t^. Govr. never let him know that they had made him promise to return to them.

Why should Oliver have concealed his promise? And why, if he *had* mentioned it, should Gage have laid him under arrest? There was nothing irregular or disloyal in his making the promise; indeed, his mission would have been futile if he had not returned to satisfy the patriots. We can only suggest that the General might have "arrested" Oliver in order to secure the latter's safety, and that Oliver, foreseeing such a step and feeling it his duty to return, held his tongue about his promise. This of course, is guesswork; but whatever the situation,

he was in evil case. He was, naturally, between two fires. He had signed the humiliating document, and even so he had barely satisfied the patriots. He now had to explain himself to the Crown. Hutchinson, who was his friend, and who, as we have seen, had brought about his appointment, wrote him on November 24:

I should not treat you as a friend if I represented the manner in which people express themselves upon the subject of your resignation, different from the whole truth. In general it is said, a man is excusable who, when he is in the hands of 4000 people, and threatened with death, submits to the terms imposed upon him. Some have got it here, I know not how, that *before you went to ye Governor* [italics mine], more had been said to you by the mob, (for I call them mob, tho' freeholders,) about your resigning, than you communicated, and that if the Governor had known the whole, he would have laid you under Arrest. Others say that unless our mobs differ from those in England, no man is in danger of his life in open day. It is impossible for people here to know all the circumstances of ye case. A succession of other great and important events, some come and others coming, will probably put an end to further speculation, and I fancy the Answer you have already received will be all you will receive. I thought it best to take no notice of your motion for an express order from the King, because, if circumstances so alter as to make it advisable to re-assume your seat, you may do it without such an order, as well as with; and if they should not so alter, it will be best you should not have the order.[1]

Hutchinson writes as though he had not read the Narrative; probably it had not reached England. It would have cleared up some of the doubts to which he refers. Oliver, plainly, never prevaricated; nor had the question of his resigning from the Council come up "before" his visit to Gage. He therefore could not tell Gage about it; there is no sign that he was faced with it until his return to Cambridge on the critical day. He flatly denies, what the Gazette asserts, that the matter had been mentioned *before* his mission; and in no other instance has his word been doubted.

Hutchinson's last sentences are not fully explained, and Oliver's exact position in Boston after leaving Cambridge, and down to 1776, is slightly obscure. He had moved to Boston September 12, 1774.

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[1] Diary, I. 321.

There is, indeed, no doubt that he remained Lieutenant Governor.[1] But to what action by Oliver does Hutchinson refer? It reads as though Oliver had requested the King to "order" him to "re-assume" his seat; and where, we at first ask, could this be, save on the Council? Hutchinson seems to say that Oliver had received an "answer" of a non-committal kind, and that he had advised him to await events; that the doubts raised by the sorry terms of his renunciation would blow over. This puzzle is increased by a document presently to be quoted, in which Oliver is made to say that when he reached Boston he had *re*-assumed his office, and that he remained in the exercise of the office of Lieutenant Governor, etc. On the face of it, the only office he could *re*-assume was his post on the Council. But this surely cannot be supposed. Not only would it have been out of his character to go back on his word; but any such action would have led to a tempest of abuse, not undeservedly, from the patriots; and of this we could not fail to have a record. I suggest that the re-assumption was simply that of his Lieutenant Governorship, which, though technically never abandoned, had been, *de facto*, interrupted by the crisis. In

[1] In some modern works Oliver is described as having remained during this interval (Sept., 1774 to March, 1776), "civil governor" of Massachusetts. Sabine and Stark call him "Governor Oliver." But Mr. Allen French, of Concord, has kindly given me a mass of cumulative evidence which he thinks is conclusive that Oliver remained Lieutenant Governor. This evidence includes, *inter alia*, (1) the description of him as Lieutenant Governor in General Howe's List of Persons leaving Boston with the troops in March, 1776; and also in the List of American Sufferers according to their several Ranks (in the Shelburne Papers now in the W. L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor); (2) the title given to him in the Gay transcripts (see next note); (3) a letter of Lord George Germain to Gage, April 18, 1776, saying that he was superseded by Howe and adding, "It is not his Majesty's intention to make any alteration, for the present, in regard to the Government of the Province of Massachusetts." I may add that Oliver is always called "Lieutenant Governor" by Hutchinson and by the Commissioners of 1783–4.

The error seems to have arisen from an entry in Paige, p. 619 n.: "When Governor Gage returned to England, Pemberton says in his MS. Chronology (in the M. H. S. Library) under date of Oct. 10, 1775, 'Sir William Howe succeeds to the military department, and is now Governor of Boston only'"; the inference being that Oliver was "civil governor." But, as Mr. French points out, Pemberton may only have meant "that on Gage's recall Howe was given command in his absence." It is probable, however, that between Gage's departure on October 10, 1775, and Oliver's on March 17, 1776, the latter was *acting* Governor, although officially entitled "Lieutenant Governor." In his commission there is a provision that if the Governor should die or be absent, Oliver should act in his place with full authority. This, then, he would have exercised for about five months.

Boston, at any rate, he could function. There is a glimpse of him there a month before his departure for England. An official letter of February 24, 1776, contains his authorization to occupy and prepare a house, the "Green Dragon," as a hospital for persons who were distressed by the blockade of the town, especially "the Widow and the Orphan, the Aged and Infirm"; and Oliver contributes £15 for the purpose.[1]

The document above referred to throws some light on the whole story as he recalled it ten years after the event.[2] In 1783–4 a Commission sat in London to consider the "losses and services" of the loyalist *émigrés* and their claims to compensation, and to make recommendations to Parliament. Like the rest, Oliver, as will be explained below, had sent in a memorial; and on October 12, 1784, he appeared in person to give evidence upon oath and to answer questions. We have the careful transcript, in summary, of his depositions. It was made by Commissioner Daniel Parker Coke, M.P., an admirable and liberal-minded lawyer. Nothing is here said about the harsh terms of the renunciation, but it is made plain that Oliver had been officially absolved, at home; for he had "received an approbation of his conduct from Lord Dartmouth." Hutchinson does not mention this satisfactory clearance; but his Diary ends just before his death in 1780; and the "approbation" may have been belated. Much of the sworn evidence repeats what we already know. The following extract explains itself. The nature of the questions from the bench can be gathered from the answers here noted by Coke.

He was first molested in 1774 by a large number of people surrounding his House, & he was in their hands for 5 or 6 Hours, and they threaten'd him with destruction if he did not resign the office of Pres[t] of the Manda-

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[1] Publications of this Society, III. 387. In C. M. Andrews' Guide to Materials for American History in the Public Record Office (I. 128), among the petitions and memorials to the Secretary of State, is an entry: "from Lieut.-Gov. Thomas Oliver and president of council of Massachusetts, regarding sufferings in Boston. July 18, 1776." This was apparently submitted after Oliver reached England.

[2] Coke, ed. Egerton, pp. 227–228. The introduction by the Editor, the late Professor H. E. Egerton, of Oxford, is of absorbing interest. He makes clear the nature of the Commission, their qualifications, their difficulties, and their principles in reporting and recommending. The investigation into "loyalty" was "the cornerstone, the groundwork of the whole" (p. xxx). There is a lifelike account of the characters, ranks, and disasters of the claimants (pp. xlii ff.).

mus Council. This made him more unpopular than the office of Lieu^{t} Govr. He could not hold the office without being President of the Man^{s} Council. He had no Emolument as a Man^{s} Councillor. He maintain'd a determined resistance for sev^{l} Hours, & then he gave up that Situation, & the resignation was convey'd to his Majesty's Ministers & he rec^{d} an Approbation of his Conduct from Lord Dartmouth. As soon as he got into Boston under the protection of the Kings Troops he reassumed his Office. He really thought that his Life was in danger if he had resisted. They never asked him to take an Oath to the Rebel State. He remain'd in the exercise of the Offices of Lieut Govr &c till the Evacuation of Boston & then he went with the Troops to Halifax & from thence to Eng^{d} in about a Month & he has never been in America since he came to Eng^{d} in 1776.

The Salary of £300 a Y^{r} was paid up to Octr 1782 from which time he has rec^{d} an Allowance of £200 a Y^{r}.

Produces no Certificates to Loyalty. During this Rebellion he has held no military Commission and has never borne Arms. He considers his Office as a Civil Employment.

VIII

In March, 1776, when the British evacuated, Thomas Oliver left Boston for Halifax, and in the following month sailed for England with the fleet.[1] The number of his party, including servants, is given as six;[2] and some or all of his women-folk had gone before him. Hutchinson records in his Diary, on February 14: "Letters from Boston by the *Julius Caesar*, a returned store-ship, at Plymouth: came out 19 Jan. Mrs Oliver, the Lt Gov's lady, wth her family, arrived in her. . . ."[3]

On February 28, Hutchinson calls with his daughter on "Mrs.

[1] Mr. French has kindly furnished me with abstracts of two Oliver manuscripts in the Public Record Office pertaining to the events of this period. One (C. O. 5: 769, pp. 297 ff.) is a letter to an unknown recipient under date of March 10, 1776, in which he declares that he is under embarrassment whether to proceed with the army or to embark for England. He has decided, however, that since room on an available ship for England is limited, he will go to Halifax and thence to England. The other (C. O. 5: 769, pp. 302 ff.) is a letter to Lord George Germain, dated at Halifax, April 21, 1776. In it he tells of his difficulties in providing quarters for the refugees. He has received his Lordship's instructions, which he is unable to carry out; and as there is nothing for him to do in Halifax, he is going to England.

[2] 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XVIII. 266.

[3] For the following references by Hutchinson, see Diary II. 17, 21, 61, 66, 67, 83.

Oliver," in Titchfield St., London. On June 7, he notes that the Lieutenant Governor, with Col. Vassall and others, has arrived at Dartmouth; and on June 12, Oliver, with some other *émigrés*, pays him a visit. "All," he remarks, "depend upon Gov^{t} to support them." And on the next day he calls with Oliver on Lord Dartmouth, not finding him in. On July 21, he records:

> Lieutenant Gov. O. called to acquaint me with his intention to apply to Lord North for his salary. It seems, as I had it from Mr Knox, that when Gen. Gage was superceded (*sic*) in the command of the army, he [Gage] was promised, the whole of his salary as Governor should be continued; otherwise I should have thought the Lt Gov. might have stood a chance for half, but now he can have no more than his 300£ as L. G.

This prophecy is not very clear; it will presently appear how Oliver fared in the matter of compensation.

He had, of course, lost everything in Cambridge. His estate there was confiscated. Elmwood "was first converted into a hospital for soldiers — some of the scribbles traced with a bayonet on the woodwork at this period can still be seen."[1] There is an order, July 26, 1775, from Headquarters stating that since "the present hospital is not large enough to contain the sick, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver's house is to be cleared for that purpose, and care to be taken that no injury is done to it."[2]

The later fortunes of Elmwood are well known in Cambridge. After being leased by the Committee of Correspondence, it was sold, with ninety-six acres of land, to Andrew Cabot of Salem, thence passing, successively, to Governor Elbridge Gerry, to the Reverend Charles Lowell, with ten acres; and to his son James Russell Lowell, who in his letters has described its elms, its structure and outlook, and its library: "It was large, as things went here when it was built, and has a certain air of simplicity about it as from some inward sense of dignity." The dignity and simplicity still remain; and Thomas Oliver must have his share of the credit for the charm of Elmwood.

He lived a while in London, doubtless watching for his chances of reparation from the Crown. He is heard of as often "visiting the

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[1] A. Kingsley Porter, Elmwood (privately printed, 1930), pp. 1–2. The author, the present holder, was good enough to permit quotation (hence also the details about the later occupants, and the passage from J. R. Lowell).

[2] 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., xv. 132.

courts" of law. In July, 1776, he writes to David Phips, his fellow-sufferer:

I found Mrs. Oliver well, and settled in a snug little house in Brompton. . . . But I shall continue here no longer than I am able to find an economical retreat. I have not had time to look about me yet; some cheaper part of England must be the object of my inquiry.[1]

Later in the year he had lodgings in Jermyn Street. The news from overseas during the next years could not have been unexpected. The Banishment Act of September, 1778, passed to prevent the return of certain persons who had "joined the enemies" of America, heads its list with the names of Hutchinson, Francis Bernard, and Oliver.[2] They reappear in the Confiscation Act of April, 1779, which states that the culprits have "justly incurred the forfeiture of all their property, rights, and liberties"; and all their goods are to be seized accordingly.

IX

It is not known when Oliver settled in Bristol, or when the first Mrs. Oliver died. But in 1781 he was in Antigua; and the parish register of St. John's records: "1781 June 3. Thomas Oliver to Harriette Freeman. By license from his Honor the President."[3] Harriette, or Harriet, was the only child and heir of the Hon. Byam Freeman, whose family was conspicuous in the island. They were a legal race, and they had retained their ties with England. Freeman had

[1] Sabine, II. 134–135; he does not give, nor do I know, his source. In 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XIX. 216–217, there are allusions, quoted from the Diary of Samuel Quincy, formerly Solicitor-General of the Massachusetts Province, to certain affairs in Ireland. On Dec. 28, "Lieutenant-Governor Oliver called on, and presented me with a commission from the Court of Chancery in Ireland to examine witnesses in his cause with Lucas and others." On Dec. 30, Oliver calls again to tell Quincy "the nature of the evidence." On Jan. 15, 1777, various Commissioners, including Peter Oliver, C. J., go with Quincy to Sir William Pepperell to take the deposition of Isaac Royall; and there is a dinner at T. Oliver's. This business is not further explained, except by a reference in Hutchinson's Diary, (letter from Peter Oliver, Jr., to Elisha Hutchinson, II. 410, July 27, 1784): "Lieu[t] Gov. Oliver and his family are going to live in Ireland. His eldest daughter Mary is to be married ere long." The plan to migrate seems to have gone no further; it does not appear at what date the Olivers settled in Bristol.

[2] Stark, pp. 137, 142.

[3] Entry from V. L. Oliver, I. 260 ff.; and abridged pedigree (many details also given of Freeman wills and estates). *Pedigree on next page.*

matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford; like his father Thomas and his grandfather Arthur, he was a member of one of the Inns of Court. Harriet, in an obituary notice, is described as a "lady of superior understanding, accomplishments and manners"; and we know no more of her, except that she bore Thomas Oliver two daughters. These were Harriet Watkins Oliver (1785–1826), wife of Captain Henry Haynes, R.N., and Emily Freeman Oliver. Emily married James Elton, Recorder of Tiverton, Devon, the paternal grandfather of the present writer; and she died on April 24, 1836. It will be seen from the footnote, which presents Oliver's two families and some of their descendants, that of his eight daughters all but one married, and six left issue. The fifth, Lucy, Mrs. Tobin, survived till 1857, a widow.[1]

Of Oliver's last thirty-three years we have stray glimpses. In February, 1782, he is at Birmingham, and writes cheerfully about a present of snuff:

Arthur Freeman = Dorothy, widow of Geo. Syme, Speaker
(of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Antigua, physician and surgeon; will proved 1738)
Thomas Freeman = Rebecca (died 1750), dau. of Col. William Byam
(of Gray's Inn; will proved 1736)
Byam Freeman = Anne, dau. of Thomas Watkins
(9th and youngest child; born 1731, matriculated Oriel Coll., 1748; of Inner Temple; will proved 1771)
Harriet Freeman = Thomas Oliver, June 3, 1781

[1] Trees abridged from V. L. Oliver.

Thomas Oliver (1734–1815) = (1) (in 1760) Elizabeth Vassall

(1) Ann = John P. Anderdon (b. 1764; m. 19 April, 1785 at Bristol; d. Nov. 8, 1811)
James Hughes
John Lavicourt
(2) Eliza. (b. 1766, living 1812) = Col. Joseph Rogers, J.P.
(3) Penelope (1768–1815) = John Cave

(4) Mary (living 1812) = Charles Anthony Partridge
(5) Lucy (1771–1857) died at Clifton; = Henry Hope Tobin
(6) Frances, spinster, living 1812

I am much obliged to you for your care and trouble for an irritating powder for an American Refugee, and doubt not that it be of a more agreeable nature than the so many irritables we have all turned up our noses at for four or five years past.[1]

One of the "irritables" was undoubtedly the question of compensation for disturbance. In 1783, Oliver submitted a memorial, dated October 2, setting forth his claim and furnishing a schedule of his property.[2] He asked for the curiously precise sum of £5167/17*s*. He received £2320, and also a pension of £200, which was paid until his death. What with these awards, his West India inheritance, and Harriet's contribution, he cannot have been in straits; and his will, presently to be mentioned, shows that he was indeed very comfortable. It is said that he was "noted for his success as a planter"; and one transaction shows that he was also a good man of business, and throws light on his kindliness of character. Mrs. Henry Vassall, born Penelope Royall, was the aunt by marriage of Elizabeth Vassall, Oliver's first wife. She was now, in her later years, living in great penury in Boston. A loyalist, she had seen her Cambridge property seized and her estates in Antigua taken over by creditors. Oliver was her trustee, and by sundry skilful transactions cleared and improved these estates; and we learn that "thanks to the warm-hearted ex-lieutenant-governor, the close of her life was blessed with something resembling

Thomas Oliver = (2) (in 1781) Harriet(te) Freeman (1748–1808)

(7) Harriet Watkins (1785–1826), owner of "Watkins" or "Freeman" in St. John's, Antigua; = Capt. Henry Haynes, R.N., (1776-1838), son of Richard Haynes of Barbados.

(8) Emily Freeman (died April 24, 1836) = James Elton (1791–1863), Recorder of Tiverton, Devon. (For issue see continuation of note).

Henry Freeman Oliver, M.A., (?) Fellow of Caius Coll., Cambridge

Thomasina Oliver (d. 1863) = Sir W. S. Thomas, Bt., of Yapton.

Pedigree continued on page 64.

[1] Sabine, I. 135.

[2] Jones, Loyalists, p. 224 (entries from Audit Office and elsewhere).

Tree furnished by our family genealogist, Mr. Charles J. Elton. For Elton family previously, see the (incomplete) account in Burke's Landed Gentry.

James Elton (1791–1863) = Emily Freeman (d. 24 Apr. 1836).

1) Emily Frances = Alfred Drake, of Barnstaple, o.s.p.

(2) James William b. 1815, o.s.p.

(3) Clara Lucy = Charles White Atkins

1 son & 3 daus. all o.s.p.

(4) Olivia Elizabeth Samuel Blomfield 5th Foot = Lt. Col. Kekewich,

Emily Catherine (1853–1931) = Hon. & Rev. Canon A.F. Northcote, of Monks Eleigh Rectory, Suffolk

Evelyn (dau.) (1893–)

Elfrida Agatha (1854–1929)

(5) Rev. Charles Allen, B.D., Fellow of Sidney Sussex Coll., Cambridge (1820–1887) = Sarah Amelia Ransome, of Holt, Norfolk (1833–1921)

Oliver (1861–), LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A. Emeritus Professor of English Literature, Univ. of Liverpool, Hon. Fellow of Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford, = Letitia Maynard MacColl (1865–), dau. of Rev. Dugald MacColl

(6) John Henry Duntze Carew (d. 1865) = Sophia Caroline Lawson (d. 1921), dau. of Thomas Lawson, formerly of Berwick-on-Tweed

Henry (1856–1919) = Ellen Bayley

Guy (1892–)

Francis Lawson (1858–1880)

Charles John (1859–) = Eveline Grace Pipe Wolferstan (d. 1914) dau. of F. S. Pipe Wolferstan of Statfold, Staffs

Arthur Oliver (1861–)

Emily Sophia (1862–)

Catherine Elizabeth (1863–)

Geoffrey York (1893–1927) B.A., Christ's Coll., Cambridge

Leonard Sidgwick (1894–) St. John's Coll. Oxford; M.C., formerly Capt., 9th King's Liverpool Regt (Territorials)

Charles Sutherland (1900–) M.A., New Coll., Oxford; Dept. of Zoology, Oxford = Rose dau. of C. E. Montague

Horace Carew (1899–) R. H. A.

John Francis (1903–)

Margery Alys Eveline (1907–)

(7) Georgina

(8) Marcella Adelaide = Richard Lloyd, of Adelaide, Australia

Richard Elton (1857–)

Henry Arthur (1858–)

Edward Wharton (1860–)

Charles Ernest (1862–)

Walter Cecil (1864–)

an income, a luxury to which she had been unaccustomed for almost thirty years." [1]

This is the latest personal notice of Thomas Oliver that I have found. His will describes him as of Parkside, St. Augustine's, Bristol. In Bristol he died on November 29, 1815; Harriet had gone seven years before. The inscription on a marble tablet in the west porch of St. Paul's Church in that city runs as follows: [2]

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THOMAS OLIVER ESQ.
THE LAST GOVERNER OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS
NORTH AMERICA
ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF THAT COUNTRY
HE RELINQUISHED CONSIDERABLE ESTATES
FROM ATTACHMENT TO HIS SOVEREIGN
AND DIED IN THIS CITY
THE 29TH OF NOVEMBER 1815
AGED 83 YEARS.
ALSO HARRIET HIS WIFE
WHO DIED THE 16TH OF JULY 1808
AGED 50 YEARS

There is also, "on a slab covering a vault in the churchyard next to Col. Vassall's grave":

MOST TRULY LAMENTED
DIED HARRIETT THE WIFE OF
. . . OLIVER ESQR. ON THE 16TH JULY
1808. AGED 50 YEARS.
THOMAS OLIVER
DIED THE 29TH . . .
AGED 83 YEARS
SINCERELY REGRE . . .
. . . LSO HARR . . . WAT . . .
THEIR DAUGHTER
WIFE OF CAPTN.H.HAY . . .
DIED 8TH DECEMR 1826

The age in the first inscription should be "81 years"; Oliver was born on January 5, 1734. Nor was he ever "Governer." As to Harriet,

[1] This affair is told, in detail, by S. F. Batchelder, Bits of Cambridge History, pp. 197–198.

[2] V. L. Oliver, II. 346ff., gives: the text of the two inscriptions (the first of which was kindly copied for me by my friend, the late Mr. J. H. Fowler, of Clifton, who also verified the coat of arms on the stone); the note from the Gentleman's Magazine; and the text of the will (quoted as "P. C. C. Wynne"), of which a summary is given by Jones, p. 226.

there is a note in the Gentleman's Magazine of July 16, 1808, to the effect that she died "after a few hours severe indisposition, from an apoplectic stroke."

X

Oliver's will, dated September 8, 1812, was proved on January 19, 1816. The estate is handsome, and the bequests seem to be equitable. The two daughters of the second marriage, Harriet Watkins and Emily Freeman, who were still unmarried at the date of the will, receive each £2500; and they share, along with Frances, the spinster, and Lucy Tobin, now a widow, "my dwelling-house in Park St., Bristol, and all my household furniture, plate, linen, china, books, paintings, and wines." Mary Partridge and Frances Oliver each have £2500. There are legacies ranging from £500 to £750 to various grandchildren. The residue goes to Lucy Tobin, and to the three sons-in-law Rogers, Cave, and Partridge, "in trust to sell." These four are the executors. There are other provisions, including sums to certain friends and servants.

The whole record suggests a friendly, likeable, straightforward, and shrewd character. Tradition describes Thomas Oliver as a "little" man, it is not clear why; and epithets like "mild," "obliging," and "retiring," are also heard. He says himself that he had "a general love of mankind." One is glad to have him for an ancestor; if this were China, his memory would receive some honorable ceremony, such as is due to our fathers who begat us. But a paper in a learned journal is the only substitute. I have said what I feel about his public career, and about his behavior at the crisis. For history, he is but one of a thousand straws that were tossed upon a rising torrent.

APRIL MEETING, 1931

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held at the invitation of Mr. James H. Ropes, at 13 Follen Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 23, 1931, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death of William Coolidge Lane, a Resident Member, on March 18, 1931; and of Edward Robinson, a Corresponding Member, on April 18, 1931.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Mr. Leverett Saltonstall and Mr. Edward Allen Whitney, accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. Allyn Bailey Forbes, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. John Pell, of New York, N. Y., a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The President, in anticipation of the Annual Meeting, appointed the following Committees:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. Fred Norris Robinson, John Woodbury, and Charles S. Rackemann.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. Nathaniel Thayer Kidder and Matt Bushnell Jones.

Mr. Arthur H. Buffinton read the following paper:

THE PURITAN VIEW OF WAR

In an age which more and more questions the value of war as a method of settling international differences and which distinguishes

between wars which are lawful and those which are not, it is interesting to inquire what the New England Puritans thought about it. In a speech made in Congress in 1813, Josiah Quincy, Jr., asserted that the people of New England took a moral view of war, that they insisted on applying to political acts, war included, the principles of Christian ethics.

> That wise, moral, reflecting people which constitute the great mass of the population of Massachusetts, indeed of all New England, look for the sources of their political duties nowhere else than in those fountains from which spring their moral duties. According to their estimate of human life and its obligations, both political and moral duties emanate from the nature of things, and from the essential and eternal relations which subsist among them. . . . And, above all, what I know will seem strange to some of those who hear me, they will not forget to apply to a case occurring between nations, as far as is practicable, that heaven-descended rule which the great Author and Founder of their religion has given them for the regulation of their conduct towards each other.[1]

The historian would scarcely consider assertions made in a political harangue, delivered at a time when sectional and party feeling ran high, as unimpeachable evidence. Moreover, New Englanders have certainly not been more backward than other people in claiming for themselves and their forebears a peculiar degree of moral and intellectual excellence. Before accepting Quincy's statement, therefore, it would be well to inquire what evidence, if any, there is to support it, and whether the people of New England did, in fact, hold those views of war and politics which he ascribes to them.

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It was inevitable that the first generation of New England Puritans should bring with them ready-made from the Old World their views on war, as well as on politics and religion. In the ferment of ideas which characterized the period of the Puritan migration to America, war did not wholly escape scrutiny, yet its lawfulness was seldom questioned. It was one of those institutions, like private property and the family, which were so deeply imbedded in the structure of society that they were generally accepted as a matter of course. That English Puritans of the period had no conscientious scruples

[1] Speeches of Josiah Quincy, pp. 367–368.

on the subject of war is obvious from their conduct, for it was by force of arms that they undertook to establish those principles of government and religion for which they stood. It was only radical sects like the Anabaptists and the Quakers, which arose during and after the Civil War, which condemned war, and they were by no means typical of contemporary opinion.[1]

Practice, however, is often something different from theory; hence it is useful to inquire what the men of that time did think about the institution of war. Concerning this there can be no doubt. It was in 1625, on the eve of the Puritan migration to New England, that Hugo Grotius published his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. In this great treatise Grotius was not theorizing; he was merely attempting to set forth in systematic form what preceding ages and the best informed opinion of his own time thought about peace and war. His fundamental proposition is that some wars are just, and others unjust, and for this principle he found authority in the writers of classical antiquity, in the Scriptures, in the writings of mediæval canonists and scholastics, and in that natural law which was held to embody the enlightened conscience of mankind. To Grotius and his contemporaries this distinction between just and unjust wars was axiomatic; it was hardly an arguable proposition.[2]

Of some of the authorities cited by Grotius the average Puritan knew little or nothing, but about one he was fully informed, and that was the Scriptures. When he read in the Old Testament about the wars of Israel, the Puritan could hardly doubt that God not only sanctioned war, but that He had on occasion used it to accomplish His peculiar ends. How then, he argued, could anyone affirm that all war was unlawful?

The circumstances of the Puritan migration to America tended to strengthen this opinion in those who emigrated. New England Puritans of the first and second generations regarded themselves as another chosen people, transported by the guiding hand of Divine

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[1] Gooch and Laski, English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century, p. 227.

[2] See Heinrich Lammasch in the American Journal of International Law, x. 689 ff., and Quincy Wright in id., xviii. 764 and note 46; also A. Vanderpol, La Doctrine Scolastique du Droit de Guerre. For reference to this last work I am indebted to Professor J. S. Reeves of the University of Michigan.

Providence to their New England Canaan, which had been miraculously reserved for their habitation, and equally miraculously cleared for them of the bulk of its native inhabitants. Pursuing the parallel, they felt themselves divinely commissioned to defend their heritage against foes without and within, against the heathen, against papists and prelatists, against sectaries and Antinomians, against all the troublers of the Israel of God.

Nowhere can better illustration of this viewpoint be found than in Captain Edward Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England.

> These souldiers of Christ Jesus [he writes (ed. 1910, p. 227)] having made a fair retreat from their Native country hither, and now being come to a convenient station, resolved to stand it out (the Lord assisting) against all such as should come to rob them of their priviledges . . . although the chiefest work of these select bands of Christ, was to mind their spiritual warfare, yet they knew right well the Temple was surrounded with walls and bulworks, and the people of God in re-edifying the same, did prepare to resist their enemies with weapons of war, even while they continued building.

And elsewhere he writes (p. 33):

> You shall with all diligence provide against the Malignant adversaries of the truth, for assure your selves the time is at hand wherein Antichrist will muster up all his Forces, and make war with the People of God . . . and see that with all dilligence you incourage every Souldier-like Spirit among you, for the Lord Christ intends to atchieve greater matters by this little handfull then the World is aware of.

It is altogether likely that this warlike temper was more characteristic of the leaders than of the rank and file. In seventeenth-century Europe, war was still the sport of kings, the special prerogative of aristocracies which regarded it as the most honorable of occupations, the chief means of distinction and social advancement. But the settlers of New England were drawn from the middle and lower classes of society, and it may be doubted whether the common people of any civilized country have ever loved war for its own sake. Popular opinion has ever classed it with famine and pestilence as one of the great scourges of humanity. It was not long before the Massachusetts clergy and those charged with the defence of the colony

were bewailing the lack of martial zeal among the people, their impatience of military discipline, and the indifferent manner in which they performed their military obligations. Probably the average settler found the wilderness a sufficient training school for the virtues of courage and endurance, and regarded war with human foes as an unwelcome interruption of the more serious business of making a living.

What the average settler thought about war, we can only infer from his conduct. The Puritan leaders, however, had definite views on the subject, of which they have left sufficient record. They were the ones who were bent upon assuring the success of their commonwealth by force of arms, if necessary. They were the ones whose zeal for their holy experiment animated them to beat down all opposition.

It so happened also that among the enemies of the Puritan Commonwealth were groups of sectaries, Anabaptists and, later, Quakers, who denied the lawfulness of war. That these religious radicals condemned war was in itself sufficient reason why the majority of Puritans had no use for such views. Denial of the lawfulness of war was regarded as a dangerous heresy, a sure sign of perverted opinions. Thus Winthrop notes among the new heresies "broached" by Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, Anabaptism and the refusal to bear arms, and among the dangerous opinions attributed to the Anabaptists, in the order of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay banishing members of that sect from the colony, is denial of the lawfulness of making war.[1]

This connection between radical religious opinions and opposition to war is well illustrated in the case of the one eminent settler of New England who was most of a pacifist, Roger Williams. Those who have made a thorough study of his ideas are agreed that he was opposed to war of any kind.[2] Wars he held to be generally "for greater dishes and bowls of porridge"; they were one of God's three "most dreadfull earthly & temporall judgments vpon the children of

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[1] Winthrop's Journal (Hosmer ed.) II. 39; Massachusetts Colony Records, II. 85.

[2] For a more exhaustive examination of Williams' views on war, see James E. Ernst, The Political Thought of Roger Williams, pp. 100 ff.; H. L. Osgood in Political Science Quarterly, VI. 211.

men." And yet even Williams refused to condemn all wars. "I yet doubt," he wrote to John Winthrop, ". . . whether any other vse of warr & arms be lawfull to the professours of the Lord Jesus, but in execution of justice vpon malefactors at home; or preseruing of life & liues in defenciue warr as was vpon the Pequts &c." [1]

The chief difference between Williams and Puritans of a more militant sort was one of temper. All accepted the general principle that some wars are just, but while Williams believed in using every effort to preserve peace, others required little persuasion to resort to force. The practical difficulty of the theory of a just war was never better stated than by Williams when he wrote that ". . . all men of Conscience or Prudence, ply to Windward & wisely labour to mainteine their Wars to be defensiue. . . ." [2] In holding that all but strictly defensive wars are unjustifiable, Williams went farther than most of his contemporaries.

What the contemporaries of Williams thought about war may best be discovered by reading Puritan sermons. The importance of the clergy as purveyors of ideas has long been recognized, and studies of their sermons have been made to discover what they thought on all kinds of subjects. It does not appear, however, that any systematic attempt has been made to discover from that source what they thought on the subject of war.

One group of sermons is particularly useful for such a study — those preached at the annual election of the officers of what came to be known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. This was the only military organization in the colony that might be called professional, and its members were presumed to have a special interest in the art of war. The preacher of the annual sermon, therefore, not infrequently took it upon himself to consider the place of war and of the military profession in a Christian state. A large number of these sermons have been preserved, and from them one may reconstruct the whole Puritan philosophy of war.

It is not necessary to examine in detail the views of individual ministers, for the reason that the Puritan view of war became stereotyped, nor were there substantial changes over the period of a century

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[1] Ernst, p. 100; 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VI. 264, 284.

[2] Plymouth Colony Records, X. 439.

from King Philip's War to the beginning of the American Revolution.[1] Yet in their general attitude toward war one may, indeed, discover individual differences. Some preachers were of the belligerent type, and with great fervor preached the value and necessity of preparedness; others deplored war and emphasized its evils. Cotton Mather, for instance, in the preface to his Artillery Election Sermon for 1686, speaks of his bookish habits and his longing for the coming of the golden age of peace.[2] His son, Samuel Mather, in his 1739 sermon, made an extended analysis of the evils of war, noting the interruption of lawful business, the corruption of manners and morals both during and after war, the loss of many valiant and useful men, and the financial cost. As regards this last, he anticipates the argument of Bloch and Norman Angell that even a successful war is seldom worth the cost. Mather argues also that the character of the typical soldier — he evidently has in mind the professional soldier of Europe, and not the citizen soldier of Massachusetts — is a reflection upon the institution of war, a faithless, profane, impious wretch who must be kept in awe when he is not employed in fighting.[3]

But war, however deplorable, is a part of the scheme of things, and as such requires to be explained and justified. The Puritan firmly believed, not that whatever is, is right, but that whatever is, is so by the permission or ordinance of an omnipotent God. So with war. War is the natural consequence of sin; like all other human ills it is a result of the fall of man.

. . . Wars and Fightings [said Amos Adams] come from the Lusts of Men; they have their Origin in that Lust of Riches and Dominion so

[1] I have examined over thirty Puritan sermons, for the most part Artillery Election sermons, in the John Carter Brown Library, the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the library of Harvard College. Thanks are due to those in charge of these collections for permission to use these rare and valuable works. Special mention should be made of a single volume at the Massachusetts Historical Society which contains the Artillery Election sermons for 1728, and 1732 to 1740 inclusive. In citing individual sermons, I have indicated the library where they are to be found, JCB standing for John Carter Brown Library, MHS for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and HCL for the library of Harvard College.

[2] Military Duties, Recommended to an Artillery Company (JCB).

[3] War is Lawful, pp. 8–9 (MHS). There is an interesting account of Samuel Mather and his writings by Albert Matthews in our Publications, XVIII. 206–229.

common to a degenerate World. It is Ambition and Coveteousness that have, thro' all Ages, depopulated Kingdoms, subverted Empires, and delug'd this World in Blood and Ruin. Wars are visible sad Instances, awakening dreadful Demonstrations, of the deep Corruption of human Nature.[1]

Moreover, God sometimes permits or ordains war to accomplish his purposes in the world. "War," wrote John Richardson, "is an Ordinance appoynted by God for subduing and destroying the Churches Enemies upon Earth."[2] According to Cotton Mather, God permits war to refine and purify His Church, and to punish wickedness. He may even inspire His people to defend their liberty and their religion, and may raise up deliverers as He did of old. So long as sin and evil remain, will there be wars; only with the coming of the Kingdom of God will the reign of eternal peace be ushered in.[3]

While war may thus be considered as part of the divinely appointed scheme of things, some proximate cause and some human agency may usually be fixed upon as responsible, for, as Cotton Mather explained,

> There is no War, for the most part, which has not some Injustice on one side giving Rise unto it. . . . A great part of the War in the World is but for the Persecution of them that own the Truths and Wayes of the Lord Jesus Christ.[4]

Among these New England clergymen an interesting tendency is to be observed to lay the blame of war upon kings and princes. "Who are they that breake the Peace of the World," exclaimed Cotton Mather in this same sermon, "more than the Bad Rulers of it? They are the Jeroboams of the world, that corrupt and poison their Subjects with such evill manners, as bring the Vengeance of War upon them."[5] Somewhat similar was the opinion of Henry Gibbs: "The Wars of Sovereign Princes and of free States, what are they for

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[1] The Expediency and Utility of War . . . considered (1759), p. 15 (MHS).

[2] The Necessity of a Well Experienced Souldiery (preached 1675), p. 8. The reference is to an 1839 reprint in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] Expectanda (1691), pp. 12 ff. (JCB).

[4] Id. pp. 19–20.

[5] Ib., p. 22.

the most part better than a more plausible and powerful Sort of Piracies." [1]

Such utterances were usually made with the King of France in mind, the king whom Cotton Mather called "that French Firebrand that has of late years kept almost all Europe in a flame of War," [2] and Thomas Bridge, "the Blasphemous, Proud, and Haughty Monarch of France." [3] Samuel Phillips, however, chose a most inopportune moment to remark that "it cannot be reasonably suppos'd that a Protestant Prince will have Recourse to the Sword until all other Remedies fail"; [4] for his sermon was preached only a few months after he whom Englishmen later called the Protestant Hero wantonly attacked a neighbor and despoiled her of the rich province of Silesia. It does not appear that Frederick the Great was conscious that a Protestant king should be more reluctant to appeal to the sword than his Catholic fellow-monarchs.

Under certain circumstances, however, according to Puritan theory, war is justified. This general proposition was supported by appeals both to Scripture and to the Law of Nature. The latter, as a recent writer has remarked, was considered by the New England clergy to be part of God's law, and "as sacredly and legally binding as any other part of the divine law." [5] In one of the very earliest of the Artillery Election sermons which has been preserved, John Richardson, of Newbury, remarked that the Law of Nature, which is God's law, binds us to prevent evil unjustly offered.[6] Moreover, the right of self-preservation is part of the Law of Nature. According to Cotton Mather, "Men have their Lives, Liberties, Properties, which the very Light of Nature teaches them to maintain by stronger Arms against all Forreign Injuries. Christianity never instructed men to lay down that Natural Principle of Self-Preservation." [7]

For the most part, however, war was justified on Scriptural grounds. The changes were rung upon Abraham, David, Joshua, and other

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[1] The Right Method of Safety (1704), p. 10 (HCL).

[2] Expectanda, p. 16.

[3] The Knowledge of God Securing from Flattery (1705), p. 39 (HCL).

[4] Soldiers Counselled and Encouraged (1741), p. 17 (MHS).

[5] Alice M. Baldwin, The New England Clergy and the American Revolution, p. 15.

[6] The Necessity of a Well Experienced Souldiery, p. 8.

[7] Expectanda, p. 75.

warlike worthies of the Old Testament. As regards the New Testament, it was asserted that John the Baptist had, by implication at least, sanctioned war when in his advice to the soldiers he did not order them to give up their occupation, and similarly Christ when he showed favor to the Roman centurion. The dealings of Peter with the centurion of Cæsarea were also cited as evidence that the military profession was not condemned by the early Church.[1] Those passages of Scripture which were cited by opponents of war to justify their position, such as the sixth commandment and Christ's command to turn the other cheek, were waved aside as merely forbidding private revenge and not the use of the sword by public authority.

In all the sermons examined only one reference has been found to the Law of Nations. In his 1740 Artillery Election sermon the well-known Mather Byles asserted that

> the Law of Nations in general gives to every People Authority to protect themselves, and to punish those who injure them as far as they are able, as their own Executors. So that Fighting may be as necessary as Laws themselves; for what signify Laws without Sanctions.[2]

This reference to the need of sanctions has a decidedly modern sound, and suggests that Mather Byles fully deserves his reputation as one of the most eminent, as well as the wittiest, of the clergy of his day.

Having established the lawfulness of war as a general proposition, the Puritan clergyman had then to consider the question when and under what circumstances resort to the sword is justified. In his 1678 Artillery Election sermon Samuel Nowell gives the same list of justifiable causes of war as does Grotius: self-defence, recovery of what has been taken away, and punishment for injuries suffered. Nowell also, having the late Indian war in mind, concludes that "to take up arms for the defence of friends and allies is lawfull."[3]

Coming to a later generation, we find Hull Abbot writing in 1735

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[1] The Scriptural passages, respectively, are: Luke 3:14; 7: 1–10; Acts 10.

[2] The Glories of the Lord of Hosts, and the Fortitude of the Religious Hero (1740), p. 28 (MHS). In a note on pp. 6–7 of this sermon there is a useful list of previous Artillery Election sermons.

[3] Abraham in Arms; or the first Religious General with his Army engaging in a War (1678), pp. 3–4 (JCB). For the sources of Grotius, see Lammasch in the American Journal of International Law, x. 692 and Vanderpol, as above, pp. 51, 297.

that "it is Lawful to take up Arms in the Defense of our Lives and Estates, to guard our Religious and Civil Liberties, and to take just Revenges on those that have cruelly Slain our Neighbours and carried into Captivity our Friends." [1] William Williams was of the opinion that men should engage in war only "for the vindication of [their] own just Rights and Properties, when incroach'd upon and invaded or threatned by the unreasonable and injurious, and this after Terms of Peace and Accomodation are rejected by them." [2] In thus suggesting that a peaceful solution must first be attempted, Williams was in advance of most of his contemporaries, if their silence on this point may be considered sufficient evidence of their position.

Such opinions are fairly typical. Under certain circumstances war is lawful, those circumstances being such as the Christian Church through the ages has accepted as justifying war. One minister, however, Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge, was ready to take a more practical view, and to justify wars to maintain the balance of power.

> And I don't see [he wrote] why a War may not be lawful, for the opposing and suppressing the growing Power and Tyranny of any Nation, whom we behold advancing themselves, by violent and unjust Encroachments upon their Neighbours, to such a degree of Power, as would overballance all the Force that we could make against them.[3]

And the same writer concluded that in a just war undertaken to avenge injuries, it is lawful to prosecute it not only until satisfaction has been received for the injuries sustained, but also until the power of the aggressor is so weakened that he is discouraged from committing further acts of aggression.[4] Whatever may be thought of the practical wisdom of such suggestions, it will probably be admitted that it would be difficult to find Scriptural warrant for such a view.

Appleton's suggestion that wars to preserve the balance of power are justifiable was made with France in mind. A generation later, as the American Revolution approached, other justifiable causes of war were suggested. Thus Elisha Fish, in a sermon preached in 1773 to a

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[1] The Lord a Man of War (1735), p. 24 (MHS).
[2] Martial Wisdom Recommended (1737), p. 16 (MHS).
[3] The Origin of War examin'd and applied (1733), p. 21 (MHS).
[4] Id., p. 15.

military company at Upton, argued that the use of arms is lawful for the defence of human rights, such as life, liberty, and property, and also as a check upon designing and ambitious rulers. Thus were the New England clergy led by circumstances to add resistance to unjust and tyrannical rulers to the list of justifiable causes of war.[1]

This adaptation of opinion to circumstance well illustrates the practical difficulty of formulating a generally acceptable definition of a just war. What, it may be asked, about offensive wars? Is it lawful to attack an enemy when just provocation has been given, or must one wait to be attacked? Puritan opinion on this point was, with few exceptions, clear and united — under certain circumstances an offensive war is justifiable. In the use of words, however, the Puritan writers were not always so clear as might be desired, for occasionally one finds the word "defensive" used as synonymous with "lawful." The Articles of the New England Confederation, however, clearly distinguish between offensive and defensive wars, and imply that both are lawful.[2]

In admitting the justice of offensive wars Puritan writers were but accepting the traditional view. Their lawfulness, under certain conditions, had been taught by the Church Fathers and by the great mediæval scholastics. It had again been affirmed by Grotius, who gave three justifiable causes of war: defence, recovery of property, and punishment for wrongs suffered. It is obvious that the second and third of these causes would justify a technically offensive war.[3]

One more question connected with war received some attention at the hands of the Puritan clergy. War is an act of the State, of public authority, but what of the individual who is opposed to war? What of the conscientious objector? This problem was an acute one in colonies such as Pennsylvania and New Jersey where the Quakers formed an important part of the population. It was not

[1] The Art of War Lawful and Necessary for a Christian People, pp. 6 ff. (JCB). I have examined only a few of the sermons of this period. Doubtless many such passages could be found. For the importance of the clergy in the revolutionary movement, see Alice M. Baldwin, New England Clergy.

[2] Plymouth Colony Records IX. 3 ff.

[3] A. Vanderpol, pp. 51 ff.; Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (Classics of International Law), II. 171 ff., and Introduction, xxxvi.

particularly pressing in Massachusetts, yet Puritan writers did not wholly ignore it. Here again they were dealing with a question which had been discussed at least ever since the foundation of the Christian Church, and again the position which they took was the traditional Christian one.[1]

Those who considered the question at all were pretty generally agreed that the individual is bound by the decision of the civil magistrate. According to Nathaniel Appleton, it was not the business of the soldier

> to enquire into the Merits of the Cause, and judge whether the War be lawful or unlawful; for that is an Affair intrusted with the Prince and Councils of a Nation; and the Soldier is to presume that the Government have good Reasons to justify their proclaiming and engaging in a War.[2]

For this position Scriptural warrant was usually found in Christ's command to render unto Cæsar his due, and in other New Testament passages where obedience to constituted authority is enjoined.

In general, so long as the affairs of the colony were conducted by those who were in sympathy with Puritan principles, the clergy tended to exalt the power of the government and to restrict the right of private judgment. The only dissenting note is that of Cotton Mather, who in one of his sermons argued that if the injustice of a war was "notoriously Evident and Apparent," the private soldier ought to suffer sooner than engage in it; otherwise he was to "use an Implicit Reliance on the Command of the Supream Power." [3]

Puritan sermons also contain interesting evidence upon the contemporary practice of the art of war, although only a word can be given to this subject here. It was early recognized that the kind of training received by the European soldier was of little value in that Indian warfare which was the only kind of fighting the average colonial was likely to see. It might seem that an artillery company in particular would be of little use in such fighting. There is a note of doubtless justifiable sarcasm in the words addressed by Urian Oakes,

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[1] Vanderpol, pp. 130 ff.

[2] The Origin of War examin'd and applied, p. 22.

[3] Souldiers Counselled and Comforted (1689), p. 29 (JCB). This is not an Artillery Election sermon.

President of Harvard College, to the Artillery Company in 1677, as New England's greatest Indian war was drawing to a close: "I hope the Gentlemen-Souldiers present will not blame any of us, if we cannot look upon their Trainings, and Artillery Exercises with such an Eye as formerly before the Warre." [1]

But the chief difficulty mentioned is the abuses which grew up in connection with the days set apart for military training. Again and again complaint is made that such days are regarded as times of recreation and diversion, and that they are spent in carousing and drunkenness instead of in the performance of military exercises. According to one preacher, such neglect was common both to officers and private soldiers, with the inevitable result that the latter ceased to respect their officers and were ready to mock and deride them.[2] The officer who spent the day treating and being treated could hardly complain if his soldiers spent it in the nearest tavern.

Moreover, according to another preacher of about the same period, there was already visible a tendency for those of a little above the ordinary rank to regard the performance of military exercises as unfashionable, and to leave it to the commoner sort and to those who had a special interest in military affairs.[3] Thus it appears that those evils of our military system to which advocates of preparedness have ever been fond of pointing appeared at an early date in the history of this country, even in New England, which had the reputation in the colonial period of being more martial than other parts of British America.

The views of war held by the Puritan clergy of New England were not peculiar to that region. Probably the most important debate on the question of the lawfulness of war held anywhere in the colonies was that which took place in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in the closing months of the third French war. Moved by the defenceless state of the colony and by the unwillingness of the Quaker Assembly to provide for a militia, numbers of the leading men of Philadelphia and vicinity, under the leadership of Benjamin Franklin,

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[1] The Soveraign Efficacy of Divine Providence (printed for Samuel Sewall, 1682), p. 27 (JCB).

[2] Oliver Peabody, An Essay to revive and encourage Military Exercises (1732), p. 25 (MHS).

[3] William Williams, Martial Wisdom Recommended (1737), p. 27 (MHS).

formed an Association for Defence.[1] There resulted an interesting controversy between the Quakers and their opponents concerning the lawfulness of war, the most notable contribution to which was a sermon by the celebrated Gilbert Tennent, entitled, The late Association for Defence encourag'd, or The lawfulness of a Defensive War. Tennent's sermon contains as thoroughgoing a statement of the reasons why defensive war is justified as one could desire. In support of his position he cites the Scriptures, the Roman law, and Grotius, and in keeping with the thought of his time he places special emphasis upon the Law of Nature. Every passage of Scripture cited by opponents of war in justification of their position is examined at length and is interpreted in a different sense. To the arguments commonly used to support the lawfulness of war Tennent adds others of a more practical character.

> Is it always practicable [he inquires] to get reparation for national Injuries by Treaties? No, by no Means! Do not the strongest generally keep the Advantages they have got, as long as they can, and use the most labour'd Subterfuges, and crafty Artifices to elude Application for Redress, and colour their Fraud and Oppression? . . . Is there any common Magistrate that presides over contending Kingdoms? or any Law common to both by which they will abide?

Thus Tennent, in 1748, uses the same argument to justify war which has been so often used since 1918 in support of the League of Nations.[2]

Such then was the Puritan, one may fairly say, the accepted Christian, view of war. In Europe, however, practice steadily diverged from theory, so that the eighteenth-century successors of Grotius were forced to abandon the distinction between just and unjust wars. In practice, the principles of Machiavelli were followed, not those of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. It is interesting to note, however, that in seventeenth-century New England the distinction between just and unjust wars was not merely an academic

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[1] For references to this controversy, see Charles P. Keith, Chronicles of Pennsylvania, II. 897 ff.; The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (Smyth ed.), I. 361 ff., and II. 336 ff.; Pennsylvania Colonial Records, v. 158 ff.

[2] Tennent, The late Association, pp. 17–18. I have used a copy printed at Philadelphia in 1748 by William Bradford, and now in the John Carter Brown library. In the same collection is a treatise by William Currie entitled, A Treatise on the Lawfulness of Defensive War. It is a reply to a Quaker answer to Tennent.

one. Something more than mere lip service was offered to the idea that a Christian state must not engage in an unjust war.

Thus the Articles of the New England Confederation carefully provided that except in case of actual invasion none of the members should engage in a war until its justice had been determined by vote of the Commissioners. If a colony could not convince its confederates of the justice of a proposed war, it would be forced to carry it on, if at all, without their military and financial support.[1]

Ten years after the formation of the New England Confederation there arose among the members a dispute on this very question of the justice of a proposed war which nearly disrupted the organization. At that time the Connecticut colonies alleged that the Dutch of Manhattan had plotted with the Indians to destroy the English, and sought to persuade Massachusetts and Plymouth to join them in undertaking what they regarded as a justifiable war of defence. The proceedings were long and complicated, and need not be followed in detail here. The discussion turned largely upon the justice of the proposed war, and upon the power of the Commissioners, under the Articles of Confederation, to commit a colony to war if it was unconvinced of the justice of the cause. In the end, Massachusetts stood out, and the war could not be undertaken, but in the course of the discussion we get some significant statements concerning war and the conditions under which it is justified.

One of the most significant of these is the brief record of a meeting held by the Massachusetts Council and certain of the elders to discuss this question. All present accepted the view that there must be sufficient proof of the justice of their cause before war could be undertaken, one speaker remarking that respect for the religion they professed dictated that they should be clear on this point. The conclusion of the gathering was that it is both inexpedient and unsafe "to erre either in point of lawfullnes or expediency or both in a matter of this nature." [2]

On a later occasion certain of the elders gave the Massachusetts General Court the following opinion:

Wee humble conceiue itt to bee most agreeable to the Gosspell of peace which wee professe and safest for these collonies to forbeare the vse of

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, IX. 3 ff.

[2] Id., X. 26, 428.

the sword, till the Lord by his prouidence and by the wisedome of his seruants sett over vs shall further cleare of his mind either for our settled peace or most manifest grounds of warr that wee may not proceed doubtfully and soe vnsafely in soe waighty a case. . . .[1]

As regards the binding force of the vote of the United Commissioners, a committee of the Massachusetts General Court reported that it was "A Scandall in Religion that a generall court of Christians should bee oblidged to acte and engage vpon the faith of six Delligates against theire Consience," thus clearly indicating their opinion of the necessity of obtaining sufficient proof of the justice of war to satisfy the Christian conscience.[2]

Confronted with this opinion, the New Haven General Court set forth its views. Their statement of the grounds of a just war is very clear:

> It may be considered when a just warr in ordinary cases may be called offensive or vindictive . . . ordinarily and in refferrence to men, lawfull warrs are to defend, recover, secure or get satisfaction, in case of just possessions or rights injuriously invaded, seized or indangered by others, wth respect to persons, estates or hono^rs^, when other meanes will not serve. . . .[3]

Nevertheless Massachusetts stood stiffly to its position that in the case of an offensive war each confederate has the right to act according to his own light and conscience, and that it is bound by the determinations of the Commissioners only in so far as they are "just and according to God." "Otherwise," said the General Court, "wee Judge wee are not bound neither before God nor men."[4]

This whole episode is important not only for the light it sheds upon the working of the first attempt at confederation on American soil, but also because it shows clearly that the distinction between just and unjust wars was one maintained in practice as well as in theory. It may freely be acknowledged that the position taken by the Massachusetts Bay colony was dictated largely by its interests, but the same is true also of the Connecticut colonies. The significant thing, however, from the point of view of our inquiry, is that both

[1] Id., p. 56.
[2] Id., p. 76.
[3] New Haven Colonial Records, 1653–1665, p. 8.
[4] Plymouth Colony Records, x. 79, 88.

parties to the controversy accepted without question the principle that only just wars are lawful.

One other episode in the early history of New England is recorded when the question of the justice of a warlike act was raised. In the year 1643, Governor Winthrop permitted the Frenchman La Tour to hire men in Boston to aid him against his adversary, D'Aulnay. Certain of the leading men of the northern part of the colony, including Richard Saltonstall and Simon Bradstreet, seriously questioned both the wisdom and the justice of this action and sent Winthrop a strongly worded letter of protest.[1] War, they asserted, is an extreme remedy, not to be undertaken in a dubious cause and except to avenge some great wrong. "The grounds of warre," they declared, "ought to be just and necessary."

In his reply to their protest Winthrop avoided the direct issue by arguing that permission to La Tour to hire volunteers did not constitute an act of war, and that he was merely aiding a neighbor in distress. In defence of his action he cited examples drawn from the Scriptures and from the practice of European nations. Winthrop did not, however, challenge the fundamental proposition of his critics that wars are not to be undertaken save for just cause, and there is no reason to suppose that on this point he differed from them.[2]

Thus, both in theory and in practice, the Puritans of New England held to the distinction between just and unjust wars. Critical, even defiant, of authority in matters political, the spiritual descendants of Calvin were conservative in their approach to questions of social ethics. In the Christian centuries from Augustine to Aquinas few such problems had escaped scrutiny. Tennent and Cotton Mather had but to draw upon the reservoir of knowledge which had been stored up through the centuries. Familiar with tradition, such men were conscious of its weight, and could not ignore it as did those radical sects which trusted some inner illumination, some divine intimation to the individual soul. It was no accident that colonies where the clergy had most influence were the most conservative, for it was the clergy preëminently who were under the spell of tradition.

So it was in the case of war. While liberal Puritans like Roger

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[1] Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), I. 129 ff.

[2] Id., pp. 136 ff.

Williams sought to restrict the use of the sword, and radical sects like the Quakers rejected it altogether, conservative Puritans were content to admit the lawfulness of certain wars because that was the Christian tradition. From this inflexibility of opinion flowed results both good and evil. So long as men believed that certain kinds of war are lawful they would be pretty sure to find plausible reasons for fighting whenever passion or interest suggested the advisability of so doing. Moreover, tradition too often barred the way to a fresh approach to such problems as war.

On the other hand, the very fact that it was the accepted view that the justice of war must be proved exerted a restraining influence. The Puritan's philosophy of war gave him a bent toward peace, for it put the burden of proof upon the advocates of war. This bent to peace was strongly reinforced by the fortunate situation of the settlers of America. They were not without enemies, and more than once they had to fight, but as compared to most European peoples their lot was a peaceful one. Moreover, the decision whether or not they should fight lay in their own hands. England and France might be officially at war, but no English government could compel an American colony to fight if it was not disposed to do so. Europeans who admit that Americans have been, on the whole, a peaceful people, find the cause in the fortunate environment of Americans, the lack of powerful and ambitious neighbors, the possession of a virgin continent to develop. When one considers, however, how large a proportion of the people of America were taught either that all wars are unchristian, or that only certain wars are just, it is certainly pertinent to inquire whether there is not something after all in Quincy's theory that the Christian training of the people of New England, one may say, indeed, of all America, was a factor in their attitude towards war. The influence of ideas passed on from generation to generation is an intangible factor, but it is one that cannot, and should not, be wholly ignored.

It is interesting to reflect that the wheel has swung full circle, and that once again practical statesmen are attempting to establish in the code of international relations the distinction between just and unjust wars. It may even be said that they have established it, that today under the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris, certain kinds of war are recognized as lawful and certain

other kinds as unlawful. That view of war to which the New England Puritans clung long after most of the world had abandoned it is now regarded as the necessary basis of the new international order. The experience of our generation has done much to vindicate the Puritan position that no political system can function successfully over any long period of time which is not based upon a recognition of the existence of a moral order.

Mr. MORISON presented the following paper, written by Miss Isabel Calder:

JOHN COTTON'S "MOSES HIS JUDICIALS"

In October, 1636, John Cotton presented to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay "a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method."[1] This was a code of laws which Cotton had drafted in answer to a demand for a body of written legislation for the colony. The code had an interesting history until 1641, when it was rejected in favor of the Body of Liberties. Published in London in that year and in 1655, it was then lost sight of for almost two centuries. At the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, James Savage proclaimed it as the Body of Liberties itself and it passed as such until 1843, when Francis C. Gray produced the true Body of Liberties. Since then the Cotton code has been misunderstood and undervalued. It is the object of this paper to throw additional light on its early history and to determine its proper place in the history of early New England legislation.[2]

There was a demand for a body of written laws in Massachusetts as early as 1635. On March 4 of that year the General Court appointed John Winthrop and Richard Bellingham "to take a vewe of all orders already made, & to informe the nexte Generall Court wch of them they iudge meete to be altered, ebreviated, repealed, corrected,

[1] Winthrop's Journal (Hosmer ed.), I. 196.

[2] On the Cotton code, see F. C. Gray, "Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay," in 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., VIII. 191–237; W. H. Whitmore, A Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony from 1630 to 1686; W. C. Ford, "Cotton's 'Moses his Judicials,'" in 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XVI. 274–284.

inlarged, or explained, &c." [1] On May 6, 1635, the deputies fearing great danger to the state because the magistrates, "for want of positive laws, in many cases, might proceed according to their discretions," the General Court appointed Governor Haynes, Deputy Governor Bellingham, John Winthrop, and Thomas Dudley "to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to a Magna Charta, which, being allowed by some of the ministers, and the general court, should be received for fundamental laws." [2] Apparently this group did nothing, for on May 25, 1636, a second committee was appointed, this time with significantly different instructions. Governor Vane, Deputy Governor Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Richard Bellingham, John Cotton, Hugh Peter, and Thomas Shepard were "intreated to make a draught of lawes agreeable to the word of God, wch may be the ffundamentalls of this comonwealth, & to present the same to the nexte Generall Court." In the meantime the magistrates and their associates were ordered to

> pceede in the courts to heare & determine all causes according to the lawes nowe established, & where there is noe law, then as neere the lawe of God as they can; & for all busines out of Court for wch there is noe certaine rule yet sett downe, those of the standing counsell, or some two of them, shall take order by their best discrecon, that they may be ordered & ended according to the rule of Gods word. . . .[3]

The significant change at this time was the addition of several ministers to the committee of civil authorities and the instructions "to make a draught of lawes agreeable to the word of God." Although there is no evidence that the committee appointed in May, 1636, functioned as a body, John Cotton, one of its members, did produce a code of laws, and in October, 1636, presented it to the General Court.[4]

The Cotton code consisted of ten chapters embodying the government, laws, and practices of Massachusetts Bay. It provided for Governor, Deputy Governor, Court of Assistants, and General Court, as did the colony charter; it limited the franchise and the right to hold office to church-members, as was the law in Massa-

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 137.
[2] Winthrop, I. 151; Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 147.
[3] Id., pp. 174–175.
[4] Winthrop, I. 196.

chusetts at the time. Only in minor details, as when he substituted the title of *free burgess* for that of *freeman*, had Cotton departed from current practices. Although the title, "Moses his judicials," given to the Cotton code by Winthrop might imply a Biblical origin, the provisions of the code, with the exception of the chapters on crimes and inheritance, were not drawn from the Scriptures. Winthrop's title was not inappropriate, however, for many of the provisions of the code were supported by marginal Scriptural references to prove that they were in harmony with the word of God and thus met the requirements laid down by the General Court in May, 1636. The defect of the code was that much space was devoted to outlining a government already outlined in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company and but little space to the legislation so urgently needed by Massachusetts. Probably for this reason it was not accepted, but, until something better suited to the needs of Massachusetts could be drafted, it was not rejected.[1]

In 1637, Massachusetts became involved in the Pequot War and the Antinomian controversy, and it was not until the spring of 1638 that the General Court was in a position to give further attention to legislation. On March 12 of that year the Court ordered the freemen to assemble in their several towns and

collect the heads of such necessary & fundamentall lawes as may bee sutable to the times & places whear God by his pvidence hath cast vs, & the heads of such lawes to deliver in writing to the Governo^{r} for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month, called June, next, to the intent that the same Governo^{r}, together wth the rest of the standing counsell, & Rich^{r}d Bellingham, Esq, Mr Bulkley, Mr Philips, Mr Peters, & Mr Sheopard, elders of severall churches, Mr Nathaniell Ward, Mr Willi: Spencer, & Mr Will: Hauthorne, or the maior part of them, may, vpon the survey of such heads of lawes, make a compendious abrigment of the same by the Generall Court in autumne next, adding yet to the same or detracting therefrom what in their wisdomes shall seeme

[1] Notice the statement in the preface to the Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts, reprinted from the copy of the 1648 edition in the Henry E. Huntington Library (1929): ". . . about nine years since wee used the help of some of the Elders of our Churches to compose a modell of the Iudiciall lawes of Moses with such other cases as might be referred to them, with intent to make use of them in composing our lawes, but not to have them published as the lawes of this Jurisdiction: nor were they voted in Court."

meete, that so the whole worke being pfected to the best of their skill, it may bee psented to the Generall Court for confirmation or reiection, as the Court shall adiudge.

The Court also ordered the committee thus established to

survey all the lawes & orders already made, & reduce them into as fewe heads as they may, & psent them vnto the Gen^rall Court for approbation or refusall, as aforesaid.[1]

Some of the towns acted on the order of March 12. On April 6, 1638, Newbury deputed two men "to labour to compile a body of laws & present them to the towne that they may be presented to the Govern^mt according to order of Court,"[2] and on April 26, 1638, Charlestown desired Increase Nowell, Zachariah Sims, John Greene, John Harvard, Ralph Sprague, and William Learned "to consid^r of some things tending towards A body of Lawes, &c."[3] The work proceeded slowly, however, and on June 6, 1639, the General Court of the colony ordered that the marshal should "give notice to the comitte about the body of lawes, to send vnto the next Generall Court such drafts of lawes as they have ppared, for the Court to take order about them what to settle."[4] On November 3, 1639, Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley wrote to Winthrop, "A body of Lawes is now of all much desired; & all maturenes of proceeding therin wished."[5] In the same month two codes of laws, one that of John Cotton and the other drafted by Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, were before the General Court.

Ward's code, the second attempt at codification, was a rather lengthy bill of rights which set a limit to the arbitrary power of the magistrates in Massachusetts and thus met the needs of the infant colony. It outlined no form of government but presupposed the existence of such a government as that provided by the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

On November 5, 1639, the General Court referred the codes of Cotton and Ward to Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley,

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[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 222; Winthrop, I. 262.
[2] J. J. Currier, History of Newbury, Mass., p. 56.
[3] Boston Records, III. iv.
[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 262.
[5] 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII. 208.

Treasurer Bellingham, and Israel Stoughton, "or any three of them," with two or more of the deputies of Boston, Charlestown, or Roxbury, to peruse and draw up into one body, "altering, ading, or omiting what they shall thinke fit." Copies of the resulting composite were to be sent to the several towns for the elders of the churches and the freemen to consider before the next General Court.[1] It seems probable that Cotton's capital laws were incorporated into Ward's code at this point. Thomas Lechford did the immense amount of writing involved in making copies of the laws for the towns,[2] and, although not a freeman and therefore not entitled to express an opinion, as "*Amicus curiæ*" pointed out to the Governor and Assistants, in a paper dated March 4, 1639–40, changes which he considered necessary:[3] Nathaniel Ward protested against the submission of the laws to the freemen.

. . . Please to advise throughly with the counsell, [he wrote Winthrop, December 22, 1639] whether it will not be of ill consequence to send the Court busines to the common consideration of the freemen. I feare it will too much exauctorate the power of that Court to prostrate matters in that manner. I suspect both Commonwealth & Churches haue discended to lowe already; I see the spirits of people runne high, & what they gett they hould. They may not be denyed their proper & lawfull liberties, but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferiour sort in that which should be reserued *inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges*.[4]

Nevertheless, on May 13, 1640, the General Court desired the elders and freemen to "ripen their thoughts & counsells" regarding the breviate of laws.[5] June 2, 1641, found Massachusetts still without a code of laws, however, and on that date the General Court appointed Governor Bellingham to peruse all the laws and take notice what ought to be repealed, what to be certified, and what to stand, and to make return to the next General Court.[6] On October 7, 1641, the General Court desired Governor Bellingham and William Hathorne

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 279; Winthrop, I. 323–324.
[2] Thomas Lechford, Note-Book (1885), pp. 237–238.
[3] 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III. 88–90.
[4] 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII. 26–27.
[5] Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 292–293.
[6] Id., p. 320.

to speak to Ward for a copy of the "liberties & of the capitall lawes" to be transcribed and sent to the towns.[1] Finally, on December 10, 1641, the General Court voted that the body of laws formerly sent forth among the freemen should stand in force.[2] Copies of the Body of Liberties thus adopted, subscribed by Deputy Governor Endecott, Emanuel Downing, and William Hathorne, were sent to each town.[3] After circulating for five years as a potential code for Massachusetts Bay, Cotton's "Moses his judicials" had been rejected by Massachusetts in favor of Ward's Body of Liberties.

The Cotton code received recognition, however, and was adopted and enforced in two separate regions beyond the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As has been stated, it was of little value to Massachusetts because much space was devoted to outlining a government already outlined in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. But for that very reason it was of value to those groups of settlers who were passing beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and establishing independent plantations in the territory thrown open by the Pequot War and who were without a charter or other outline of government.

In 1637, the Davenport-Eaton company arrived in Boston. During the ensuing nine months John Davenport lived with John Cotton.[4] That Cotton and Davenport debated at least one of the provisions of Cotton's code, Cotton's Discourse About Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion[5] is evidence. In 1638, the Davenport-Eaton company removed to Quinnipiac on Long Island Sound and within five years had expanded into the New Haven Colony. At Quinnipiac they adopted, first as a temporary measure, and on June 4, 1639, as a permanent constitution, "those rules wch the scripture holds forth,"[6] and they meant by that phrase not the Bible, as has so often been stated, but the Cotton code. Years later Davenport wrote:

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[1] Id., p. 340.

[2] Id., p. 346; Winthrop, II. 48–49.

[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 344.

[4] C. F. Adams, Antinomianism, p. 225.

[5] On the authorship of this pamphlet, printed in Cambridge, Mass., in 1663, see my note in the American Historical Review, XXXVII. 267–269.

[6] New Haven Colonial Records, I. 12.

And by voluntary consent among themselves they settled a civill court & governm^t among themselves, upon such fundamentalls as were established in Massachusetts by allowance of their pattent, whereof the then governo^r of the Bay, the Right Worp^ll Mr Winthrop sent us a coppie to improve for our best advantage. These fundamentalls all the inhabitants of the said Quillipyack approved, & bound themselves to submitt unto & maintaine. . . .[1]

This passage might be interpreted to mean that Winthrop had sent the Davenport-Eaton company a copy of the Massachusetts Bay Company's charter, but that evidently was not the meaning intended, for in 1644 New Haven was without a copy of the Massachusetts charter.[2] Moreover, the planters of Quinnipiac adopted as their constitution the "rules wch the scripture holds forth," a phrase which could mean neither the Massachusetts charter nor the Body of Liberties but which was quite as appropriate a title for the Cotton code as was Winthrop's "Moses his judicials."[3]

In 1640, Abraham Pierson led a group of settlers from Lynn, Massachusetts, to Southampton, Long Island. This company carried a copy of the Cotton code with them and accepted it as the basis of their plantation government and copied whole chapters of it into the Southampton town records.[4]

The Cotton code was published anonymously in London in 1641 with the title: An Abstract of the Lawes of New England, As they are now established. It is not improbable that it was Thomas Lechford, who had been employed by the Massachusetts General Court to copy the code, and thus knew that it embodied the government, laws, and practices of Massachusetts, who was responsible for this edition which appeared in the year of his return to England.[5] The code was republished in London by William Aspinwall in 1655. In the preface to this edition, Aspinwall attributed the code to Cotton and stated that it had not been adopted by Massachusetts.[6] Ward's

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[1] Id., II. 518 ("Newhavens Case Stated").

[2] Winthrop, II. 161.

[3] See my "John Cotton and the New Haven Colony," in the New England Quarterly, III. 82–94.

[4] The First Book of Records of the Town of Southampton, pp. 18–22.

[5] For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews.

[6] 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., v. 187–192.

Body of Liberties remained unpublished. With the adoption of more elaborate codes of laws by Massachusetts in 1648, 1660, and 1672, and by New Haven in 1656, which superseded the Body of Liberties and the Cotton code in those colonies, both the Cotton code and the Body of Liberties were lost sight of and forgotten.

In 1769, Thomas Hutchinson published the Cotton code in his Collection of Original Papers, with a footnote attributing it to Cotton. In 1798, the Massachusetts Historical Society published the code, with a note attributing it to Cotton and Vane.[1] In 1844, Peter Force included the code in his collection of Tracts and Other Papers.

In 1825–1826, James Savage issued his edition of Winthrop's Journal under the title, The History of New England from 1630 to 1649. In commenting on the appointment of a committee in November, 1639, to combine the Cotton and Ward codes, Savage referred to the much published Cotton code as the compilation which resulted from the efforts of the committee, mistaking the Cotton code for the unpublished Body of Liberties,[2] and the Cotton code passed as the Body of Liberties adopted by Massachusetts in 1641 until 1843, when Francis C. Gray published for the first time the true Body of Liberties and proved that the Cotton code had never been adopted by Massachusetts.[3] Gray's contribution to the knowledge of early Massachusetts legislation was a valuable one, but he seriously undervalued the Cotton code. He scoffed at it as a code the provisions of which were drawn chiefly from the Old Testament, and which Massachusetts would never have seriously considered. He offered the hypothesis that the code was published in London in 1641 by someone, perhaps a friend of Cotton, who had a copy of the Cotton code in his possession and, learning of the adoption of the Body of Liberties by Massachusetts in 1641, supposed that the Cotton code was the newly adopted Body of Liberties and gave it to the world with the title, An Abstract of the Lawes of New England, As they are now established, through ignorance that there were no laws common to all of New England. Gray overlooked the fact that the Body of Liberties was adopted almost too late in the year 1641 for news of its acceptance to have reached England and for the Cotton

[1] Id., pp. 171–187.
[2] Winthrop (Savage ed., 1825), I. 322.
[3] 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 191–237.

code, mistaken for it, to have been published in the same year. He further overlooked the fact that the Cotton code was occasionally called an "Abstract of the Lawes of New England" in the colony of its origin,[1] the name New England here being used as equivalent to Massachusetts.[2] Gray's erroneous evaluation of the Cotton code has been passed on from one writer to another down to the present day. James Truslow Adams writes that it "was based entirely upon Bible texts, of which, characteristically, but two were drawn from the New Testament and forty-six from the Old."[3]

The provisions of the Cotton code were not drawn from the Bible, however, and, although the code was never adopted by Massachusetts Bay, it embodied to a very large extent the government, laws, and practices of Massachusetts and was as much the law of Massachusetts as a compilation of statutes, which in its finished form may not have been passed upon by the legislature, is the law of the state for which it has been compiled. The Cotton code was not without effect upon the Body of Liberties which was adopted by Massachusetts in 1641. It was carried beyond the limits of Massachusetts and became the basis for the governments of the colony of New Haven and of the plantation of Southampton. The title of the 1641 edition — An Abstract of the Lawes of New England, As they are now established — was, therefore, quite appropriate, whether or not the name "New England" was used as equivalent to "Massachusetts." The Cotton code was not the impracticable document that has been depicted by Gray and later writers, and deserves recognition as the earliest compilation of New England legislation.

Mr. ALLYN B. FORBES presented three notes based on items in the correspondence of Henry Newman (H. C. 1687).

HARVARD ON TOUR AT OXFORD, 1703

With a varied career behind him since taking his second degree at Harvard — college librarian, amateur chaplain on a ship plying

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[1] Lechford, Note-Book, p. 237.

[2] See Albert Matthews, "The Name 'New England' as Applied to Massachusetts," in the Publications of this Society, XXV. 382–390.

[3] J. T. Adams, Founding of New England, p. 211.

to Bilbao, and merchant at Boston and at St. John's, Newfoundland — Henry Newman in 1703 came to London, where he was to spend the rest of his life. He had been there briefly before in the course of his voyages on the New England merchantman, but there had been little opportunity thus far for him to see the sights. Fortunately for him, Oxford was in July of that year ending its academic year with one of its infrequent public Acts, and accordingly he joined with Nathaniel Saltonstall (H. C. 1695), also in London at the time, to take in the festivities. The account of his tour is contained in the following fragment of his letter to his cousin, Henry (Tutor) Flynt.[1]

HENRY NEWMAN TO HENRY FLYNT

London. 27 July 1703.

Dear S^r^,

Having lately made a visit to Oxford, I look upon my self oblidged to give an account of my Journey to some Harvard Friend, and upon more accounts than one, think it belongs to yourself. Mr Saltonstall and I went down thither a Week before the Act began, that we might see the University, before the throng and Hurry of the approaching Solemnity, should ruffle her sedate appearance.

I can't pretend to give you a Particular account of the University having spent but 14 Days there (that also being the Business of a Volumne) but only to relate what more remarkably affected my Observations.

As to the Buildings I cant refer you to a Better Description than Mr Loggan's,[2] which Mr I. Mather or Mr T. Brattle has, and will give you a better Idea, than any thing I can say. Let me only tell you there are 18 Colledges and 7 Halls, so full of Students that some Jun^rs^ are forc'd to take Lodging in Town. That each Colledge is fitt for a Princes Palace, and the Heads of them resembling, or rather excelling Princes in their Way of living, because they have all the Pleasure, seperate from the Toyls of such a Life, They know nothing of the fatigue of Managing State Designs, but as farr as the Contemplation of Warr and Peace may administer Pleasure to their Mind they enjoy it. The Principall Task these Gentlemen have, is to see the Statutes of the University, and the regulations of their severall Founders duely observed, which they do with the greatest Ease and Exactness, thereby preserving such a religious Decorum (if I may so call it) thro' the University as strikes even a

[1] The manuscript of this letter is at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] David Loggan, Oxonia Illustrata (Oxford, 1675).

Stranger with Aw that visits them. When we went thither, we carried the Expectations of seeing a Place abandoned to all manner of loose and licentious Living, according to the Character some had given of it, but instead of that we found an admirable Discipline every where, as tightly executed, as was consistent with such a Vast Body, filled with young rampant Blood, made up of all sorts of Genius's and Inclinations; and if any Difference was made to Quality, Noble Men's Sons seem'd to be under a stricter Eye, than other's, they being more immediately under the Conduct of the Heads: Batchelors of Art we took Notice, were censured and punished for Misdemean^{rs} as well as Undergraduates; and a Mast^{r} of Arts That was upon his Præferm^{t} would not willingly bear you Company out of his Colledge after 9 a Clock in ye Even: at which hour the mighty *Tomm* rings and the Students vanish from Taverns, Publick Houses, and all Quarters, as if some Plague had swept 'em away. After that hour the two Procters or their Subs; go thro' the Town attended with 2. or 3. Gent: to visitt all Houses they suspect of entertaining Scholl's unseasonably, and have generally such Intelligence that hardly any Caball of Students escapes being blown up before Midnight, where the Landlord is sure to pay 4*s* and the Schollars what the Vice Chanceller pleases, some are admonished, some tasked with Exercises, some fined, and some have a Compound Penance appointed. The Vice Chanceller is always a Justice of Peace by his Place and therefore can punish Disord^{rs} in the Town as well as in the University, which makes the Inhabitants more observant of him, than of their Mayor or any other Officer in the Place.

It is not to be imagined the Aw those Procters carry with them during their Proctorship which is but one year, they go attended each with one & sometimes two foot-men, who I took Notice were always lusty fellows in a Hand-some Livery and as the Vice Chanceller is always a Head of some Colledge or other, these are fellows of some Colledge or other, and take place next to the Vice Chanceller of all the University, they have a large Commission and are very strict in executing it: It seems rivetted in the nature of a Schollar to shunn them, wherever they meet them, the Principall reason for which, that I could learn was, lest they should be surprized without a Band, have a wrong Capp on, or an improper Gown for their Standing, for any of which they are punishable, and are not spared by the Procters, however winked at by other Superiours. One Custom I must not omitt to acquaint you, because it was as surprizing, as it was odd to us both: We happened one Day to dine with the Provost of Queen's Colledge in the Hall, where we were introduced on purpose to see their Manner. After Grace was said in Latin and

about 16 or 18 Fellows, Masters of Art, and Strangers were seated at Mr Provost's Table, 8 Schollars (which they told us were Batchell^rs^ of Art) stood reverently with Books in their Hands, before the Table, and by Turns upon their Knees, recited Aristotle in Greek or Latin; I did not understand that they were tyed to any particular Topick, But might begin where they Pleased in either of the Learned Languages, this they did every one in their Turns, saying by heart a good round Lesson, till they were interrupted by the Provost with some Question upon the Topick they were reciting, which they generally answered very smartly, and were obliged to go on 'till the Provost said *Sufficit* when another succeeded till they had all said something, this Ceremony lasted most of the Dinner time, and if we had not been there, they said it would have lasted all the time:[1] Dureing this 10 Undergraduates, that waited at the Provosts Table, stood with their Hands across 'till the Cloath was taken away: Then we all washed our hands in a great Brass Bason, returned Thanks in Latin and marched out of the Hall. This Custom they told us was strictly observed every Day in the year, the foundation of the Coll: depending upon it: Other Coll^s^ have Customs as odd, too tedious to relate: Let me only add one more, because it was common to the whole University; all those Gentlemen that stood Candidates for a Mast^r^ of Arts Deg: (besides the Common Badges of a Master of Arts) wore a peice of Leather soe'd to the middle of the forepart of the Soles of their Shoes, so that it might flapp as they went along (as if the Sole were half rent off) and wherever they went thô in the Common Streets during Act Time (which was 4 or 5 Days) they were obliged besides wearing these Sorts of Shoes to goe Bear-headed, 'till they had the Vice Chancellors Benediction: I asked a reverend Doctor the meaning of the Custome, he said it was very antient, and signifyed the Humility that ought to possess every Man, before they arrived to Academick Hon^rs^ (they being by these flapps obliged to walk slowly) and that together wth so innocent a Signification, it was necessary as a Badge to distinguish Candidates from those that were Master of Arts, regent as they called them.

There has not been an Act for 8 or 10 years before this discontinued because of the Expense it puts the University and Graduates to[2] besides

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[1] Mather refers to this custom in the Magnalia (edition, 1853), II. 21.

[2] The splendor of the entertainments on such occasions is illustrated by the following: "I have sent you here inclosed warrants for four brace of Bucks and a Stag; the last Sir *Arthur Manwaring* procured of the king for you, towards keeping of your Act, I have sent you a Warrant also for a brace of Bucks out of *Waddon* Chace; besides, you shall receive by this Carrier a great Wicker Hamper,

the Tumult and riottous Liberty it occasions, so that now, they have them only to preserve the Memory of Ancient Custome and invite mankind once in a few years to see a Glorious University. Degrees are usually conferred in Scholasticall Congregations, at their Terms, of which they have 4 in a year; and the July Term may have an Act at the V. Chanc^{s} Pleasure. I should tire your Patience to give you the Process of the Act; Let me only tell you; It began the 2^{d} Fryday in July; all mankind being assembled in the Theatre (an August Fabrick) the Entertainments were introduced with a Consort of Musick, consisting of a Pair of organs, severall Bass-Viols, Violins, Flutes, Haut Bois and Voices, both of Men and Boys, the Words sung all in Latin. Then severall undergraduates of the higher rank in the N^{o} of 27 Gent: made Speeches upon Astronomy, Geo^{y}, Law, Physick, Logick &c as they pleas'd all in Latin Verse, pronounced by Heart with a great Grace, and the 17 or 18 Orator spoke in praise of Musick, at the End of which, all the Musicians struck up, and play'd another Consort. The last Orator concluding with an Encomium upon all the other Performances, at the End of which, the Learned Multitude arose and the organs play'd them out.[1] The 2^{d} Day being the 10th July several Disputations were manag'd upon ye Questions, you find for the Day in the enclosed, about the middle of which Disput^{s} the Terrae filius (as they called [him]) came to one of ye Desks and was introduced with a Shout and Clapping of Hands. This Terrae filius was chosen by the youngest Proctor, must be a Master of Arts and is generally a rake that fears neither God nor man, with a face made of Brass. Their Business is to expose all the Private failings of the Heads, Professors & Doctors in the University, which they do with abundance of artificiall railery, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English Verse and sometimes in Prose, sparing neither the Vice-Chanc^{r} the Proctors, nor their best Friends, and think they don't come off honourably, if they are not expelled.[2] This Custom likewise they say is antient, and has been indulged for the same reason it was first instituted, Viz: Because the Heads &c^{a} being above the ordinary Censures

with two jowls of Sturgeon, six barrels of pickled Oysters, three barrels of *Bologna* Olives, with some other *Spanish* commodities." Christopher Wordsworth, Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century, p. 285.

[1] This was the Encaenia, the survival of the literary and musical performance with which the Sheldonian Theatre was opened in 1669. Repeated annually on the Friday before the Act, there soon developed a tendency to confuse the two. J. Wells, The Oxford Degree Ceremony, pp. 31–32.

[2] The *Terrae filius* of this year must have lived up to tradition if the sub-title of his printed essays is an indication of their contents — More Burning Work for the Oxford Convocation. Wordsworth, p. 298.

of the Statutes, to oblidge them to [be] circumspect, this Practice has been allowed as the fittest Way to lash them for their faults.

Monday the 12th July was spent in Disputations on the Quest[s] inclosed, about the middle of which the 2[d] Terrae filius chosen by the Eldest Proctor mounted the Desk and lashed afresh all the heads of the University, not sparing their Ladies and their Acquaintance in Town: This Office is so ungratefull that they could find but one in the University that would accept of it.[1]

[End of fragment]

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[1] The following is an eighteenth-century account of *Terrae filius.*

It has, till of late, been a custom, from time immemorial, for one . . . to mount the *Rostrum* at *Oxford* at certain seasons, and divert an innumerable crowd of spectators . . . with a merry oration in the *Fescennine* manner, interspers'd with secret history, raillery, and sarcasm, as the occasions of the times supply'd him with matter.

If a venerable head of a college was caught snug a-bed with his neighbour's wife; or shaking his elbows on a *sunday* morning; or flattering a prime minister for a bishoprick . . . the hoary old sinner might expect to hear of it from our lay-pulpit the next *act.* Or if a celebrated *toast* and a young student were seen together at midnight under a shady myrtle-tree, billing like two pretty turtle-doves, to *him* it belong'd, being a poet as well as an orator, to tell the tender story in a melancholy ditty, adapted to pastoral musick . . . .

Notwithstanding what some wise heads have thought to the contrary, I cannot see the great unreasonableness of such publick licenses as these at particular seasons: For why should a poor undergraduate be call'd an *idle rascal,* and a *good for nothing blockhead,* for being perhaps but twice at chapel in one day, or for coming into college at ten or eleven a clock at night, or for a thousand other greater trifles than these; whilst the grey-headed doctors may indulge themselves in what debaucheries and corruptions they please, with impunity, and without censure? Methinks it could not do any great hurt to the universities, if the old fellows were to be *jobbed* at least once in *four* or *five* years for their irregularities, as the young ones are every day, if they offend.

Indeed, some of my predecessors have us'd the old gentlemen too roughly, and run their christian patience quite out of breath. One of these academical *pickle-herrings* scurrilously affronted the learned president of St. *John's* college (in defiance of the statue *de contumeliis compescendis*) by shaking a box and dice in this manner, *Facta est alea, doctor, Seven's the main,* in allusion to a scandalous report handed about by the doctor's enemies, that he was guilty of that infamous practice, and had lost great sums of *other people's* money at dice. . . .

Several such indignities as these having been offer'd to the grave fathers of the university, (the reverend the *heads* and *governors* of colleges and halls) they winc'd like so many gall'd horses, and said to one another, Gentlemen, *these are no jests;* if we suffer this, we shall become the sport of freshmen and servitors; let us expel him, for an example to others not to take such freedoms with their superiors.

And *Terrae-Filius* was accordingly expell'd almost every act. Yet for all that,

THOMAS PRINCE, SCIENTIST AND HISTORIAN

In those early eighteenth-century days when for a Bostonian to order from London by catalogue was far more hazardous than at present, it was a thoroughly recognized practice to entrust one's purchases to one's acquaintances or correspondents overseas. Particularly would this be the case when the selection of the desired items required a degree of expert knowledge. Hence it was that when Thomas Prince wanted some globes and some up-to-date scientific literature, he appealed to Henry Newman. Their actual acquaintance was apparently at the most very slight, limited perhaps to occasional contacts during Prince's years in England. But Newman was under the circumstances a logical man to be pressed into service. In the year of his second degree at Harvard (1690) he had made a modest *début* in the scientific world as the compiler of an almanac and had followed that with another the next year. His early London associations had brought him contacts with members of the Royal Society, of which both Cotton Mather and Benjamin Colman had been on occasion glad to avail themselves in order to get contributions before that body. It was also through Newman that the Royal Society on its part had made advances in 1713 to the executors of Thomas Brattle's estate for the latter's manuscripts "relating to Astronomy, Musick and the other parts of ye Mathematicks." Prince might thus well think that there was no one else available so well fitted to discharge his commission.

At the same time, having decided the previous year "to draw up a short account of the most remarkable transactions and events [of New England history] in the form of a mere Chronology," Prince seized the opportunity to submit to Newman a series of questions regarding the history of the latter's family. It was doubtless to such correspondence as this that the historian later referred when he gave as one source of his facts "chronological Letters . . . collected from . . . the information of aged and intelligent persons."

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some body was still found upon these occasions, endow'd with christian courage enough to rebuke wickedness in high places, at the expense of infamy and nakedness; the usual consequences of incurring ecclesiastical displeasure! Nicholas Amhurst, *Terrae-Filius:* or, the Secret History of the University of Oxford (London, 1726), pp. 1–4.

THOMAS PRINCE TO HENRY NEWMAN[1]

4 March 1728/9
Ye Day ye taking down of the
fourth Church[2] Meeting House.

Hond Sr

Tho I have not often taken ye Liberty of troubling Mr Newman with my Letters, yet I hope He has such a Remembrance of me as will dispose him to excuse ye present Freedom. And this especially when the Reason of my looking to him for ye following Favour is an Apprehension, in which the Honourable Bearer joins wth me, that none of my acquaintance in London is so well accomplished in ye Mathematick sciences to do it for me.

Being very desirous of a Pair of ye exactest Globes I wou'd humbly intreat you to receiv ye Rings or money I send you by the Honble Mr Belcher, and procure them at as cheap a Rate as you can, and then consult wth him to send them to me by ye safest Hand & as soon as may be.

In a *catalogue* of Globes &c made & sold by Philip Lea at ye Atlas & Hercules in Cheapside, near ye Corner of Fryday street, wch I suppose was printed about 1712 I find the 2 following articles —

(1) A new size of Globes 15 Inches Diameter, made according to modern astronomy & Geography; ye coelestial according to ye latest Observations, & ye Terrestrial rectified more than 10 Degrees, and quite different from ye old Globes. Price [£]4.1.

(2) Globes of 10 inches Diameter, after ye same Observations. Price 2.1.10.

Now what ye character of Mr Lea's Globes are I can not tell; or whether any have been made since more agreeable to ye new Discoveries or more nicely engraven. I doubt not but you are perfectly acquainted. To be sure, I desire ye truest & most accurate yet made and as large as ye money reaches. For ye Rest I entirely leav it to your Judgment.

When you have purchased ye Globes, if there shou'd be any money left, I wou'd further humbly request you to lay it out as far as it goes upon the following Books in order.

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[1] The manuscript of this letter is in the archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London.

[2] An account of the last services in the wooden meeting-house of the Old South Church, erected in 1669, was printed in the New England Weekly Journal of March 3, 1729. It is not a little curious to find the pastor of the church referring to it as the "fourth Church," when it was the Third Church. It is possible that he regarded the First Baptist Church, founded in 1665, as the "third" Church, which indeed it was, historically considered.

(1) Sphaer's anatomy,[1] Englished by John Ireton. Price 14*s* sold by I. Moxen at ye Atlas in Warwick Lane — or if there is a later, better done, of ye same sort, w^c^ lays open ye several Parts of ye Humane Body as they gradualy appear in Dissection, by turning up so many several Papers lying over one another, &c.

(2) Dr Well's set of maps both of ancient & Modern geography — wth a geographical Treatise particularly adapted to y^m^ [2] sold by A. & I. Churchill at ye Black Swan in Pater Noster Row. Or if there are other small Books of Maps of ancient & modern Geography helpfull to ye understanding of ye ancient authors, more neatly engraven & of better character, for ye use of schools &c.

With this I humbly present you wth one of ye last Sermons I have been prevail'd to Publish, and send you a couple of Printed Papers, to let you see what I am Preparing for ye Publick Use.[3] And this last I ye rather do in Hopes you will oblige me wth a particular & precise account.

2. When your excellent Grandfather [4] came over to New England.
3. When He settled at Weymouth, or elsewhere first in this countrey.
1. What part of England He came from, when & where Born, & at what University & College educated.
4. When He remov'd from Weymouth to Rehoboth, & wth Part or number of his Church.
5. When He Published ye several editions of his Concordance.
6. When he died, & about w^t^ Age, if you can't precisely tell when He was Born.
7. How many children He left, & where they liv'd & died &c.
8. Where & when your Rev. Father [5] also was Born, when ordain'd at Rehoboth, when He Died, How many children left behind Him, & where they have lived &c.

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[1] Michael Spaher, An Exact Survey of the *Microcosmus*, or Little World; being an Anatomy of the bodies of Man and Woman. . . . London, 1670. The title, somewhat modified appears in the Term Catalogues for 1675 and 1702.

[2] Edward Wells (*c* 1665–1727), A New Set of Maps, both of Ancient and Present Geography . . . Together with a Geographical Treatise . . . particularly adapted to the Use and Design of the said Maps. 2nd impression. In Term Catalogues, 1708.

[3] Probably an advance copy of his circular letter, dated April 10, 1729, asking for facts. W. C. Ford, Massachusetts Broadsides, p. 77.

[4] The Reverend Samuel Newman (*d* 1663), of Rehoboth, author of the so-called Cambridge Concordance.

[5] The Reverend Noah Newman (*d* 1676).

9. And if you please to let me know ye Place & Time of your own Birth, & when you left New England, wth other Historical Passages of your worthy Family — you will, as well for the Trouble above desir'd extreamly oblige

Hon^d^ S^r^
Your very respectful humble Servant
THOMAS PRINCE

P.S. I have some expectations of a Brother [1] of mine, master of a ship being in London sometime this Spring. If he shou'd be so — you cannot trust my Globes wth a more carefull Hand. He is now at Antigua & sails in Messrs Oliver & Wilks Employ.

Newman's reply to the first part of this letter, dated July 16, 1729, was as follows:

I receiv'd y^r^ letter of the 4th of March last by our good friend Mr Belcher and with it ten Gold Rings which Mr Woodward of Change Alley weigh'd at 16^dw^ & 18^gr^ and at the rate of 3:15: p ounce the then market price allow'd me three Guineas for them, tho by my computations they wanted 2^d^ of that value. I bespoke a pair of Globes of Mr Senex [2] the best maker of them in Engl^d^ now reckon'd (tho he had some very good ones by him) because when a pair are made on purpose to go beyond Sea, the artificer will exert himself to excell his common performances. I have deliver'd them to y^r^ Bro^rs^ order, and he I believe has ship'd 'em on the Sarah Galley Captn Walker.

I have enclos'd a copy of the Prime Cost of them

paid to Mr Senex as p Particulars.	3:5:
p^d^ a Porter with them to the waterside	6
	3:5:6

The Rings came to	3:3
And y^r^ Bro^r^ paid me the Ball^a^	2:6
	3:5:6

The cases in wch they are pack'd are mark'd T.P. N^o^ I Coelestial, 2. Terrestrial and as to the goodness of them I leave them to speak for themselves. I thank you for this Comission to serve you and for the Sermons and Proposals you sent to me and for the laudable Service you are doing to the Publick by your Chronology.

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[1] Capt. Joseph Prince (*d* 1747): cf. our Publications, XIX. 332, note 2.
[2] John Senex (*d* 1740).

The following extract from a letter written by Newman to the Reverend Robert Millar at Paisley, N. B., October 2, 1739, may serve as an epilogue:

I have this day receiv'd a letter from Govr Belcher's Son[1] . . . in behalf of the Rev^{r} Mr Tho. Prince one of the learned Min^{rs} of the Church at Boston which the Govr constantly resorts to. I know him by his fame to be one of the most esteemed Divines educated in New Engl^{d} where he has been a Graduate above 30. years of Harvard Coll. and is the author of several valuable things which have pass'd the Press, particularly the Chronological History of N. Engl^{d} &c^{a} but Mr Belcher personally knows him, and has so well express'd his Character that I have sent his letter and heartily joyn with him in recomending Mr Prince to y^{r} good offices for procuring him the honour of a Diploma for the degree of D^{r} of Divinity in either of y^{r} celebrated Universities. . . .

DEAN BERKELEY, PATRON OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLLEGES

The story of Berkeley's dream of a colonial college, of his interest in New England institutions of higher learning during his sojourn in Newport, and of his gifts to both Harvard and Yale upon his return to England is well known.[2] The following letters relating to these benefactions, written to President Wadsworth of Harvard, Rector Williams of Yale, and the Reverend Samuel Johnson, are taken from copies in a letter-book of Henry Newman preserved in the archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which body he was for many years the Secretary. A search of the Harvard archives reveals no trace of the original letter to President Wadsworth, and it would appear that the original to Rector Williams is also missing; nor does that to Johnson appear in Professor Schneider's recent comprehensive edition of Johnson's writings and correspondence. That Newman should have copies is explained by the use Berkeley made of him in getting his gifts to their destination.

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[1] Jonathan Belcher (H. C. 1728).

[2] See Benjamin Rand, Berkeley's American Sojourn (1932).

BERKELEY TO PRESIDENT WADSWORTH

London May 31st 1733

To the Revr Mr Wadsworth President
of the Colledge at Cambridge
near Boston in New England

Revd Sir

With this letter I take the Liberty to introduce a Box of Books containing all the Latin classick Authors in quarto being of the fairest Editions [1] and the best Comments for the use of your Society. This is owing to certain well dispos'd Persons who having made me Steward of their Liberality I thot it might in part answer their views for the Encouragement of usefull Learning, if I should send to your Colledge at Cambridge the foremention'd Books which as they seem'd to be wanting in your Publick Library, so I am persuaded there are not wanting those in your Society who will make the proper use of them. I remain with sincere wishes that piety and learning may Flourish among you

Sir

Your obedient humble Servt

GEORGE BERKELEY

The Box is markt CC and consigned by Mr Henry Newman to Mr Belcher the Governours Son at Boston.

BERKELEY TO RECTOR WILLIAMS

London May 31. 1733

To the Revr Mr Williams
Rector of Yale College
at New Haven in Connecticut N. E.

Revd Sir

I thought I could not better apply the benefactions of certain persons who left them to my disposal than in purchasing a collection of usefull books for the publick Library of your College, which books are contained in Eight cases & accompany this Letter. I earnestly hope that the pious intentions of the benefactors may be answer'd in the use of this Gift for the increase of Religion and Learning.[2] These cases of Books are con-

[1] Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a visitor at Cambridge, August 15, 1744, refers in his Itinerarium to "some curious editions of the classics, presented to the college by Dean Barklay." Hart edition (1907), p. 174. They were undoubtedly destroyed in the fire of 1764.

[2] President Thomas Clap, valuing Berkeley's benefaction at £400, wrote of these volumes as being "the finest Collection of Books that ever came together at one Time into *America*." The Annals or History of Yale College (1766), p. 38.

sign'd by Mr Henry Newman to Mr Belcher (son of the Govr) merchant at Boston who will deliver them to your order. The freight to Boston hath been paid here. I wrote to you last Summer by the same Vessel wch brought a Deed for conveying the farm I formerly possess'd in Rhode Island to the use of your College, but have not since heard from you. I remain with sincere wishes that true learning and Piety may ever grow and flourish among you, Sir

Your obedient humble Servt

GEORGE BERKELEY

BERKELEY TO SAMUEL JOHNSON

London 31. May. 1733

To the Rev^r^ Mr Samuel Johnson
at Stafford [1] in Connecticut New England

Revd Sir

Being desirous so far as in me lies to promote sound Learning and true Religion in your part of the World I judged that the purchasing a good Collection of books for the Library of Yale College might be a proper application of the liberality of certain publick spirited persons who left it to my disposal. Accordingly I have sent herewith 8. Cases of Books, I think well chosen, which I heartily wish may shed a copious light in that remote wilderness, and answer the worthy intention of the benefactors. The aforemention'd cases of books are consign'd by Mr Hen. Newman to Mr Belcher son of the Govr at Boston. I had a letter from you dated in last December wherein you intimate some defect in the expression of the instrum^t^ conveying the farm in Rhode Island to the use of Yale College in wch benefaction, as I told you before, I had but a small Share. I know not wherein particularly that defect consists: and as I have heard nothing from the Presid^t^ or College, I must desire you to place this matter in a clear light and show how it may be rectify'd. If you think a Letter of Attorney empowering certain Persons there to make a Conveyance in such terms as shall best answer the design would be the proper means, let me know; and name the persons you would have joyned with your self (for there should be 2 or 3 to provide in case of Mortality or accidents) and I will send you such Letter of Attorney. In order to which it might be proper to send me a patern thereof conformable to the advice of your own Lawyers.[2] Though I should be gone

[1] Stratford.

[2] Clap says (p. 37) that the "Descriptions and Conditions" in the first deed were not "perfectly adapted to the State of the College."

to Ireland, Mr Henry Newman will forward any letter to me. This Gentleman is I doubt not by reputation, if not by person, known to you and to all New England, for the Service of which he is very zealous; so letters directed to him will be very safe. In order to preserve the books I doubt not the College will think fit to make proper Statutes and regulations, particularly in lending them out. It would seem convenient that the full price (if not the double) of the Book lent should be lodg'd in the hands of the President by way of caution or security.[1] I hope this will find you and your family well. My wife and I join our Services to you. I thank God my health seems on the mending hand. I write by this same Opportunity to Mr Williams Rector of the Colledge. Pray give my Service to any friends in your Colony, not forgetting Mr Elliot[2] in particular. I am

Revd Sir
with great Truth
Your most faithfull humble Servt
GEORGE BERKELEY

Mr. WINSHIP presented the following communication prepared by the Reverend Charles F. Robinson and Mr. Robin Robinson:

THREE EARLY MASSACHUSETTS LIBRARIES

Two of the libraries here described were bought in 1651 for the use of John Eliot by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; the third was the collection belonging to a pioneer minister who died in 1702. The books of the Eliot purchase were left behind by their owners when they returned to England after their brief stay in the Bay Colony, and evidently were largely those brought with them when they came, augmented by moderate purchases during their American pastorates.

For convenience in avoiding duplications in identification, these three have been listed in one numbered series, in the order found in the manuscript sources: for the first two, the Rawlinson Manuscript

[1] Apparently the only measure taken by the Trustees was to vote that the Rector "at the Cost of this College order suitable Boxes to be made for the Reception of the Revd Dean Berkeley's Collection of Books." Franklin B. Dexter, Ed., Documentary History of Yale University, p. 305.

[2] Jared Eliot (*d* 1763), Yale 1706, clergyman and physician, F.R.S.

C 934 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; for the third, the original inventory preserved in the archives of Middlesex County, East Cambridge, Massachusetts. Photostats of both sources have been furnished by their custodians.

The first of these libraries belonged to the Reverend Thomas Jenner.[1] The following facts about him are gleaned from a short notice in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (II. 469). The son of Thomas Jenner, of Fordham, Essex, a farmer, he matriculated as a sizar at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1624 at the age of seventeen. In 1635, his father, accompanied by him, emigrated to New England and settled at Roxbury. Thomas Jenner, the son, became minister at Weymouth in 1636, and continued there until 1640, when he transferred to Saco, where he stayed until 1646. After residing at Charlestown from 1646 to 1649, he returned to England in 1650 and secured a living at Coltishall, Norfolk, in which he remained until 1658. He wrote Quakerism Anatomis'd and Confuted (1670). His will, made May 26, 1676, is recorded at Dublin.

The second library was that of Eliot's colleague, the Reverend Thomas Weld, one of the well-known figures in early New England ecclesiastical history. Weld, too, was a Cambridge alumnus, having taken his A.B. from Trinity College in 1613, and his M.A. in 1618. He was the son of Edmund Weld, mercer, of Sudbury, Suffolk, and was baptized at St. Peter's Church there, July 15, 1595. After his university course he became vicar of the church in Terling, Essex, where he adopted Puritan methods, for which he was excommunicated by Archbishop Laud in 1631. He sailed from London on the William and Francis, which reached Boston on June 5, 1632. In July, he was settled as the first pastor of the new church in Roxbury. John Eliot became his colleague as "teacher" early in November. Weld's career for nine years has received extended mention from historical authorities. In 1641, the Bay Colony sent to England a commission of three, consisting of Weld, Hugh Peter, and William Hibbens of Boston. There Weld had a moderate degree of success in raising money for the new college, of which he was one of the first overseers,

[1] For further information about Jenner see New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XLVII. 437–444; 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., v. 474; VII. 10; 3 Coll., III. 99; IV. 144; 4 Coll., VII. 10, 104, 334, 340 f., 344, 350, 355 ff., 359; facsimile of signature and seal, 4 Coll., VII. plate 7.

and for Indian evangelization, and he endeavored to forward the unsuccessful experiment of transporting needy children to New England in order to "better their condition." There is a pretty well-grounded suspicion that Peter and he were expected to render advice to the Puritan party in England on the establishment of religion there after the New England model. At any rate, Peter was soon engrossed in the course of political and military activity that was to make him the sturdy preacher and pamphleteer of the Commonwealth, chaplain and commander in the Ironsides, preacher of Cromwell's funeral sermon, and beheaded regicide after the Restoration. Of Hibbens we hear little. On Weld, therefore, in this confused time, rested the burden of forwarding such money and supplies as the commission secured, and of accounting for their dealings to distant and captious critics. Innocency Cleared, a rare pamphlet, and audited accounts (Rawlinson C 934) contain his answer to them. After nearly three centuries, there is at least one monument to his activities, rarely, indeed, recognized as such. In 1643, he secured from Anne Radcliffe, Lady Mowlson, the first donation to Harvard College made by a woman. The fund, for many years held inactive by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for lack of a college treasury, finally came into use, and furnished the name — rather by its feminine origin than for any other reason — to Radcliffe College.

The power of the bishops having been broken, there was now a pastorate for Weld in England. Of the parish of Gateshead in Newcastle it is said:[1] "Thomas Weld, an intruder, was put in by the sequestrators in 1649." There, to the great dissatisfaction of the majority, he put into execution his Puritan idea of "Communion for Saints only." The complaint was that of a flock of one thousand persons he would admit "only eight men and two women, weak and unstable persons" to the Lord's table, denying the rest the solace even of a lecturer "to administer the means of salvation." There must have been some good in his work, for the Corporation of Newcastle voted him twenty pounds "for his good services to the town." In the choir of the church appears the epitaph of Judith, his second wife, who died there in 1656. Weld was dispossessed immediately on the Restoration, and after January 6, 1660/1, we find him in

[1] Fordyce, History of the Bishoprick of Durham, p. 761.

London signing "a renunciation and declaration of the ministers of Congregational Churches and Preachers of the same judgment living in and about London against the late horrid insurrection and rebellion acted in the City of London."[1] He died in London on March 23, 1661/2.

The third library is that of Weld's grandson and namesake, the Reverend Thomas Weld of Dunstable. On his return to England, the first Thomas Weld gave the 533 acres of land which the General Court had granted him in recognition of his services as pastor at Roxbury, as well as his homestead, to his second son, also Thomas, who, thus established as one of the most substantial citizens of Roxbury, married Dorothy, daughter of the Reverend Samuel Whiting of Lynn, and became the progenitor of one branch of the American Welds. The third Thomas Weld, his second son, was baptized at Roxbury, June 12, 1653; graduated at Harvard in 1671; studied theology with the Reverend Samuel Danforth; gathered a church at Dunstable, and was ordained there, December 16, 1685. At the time of his death in Dunstable, June 9, 1702, his books were at three places, Roxbury, Dunstable, and Cambridge. His library is of interest for its transitional character, preserving the staple books of the English Puritan worthies, and adding a good number produced by his colleagues in the New World. It contains a few that may have been college text-books.

Something should be said of the purchase of the first two libraries for John Eliot. Weld had left his books with his colleague when he went to England, and upon finding that he was not to return, set on them a price of thirty-four pounds. In 1649, the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England had been founded, giving new impetus to the collection of funds started by Peter and Weld. In that same year Edward Winslow, agent for the colonies in England, corresponded with Eliot about the work and his needs in forwarding it. In a letter in reply, undated, but printed between one dated "this 8 of the 5. 49" and another "this 29 of the 10th 49," Eliot wrote:[2]

Mr *Mahew*, who putteth his hand unto this Plough at *Martins Vineyard*, being young, and a beginner here, hath extreme want of books; he needeth

[1] Venner's Insurrection; see New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg. xxxvi. 407.

[2] 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., iv. 128.

Commentaries and *Common Places* for the body of Divinity . . . if therefore the Lord bring any meanes into your hand, I desire you would (by the help of some godly Divine) send him over such books as may be necessary for a young Scholer; I will name no books, he needs all. . . .

And for my self, I have this request (who also am short enough in books) that I might be helped to purchase my brother *Weld* his books, the summe of the purchase (34*li.*) I am loth they should come back to *England* when we have so much need of them here, and without ready money there I cannot have them; if therefore so much money might be disbursed for me, it would be a blessing to me, but it is on condition that all his books here be comprehended, else I will not give so much for them.

The response evidently was favorable; for on October 21, 1650, he wrote again:[1]

Sir, when I had gone thus farre in my Letters, by a Ship that came in, you wrote unto our Governour touching the two Libraries, my brother *Welds* and *Mr. Jenners,* and of the willingnesse of the Corporation to discharge for them, for which cause I do humbly thank the Worshipful Corporation, all the Christian and much respected Gentlemen my loving friends. And Sir, I thank you for all your faithful pains in this work. . . .

Whereas you require the Catalogue of both Libraries, it shall be done (if God will) but I am to go into the Countrey to the Indians now, and have much businesse, therefore know not whether I can send it by this Ship, if I can I will.

Eliot's willingness to make the catalogues plainly shows that both libraries were accessible to him on this side of the ocean.

Mr. Jenner, at his home in Norfolk, was in much need, and pleaded his case so strongly that Winslow, trusting to support by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who had charge of spending the funds that were raised, advanced thirty pounds for his library. On April 17, 1651, Winslow wrote them about his payment to Jenner as follows:[2]

For his necessities pressed us to a present disbursement of thirty pounds, and to recover it againe would be a hard matter, yea too hard for us, he living in Norfolk; but a word is sufficient, it is better to loose some than all. I shall speedily write to Mr. Weld and acquaint him also with the readines that is in the corporation to pay the thirty-four pounds to

[1] Id., p. 144.

[2] The Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), I. 257–258.

him also (having order soe to doe) for his library left with Mr. Elliott, so that I trust that gapp will be soone stopped.

It is not quite plain in which direction the catalogue, mentioned by Winslow in this same letter, was "sent over"; Winslow may have meant the list that Eliot was to send to him; or he may have sent back to America the lists made by Jenner and Weld; at any rate, the Rawlinson Manuscript has the two in different handwritings, attested by the two owners. The transaction was completed with the receipt by Weld dated August 18, 1651.

The only printing of any of these catalogues is the unannotated transcription of the second in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXVI. 371ff. This copy was probably not made directly from the Bodleian manuscript, but from a manuscript book of uncertain date in the Harvard College Library, entitled "Papers relating to the Progress of the Gospel in New England, 1641–1654. Copied from the Original Autograph Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for Henry Stevens of Vermont."[1] A comparison of this book with the printed list in the Register, and studies in identification of the books intended by the entries made it seem necessary to secure a photostat of the original source; and the resulting clearing up of obscurities amply justified the trouble and expense of doing so. The transcription is in many places difficult, even to those accustomed to seventeenth-century chirography. It is often only the finding of the title in less obscure sources that makes it certain. With the greatest care, there may be some errors still.

Where possible, we have tried to indicate the editions of the books which the owner probably had; but it must be understood that such particularity is generally out of the question. When books went from two or three to twenty or thirty editions — sometimes even more — it is only the bare chance of some twist in the nomenclature, or the argument of the date that can decide. Consequently, we have usually had to be content with giving the imprint of an early edition, with the understanding that others usually followed. It was a time when printing presses were busy.

Our work has been carried out mainly through the facilities of the Harvard College Library and the Baker Library at Dartmouth,

[1] Palfrey had evidently seen this copy. Cf. History of New England, I. 584 n^1.

whose officials have given valuable advice. We have also been assisted by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and by Professor Emeritus Charles R. Gillett and Professor William W. Rockwell of Union Theological Seminary.

Key to Abbreviations

AAS.	Catalogue of the Library of the American Antiquarian Society (1834).
ADB.	Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (1875–1912).
Allibone.	A Critical Dictionary of English Literature (1858–1871).
ATS.	Library of Andover Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.
Arber.	The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A. D. (1903–1906).
BM.	British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.
BN.	Catalogue Générale des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
BU.	Biographie Universelle (1811–1862).
Cat. 1723	Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Collegij Harvardini (1723).
Dart.	Dartmouth College Library.
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography.
Evans.	American Bibliography.
HCL.	Harvard College Library.
JHT.	Manuscript card catalogue of early New England libraries, in the office of the Massachusetts Historical Society, made by J. H. Tuttle, Librarian.
MCA.	Catalogue of the David Hunter McAlpin Collection of Books pertaining to British History and Theology in the Library of Union Theological Seminary.
Potter.	Catalogue of John Harvard's Library, in the Publications of this Society, XXI. 190–230.
Prince.	Catalogue of the Library of the Reverend Thomas Prince.
Sta. Reg.	A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A. D. (1875–1877).
STC.	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed abroad, 1475–1640.
Watt.	Bibliotheca Britannica (1824).
Wood.	Athenæ Oxonienses.

Mr Thomas Jenners Cattolog of Books as Followeth: [1]

1 Cottons concordans in Foll[s].

Clement Cotton. The Christians concordance: containing the most materiall words in the New Testament. London, 1622. 4°. MCA. STC.

Clement Cotton. A complete concordance to the Bible of the last translation. London, 1631. f°. HCL. MCA. STC. Cf. 213.

2 Bæza in N test in foll[s].

Theodore Beza. Jesu Christi domini nostri Nouum Testamentum. London, 1574. 8°. BM. HCL. has an edition of 1585.

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[1] Transcription, with notes, of MS. Rawlinson C 934, folios 32 to 38 verso, from a photostat furnished by the Bodleian Library. The first line of each entry reproduces the original. Then follow the fuller titles so far as found, with notes.

THEODORE BEZA. The Newe Test. of our Lord Jesus Christ tr. out of Greke. Englished by L. Tomson. London, 1576. 8°. HCL. STC. Tomson's revision of the Geneva Version.

3 Willt Hexapl in Gene. folls.

ANDREW WILLET. Hexapla in Genesin: that is, a sixfold commentarie vpon Genesis, wherein sixe seuerall translations, that is, the Septuagint, and the Chalde, two Latin, of Hierome and Tremellius, two English, the great Bible, and the Geneva edition are compared, where they differ, with the originall Hebrew, and Pagnine, and Montanus interlinearie interpretation: together with a sixfold vse of euery chapter. Cambridge, 1605. f°. HCL. MCA. STC.

4 Willots in exod. in folls.

ANDREW WILLET. Hexapla in Exodum. London, 1608. 2 pts. f°. STC.

5 Wellet in Levit. in folls.

ANDREW WILLET. Hexapla in Leviticum. London, 1631. f°. MCA. STC.

6 Perkins works 3 voll folls.

WILLIAM PERKINS. Works. Cambridge, 1605. 3 vols. f°. HCL. Cf. 208.

7 Gouge his works in folls.

WILLIAM GOUGE. Workes. London, 1627. 2 vols. f°. HCL. STC.

8 Willets Synopsy in folls.

ANDREW WILLET. Synopsis papismi, that is, a generall viewe of papistrie: wherein the whole mysterie of iniquitie, and summe of antichristian doctrine is set downe, together with an antithesis of the true Christian faith, and an antidotum or counterpoyson out of the Scriptures, against the whore of Babylons filthy cuppe of abomination. 2nd ed. London, 1594. f°. HCL. MCA. STC.

9 Downhams warfare in folls.

JOHN DOWNAME. The Christian warfare. Wherein is first generally shewed the malice, power and politike strategems of the spirituall enemies of our saluation, Satan and his assistants the world and the flesh; with the meanes also whereby the Christian may withstand and defeate them. 2nd ed. London, 1609. f°. HCL. MCA.

10 Book of Marters in 3 volł^{s}.

JOHN FOXE. Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes. 6th ed. London, 1610. 3 vols. f°. BM. HCL.

11 Josephus his historij fołł^{s}.

JOSEPHUS. Famous workes; translated by T. Lodge. London, 1602. f°. HCL. STC.

12 Downhams Divinitij in fołł^{s}.

JOHN DOWNAME. The summe of sacred diuinitie briefly and methodically propounded. London, 1630? 8°. MCA. STC. Downame also wrote an introduction to: JAMES USHER. A body of divinitie, or the summe and substance of Christian religion, catechistically propounded and explained. London, 1645. f°. BM.

13 Simpson on the histo of y^{e} ɔh fołł^{s}.

PATRICK SYMSON. The historie of the Chvrch since the dayes of our Saviour Iesus Christ, vntill this present age. 3d. ed. London, 1634. f°. HCL. STC.

14 Heiron in ps 51 & other sermō fołł^{s}.

[SAMUEL HIERON.] Davids penitentiall psalme opened: in thirtie lectures. Cambridge, 1617. 8°. STC.

SAMUEL HIERON. All the sermons of Samvel Hieron heretofore sunderly published, now diligently reuised, and collected together into one volume. London, 1614. f°. HCL. MCA.

15 Junius & Trmel in Bib in fołł^{s}.

FRANCISCUS JUNIUS (FRANÇOIS DU JON) and EMMANUEL TREMELLIUS. Testamenti Veteris biblia sacra, quibus etiam adiunximus Noui Testamenti libros. London, 1593, 92. f°. HCL. Cf. 201, 476.

16 Misterij of iniquitij in Fołł^{s}.

PHILIPPE DE MORNAY. The mysterie of iniqvitie: that is to say, the historie of the papacie. London, 1612. f°. HCL. MCA. STC.

17 Wilson in romans in Fołł^{s}.

THOMAS WILSON. A commentarie vpon the most diuine Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes. London, 1620. f°. MCA. STC.

18 Bæza in Job in a small fołł^{s} or great q^{to}.

THEODORE BEZA. Iobus partim commentariis partim paraphrasi illustratus. London, 1589. 8°. HCL. STC. No folio edition listed. Cf. 374.

19 Twist his Vinditiæ in foł.

WILLIAM TWISSE. Vindiciæ gratiæ, potestatis, ac providentiæ Dei: hoc est, ad examen libelli Perkinsiani de prædestinationis modo et ordine, institutum a Iacobo Arminio, responsio scholastica. Amsterdam, 1632. f°. HCL. MCA. Potter. Cf. 332.

20 Byfeild in Coll. in foł^{s}.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD. An exposition vpon the Epistle to the Colossians. London, 1615. f°. HCL. MCA. STC. Cf. 236.

21 Parker on Crosse in foł^{s}.

[ROBERT PARKER.] A scholasticall discourse against symbolizing with Antichrist in ceremonies: especially in the signe of the Crosse. Amsterdam, 1607. 2 pts. f°. MCA. STC.

22 Saints Cordialls in foł^{s}.

RICHARD SIBBES. The saints cordialls. London, 1637. f°. MCA. HCL. has an edition of 1658. Issued in 1627 as the third volume of the Works of William Gouge (see 7).

23 Calvin in pentit in foł^{s}.

JOHN CALVIN. Mosis libri V., cum commentariis, Genesis seorsum, reliqui quatuor in formam harmoniæ digesti. Geneva, 1563. f°. BN. Cf. 217, 414.

24 Calvin on Job in foł^{s} Eng^{l}.

JOHN CALVIN. Sermons vpon the Booke of Iob. Translated out of French by Arthur Golding. London, 1574. f°. HCL. MCA.

25 Calvin in Jerimia in foł^{s}.

JOHN CALVIN. Prælectiones in librum prophetiarum Jeremiæ et Lamentationes. Geneva, 1563. f°. BN.

26 Calvin in Danill in foł^{s}.

JOHN CALVIN. Prælectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis. Geneva, 1571, f°. Prince. HCL. has an edition of 1583.

27 Calvin in Jsaiah in foł^{s} Eng^{l}.

JOHN CALVIN. A commentary vpon the prophecie of Isaiah. Translated out of French into English: by C. C[otton]. London, 1609. f°. MCA. STC.

28 Calvin in proph. min. in Foł^{s}.

JOHN CALVIN. Prælectiones in duodecim prophetas (quas vocant minores). Geneva, 1559. f°. BN.

29 Calvin in psal in 4to.

JOHN CALVIN. The psalmes of David and others. With commentaries. London, 1571. 2 pts. 4°. HCL. STC.

30 Caluin in Josua — 4to.

JOHN CALVIN. A commentarie vpon the Booke of Iosue. London, 1578. 4°. MCA. STC.

31 Calvin in Harm: in 4to.

JOHN CALVIN. A harmonie vpon the three euangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with commentary. Whereunto is added a commentarie vpon S. John. London, 1584. 4°. BM. STC.

32 Caluin in actes in 4to.

JOHN CALVIN. Commentaries vpon the Actes of the Apostles. London, 1585. 4°. STC.

33 Caluin Ephes in 4to.

JOHN CALVIN. Sermons vpon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians. London, 1577. 4°. MCA. STC.

34 Caluin in Samuell — this book mistaken for another author.

JOHN CALVIN. Homiliæ in primum librum Samuelis. Geneva, 1604. f°. HCL. JHT. Potter. The book for which, according to the note, this was mistaken, would probably be the following, the only other important commentary of the time on Samuel: PETER MARTYR. Samuelis prophetæ qui vulgo priores libri Regum appellantur commentarii cum rerum et locorum plurimorum tractatione perutili. Zurich, 1575. f°. BM. Cf. 221.

35 Caluin his instit. in 4to.

JOHN CALVIN. The institvtion of Christian religion. Norton translation, London, 1574. 4°. STC. HCL. has the folio edition of 1561; also editions of 1599, 1611, 1634.

36 Calvin, the Epitomij of his Instit.

JOHN CALVIN. Institutionis Christianæ religionis epitome, per G. Launæum. London, 1583. 8°. STC.

37 Caluin his Epistles.

JOHN CALVIN. Epistolæ et responsa. 2nd ed. Lausanne, 1576. 8°. BM.

38 Cal. & Laviter in Ezech in Foll^s.

John Calvin. Prælectiones in Ezechielis viginti capita priora. Geneva, 1583. f°. Prince.

Ludwig Lavater. Propheta Ezechiel, homiliis seu comentariis expositus. Chronologia adjuncta est, ad intelligenda non solum hujus prophetæ, verumetiam Jeremiæ ac Danielis recondita vaticinia. Ancre, 1571. f°. BN.

39 Arretius on Mathew.

Benedictus Aretius. Novum Testamentum Jesu Christi, commentariis explanatum. Editio postrema, emendatissima. Morges, 1596–1600–1596. 3 pts. f°. BM.

40 Aretius in mark.

See under 39.

41 Aretius in Luke.

See under 39.

42 Aretius in John.

See under 39.

43 Aretius in acts.

See under 39.

44 Aretius in Epls Rom.

Benedictus Aretius. Commentarii in omnes Epistolas D. Pauli, et Canonicas, itemque in Apocalypsin D. Joannis. Morges, 1583. 3 pts. f°. BM. See also under 39.

45 Aretius in Epl^s corin. 1st & 2^d.

See under 39, 44.

46 Aretius in Epls Gall.

See under 39, 44.

47 Aretius in Epl^s Ephes.

See under 39, 44.

48 Aretius in Ep^ls Col.

See under 39, 44.

49 Aret. in Ep^l phil.

See under 39, 44.

50 Aret. in Ep^{l} Thes.
See under 39, 44.

51 Aret. in Ep^{ls} Tim. & Tit.
Benedictus Aretius. Commentarii in Epistolas Pauli ad Timoth. ad Titum et ad Philem. cum indice rerum memorabilium. Morges, 1583. 8°. BM. See also under 39, 44.

52 Aret. de Eclesia.
Benedictus Aretius. Examen theologicum. Lausanne, 1579. 8°. BN.

53 Aret. in Epist. Hebr. &c.
See under 39, 44.

54 Aret. in Ep^{ls} Jam. &c.
See under 39, 44. Judge Sewall in his diary speaks of studying Aretius' comments on James 4:5 with approval, and of making them the subject of table-talk. 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., VII. 367.

55 Aret. in Ep^{ls} pet. & John.
See under 39, 44.

56 Rolloc in Efect-vocat.
Robert Rollock. Tractatus de vocatione efficaci. Edinburgh, 1597. 8°. STC. Translated into English with the title "A treatise of Gods effectual calling." London, 1603. 4°. STC.

57 Rolloc in psal.
Robert Rollock. An exposition vpon some select psalmes of Dauid. Edinburgh, 1600. 8°. STC.

58 Rolloc in Joan:
Robert Rollock. In Evangelium secundum Johannem commentarius. Acc. harmonia in historiam mortis, resurrectionis & ascensionis Domini. Geneva, 1600. 8°. Cat. 1723.

59 Roll in rom:
Robert Rollock. Analysis dialectica in Epistolam ad Romanos. Edinburgh, 1593. 8°. STC.

60 Roll in Gallathis.
Robert Rollock. Analysis logica in Epistolam Pavli Apostoli ad Galatas. London, 1602. 8°. STC.

61 Roll in Ephes.

ROBERT ROLLOCK. In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios commentarius. Edinburgh, 1590. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1592.

62 Roll in phil.

ROBERT ROLLOCK. Certaine sermons vpon severall places of the Epistles of Paul. Edinburgh, 1599. 8°. Wodrow Society reprint (Select Works), I (Edinburgh, 1849). HCL. The tenth sermon is on Philippians i: 18–26. No general commentary on Philippians is found in the list of Rollock's works in the first volume of the reprint.

63 Roll in Thess.

ROBERT ROLLOCK. In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem (posteriorem) commentarius. Edinburgh, 1598. 2 pts. 8°. STC.

64 Roll in Coll.

ROBERT ROLLOCK. Commentarius in Epistolam ad Collossenses. Edinburgh, 1600. 8°. STC.

65 Roll in Hebr.

ROBERT ROLLOCK. Analysis logica in Epistolam ad Hebræos. Edinburgh, 1605. 8°. STC.

66 Roll his Sermons on pass & Risr —

ROBERT ROLLOCK. Lectures, upon the history of the passion, resurrection and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. Edinburgh, 1616. 8°. HCL.

67 Rolloc on Daniell:

ROBERT ROLLOCK. In librum Danielis prophetæ commentarius. Edinburgh, 1591. 4°. STC.

68 Hebrew bible verij faire in 4to.

69 Paulus de pellatis in proph Minores.

PAULUS PALACIOS DE SALAZAR. In XII Prophetas, quos minores vocant, commentarius. Cologne, 1583. 8°. BM.

70 Marlorts Thesaurus.

AUGUSTIN MARLORAT. Propheticæ et apostolicæ, id est, totius diuinæ ac canonicæ scripturæ thesaurus. London, 1574. f°. STC.

71 Bæzæ in passiones:

THEODORE BEZA. Sermons sur l'histoire de la passion et sépulture de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, descrite par les quatre Évangelistes. Geneva, 1592. 8°. HCL.

72 Bæzæ in Resurectiõ:

THEODORE BEZA. Sermons sur l'histoire de la résurrection de nostre Seigneur Jésus Christ. Geneva, 1593. 8°. BN.

THEODORE BEZA. Homiliæ in historiam Domini resurrectionis. Geneva, 1593. 8°. BM.

73 Bæza his Confessions.

THEODORE BEZA. Confessio Christianæ fidei et eiusdem collatio cum papisticis hæresibus. London, 1575. 8°. STC.

THEODORE BEZA. A brief and piththie [*sic*] summe of the Christian faith made in the forme of a confession. London, 1565? 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1572.

74 Bæza in psal:

THEODORE BEZA. Psalmorum Dauidis et aliorum prophetarum libri quinque Latine expressi. London, 1580. 8°. STC.

THEODORE BEZA. The Psalms of David truely opened and explained. London, 1580. 16°. STC. Cf. 375.

75 Bæza de Ministerijs.

THEODORE BEZA. Tractatvs pivs et moderatus de vera excommunicatione, & Christiano presbyterio, iampridem pacis conciliande causa, Cl. V. Th. Erasti D. Medici centum manuscriptis thesibus oppositis, & nunc primum, cogente necessitate, editus. Geneva, 1590. 22.9 x 15.8 cm. MCA.

THEODORE BEZA. Ad tractationem de ministrorum evangelii gradibus ab H. Seravia editam responsio. London, 1592. 8°. BM.

76 Amesius his Medulla.

WILLIAM AMES. Medulla theologica. Franeker, 1623. 12°. BU. HCL. has editions of 1628, 1629, 1656.

77 Ames his Coronis.

WILLIAM AMES. Coronis ad collationem Hagiensem, qua argumenta pastorum Hollandiæ adversus Remonstrantium quinque articulos de divina prædestinatione, & capitibus ei adnexis, producta, ab horum exceptionibus vindicantur. Leyden, 1618. 4°. Potter.

78 Ames Bell. Enarv:

WILLIAM AMES. Bellarminus eneruatus. Sive disputationes anti-Bellarminianæ. 3d ed. Oxford, 1629. 4 vols. in 2. 12°. Cat. 1723. HCL. STC. Cf. 503.

79 Ames in psal in 4to.

WILLIAM AMES. Lectiones in CL psalmos Davidis. Amsterdam, 1635. 4°. BN. HCL. has an edition of 1656.

80 Tilen: Syntag. 1. p^{t}.

DANIEL TILENUS. Syntagmatis disputationum theologicarum in Academia Sedanensi habitarum. Editio postrema recognita; cui nunc primum tertia pars accessit. Geneva, 1622. 8°. BM.

81 Tilen Syntag. 2 p^{t}.

See under 80.

82 Ames his Case in 4to.

WILLIAM AMES. De conscientia et ejus jure vel casibus, libri quinque. Amsterdam, 1631. 12°. STC. Edition in English, 1643. 4°. MCA. HCL. has an edition of 1635. Cf. 532. Judge Sewall refers to Ames "Cas. Consc. Lib. 5. cap. 23," as supporting his antislavery views. 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VI. 20.

83 Preston on New Covn^{t}.

JOHN PRESTON. The new covenant, or the saints portion. A treatise vnfolding the all-sufficiencie of God, and mans vprightnes, and the covenant of grace. London, 1629. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1631. Cf. 257.

84 Preston on faith & love.

JOHN PRESTON. The breast-plate of faith and love. London, 1630. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has editions of 1631 and later.

85 Preston on the attributs.

JOHN PRESTON. Life eternall; or, a treatise of the knowledge of the divine essence and attributes. London, 1631. 4°. HCL. STC.

86 Preston on the new Creat.

JOHN PRESTON. The new creatvre: or a treatise of sanctification. London, 1633. 4°. MCA. This is the second part of his Saints Qualification, with separate pagination and register.

87 Preston on Mortificat.

JOHN PRESTON. Sins overthrow: or, a godly and learned treatise of mortification. London, 1633. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

88 Pareus in Matt in 4to.

DAVID PAREUS (WAENGLER). In S. Matthei Evangelium commentarius. Oxford, 1631. 4°. STC.

89 Pareus in Cor. in 4to.

DAVID PAREUS (WAENGLER). Commentarius in priorem Epistolam ad Corinthios. In Works, II. Heidelberg, 1628. f°. Prince. The original separate edition was probably dated 1613 or 1614, as in 90.

90 Pareus in Gallat. in 4to.

DAVID PAREUS (WAENGLER). In divinam ad Galatas Apostoli Epistolam commentarius. Geneva, 1614. 8°. Prince. Cf. 291.

91 Pareus in Heb. in q^to^.

DAVID PAREUS (WAENGLER). Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebræos. In Works, II. Heidelberg, 1628. f°. Prince.

92 parres one romanes Capt 8 &c q^to^.

ELNATHAN PARR. A plaine exposition upon the whole eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth chapters of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. London, 1620. 4°. DNB. STC.

93 parr. on Rom. 15: capt. 16 ad fine.

ELNATHAN PARR. A plaine exposition upon the whole thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the Epistle to the Romanes. London, 1622. 4°. STC. Cf. 313.

94 Cartwright his Catech: in q^to^.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. Christian religion: svbstantially, methodicallie, plainlie, and profitablie treatised. London, 1611. 4°. MCA.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. A treatise of Christian religion. London, 1616. 4°. MCA. Cf. 342.

95 Tho: aquinus sum̄ in fol.

THOMAS AQUINAS. Summa sacræ theologiæ in tres partes divisa, Thomas a Vio Caietani commentariis illustrata. London, 1562. 4 vols. f°. BM.

96 pemble in Eccles.

WILLIAM PEMBLE. Salomons recantation and repentance; or the Booke of Ecclesiastes briefly and fully explained. London, 1627. 4°. BM. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1658.

97 pemble on Zacherry.

WILLIAM PEMBLE. A short and sweete exposition upon the first nine chapters of Zachary. London, 1629. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1658.

98 pemble his vindic̄ Gratiæ.

WILLIAM PEMBLE. Vindiciæ gratiæ. A plea for grace. More especially the grace of faith. Or, certain lectures as touching the nature and properties of grace and faith: wherein, amongst other matters of great vse, the maine sinewes of Arminius doctrine are cut asunder. 2nd ed. London, 1629. 4°. MCA. HCL. has an edition of 1659. Cf. 261.

99 pembl on Justificat.

WILLIAM PEMBLE. Vindiciæ fidei, or a treatise of justification by faith. Oxford, 1625. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1658. Cf. 412.

100 pembl on the Sacrem^{t} & other sermō.

WILLIAM PEMBLE. An introduction to the worthy receiving the sacrament of the Lords Svpper. London, 1628. 4°. HCL. STC.

101 Heming: in Ephes.

NEILS HEMMINGSEN. The Epistle to the Ephesians expounded. London, 1581. 4°. STC.

102 Camdens Remains in q^{to}.

WILLIAM CAMDEN. Remaines, concerning Britaine: but especially England, and the inhabitants thereof. London, 1614. 4°. HCL. MCA. An earlier quarto edition, in two parts (London, 1605) has a slightly different title. HCL. STC.

103 English dictionary.

HENRY COCKERAM. The English dictionarie, or a new interpreter of hard English words. London, 1623. 8°. STC. HCL. has editions of 1642, 1658. Cf. 198.

104 Downeham on Command^{ts}.

GEORGE DOWNAME. An abstract of the dvties commanded, and sinnes forbidden in the law of God. London, 1620. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1635.

105 Cleuer one the Law.

ROBERT CLEAVER and JOHN DOD. A treatise or exposition vpon the Ten Commandments. London, 1603. 8°. STC. Cf. 106.

106 Dod on Command^{ts}.

See under 105. Cf. 329, 330.

107 Scuddars walking wth god.

HENRY SCUDDER. The Christians daily walke in holy securitie and peace. London, 1627. 12°. MCA. STC.

108 Practis of christianity.

RICHARD ROGERS. Seven treatises, containing svch direction as is gathered ovt of the holie Scriptvres, leading and guiding to true happines, both in this life, and in the life to come: and may be called the practise of Christianitie. London, 1603. f°. MCA. STC. Cf. 169.

109 Practic of Piety & oracles.

LEWIS BAYLY. The practice of piety. 3d ed. London, 1613. 12°. BM. STC. Cf. 346, 550. The "& oracles" in the title may be a case of dittography; see next number.

110 Byfeilds marrow & oracles.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD. The marrow of the oracles of God. London, 1620. 12°. STC.

111 Byfeilds Principles.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD. The principles or, the patterne of wholesome words. Containing a collection of such truths as are of necessity to be belieued vnto saluation, separated out of the body of all theologie. Made euident by infallible and plaine proofes of Scripture. London, 1622. 8°. MCA. The title of the first edition, 1618, lacks the first three words of the above. STC.

112 Byfields one the Creed.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD. The rvle of faith: or an exposition of the Apostles Creed, so handled as it affordeth both milke for babes, and strong meat for such as are at full age. London, 1626. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC. Cf. 242.

113 Alstedius his definitions.

114 Alstedius his distinctions.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. Both 113 and 114 are perhaps preparatory studies made in the course of Alsted's preparation of his Lexicon (cf. 343). Or they may be portions of his Præcognita Theologica (Hanover, 1623. 4°.), of which Liber 1 is made up of definitions with theorems following, and Liber 2 has a section of twelve pages made up of "distinctiones." HCL. Or, compare: Compendium lexici philosophici. Herborn in Nassau, 1626. 8°. BN.

115 Astedius synopsis.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. Synopsis theologiæ exhibens œconomiam singulorum locorum theologicorum. Frankfort-on-Main, 1653. 12°. BN. This is, of course, a later edition than Jenner's.

116 Astedius his Quest: & Respons.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. [Perhaps] Theologia catechetica exhibens sacrosanctissimam novitiolorum Christianorum scholam. Hanover, 1622. 4°. BN.

117 Markams Husbandry.

GERVASE MARKHAM. Cheape and good husbandry. London, 1614. 4°. STC. HCL. has editions of 1631 and 1676.

118 Dike one Repent.

DANIEL DYKE. Two treatises, the one of repentance; the other of Christs temptations. London, 1616. 4°. STC. Cf. 246, 413.

119 Dixon in hebr.

DAVID DICKSON. A short explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrewes. Aberdeen, 1635. 8°. HCL. MCA. STC.

120 Gouerm^{t} of Thoughts.

THOMAS COOPER. The sacred mysterie of the government of the thoughts. London, 1619. 8°. MCA. STC. Cf. 388.

121 Gales of Grace.

THOMAS BARNES. The gales of grace: or, the spirituall winde: wherein the mysterie of sanctification is opened and handled. London, 1622. 8°. MCA. STC.

122 Barnard faithfull shepard.

RICHARD BERNARD. The faithfvll shepheard: or the shepheards faithfulnesse: wherein is set forth the excellencie and necessitie of the ministerie. London, 1607. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC. Cf. 391.

123 Hedersham on Fastings.

ARTHUR HILDERSAM. The doctrine of fasting and praier, and humiliation for sinne. London, 1633. 2 pts. 4°. MCA. STC.

124 Bradshew one the L^{ds} Super.

WILLIAM BRADSHAW. Direction for the weaker sort of Christians shewing in what manner they ought to fit themselves to the worthy receiuing of the Sacrament. London, 1609. 12°. STC. Another edition, part one rewritten, with altered title, London, 1617. 12°. STC.

125 Dods housould gouernm^{t}.

JOHN DOD. A godly form of householde government. London, 1598. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1621. According to the notice of Dod in DNB., Dod did "editorial work" on Robert Cleaver's work of the same title. Cf. 395.

126 Return of prayer.

THOMAS GOODWIN. The retvrne of prayers. A treatise wherein this case [how to discerne Gods answer to our prayers] is briefly resolved. London, 1626. 4°. HCL. STC.

127 Brentius Judges & Ruth.

JOHANN BRENTZ, *the Elder*. In librum Judicum et Ruth commentarii. Schwäbisch-Hall, 1544. f°. BM.

128 Kekermans Theolog.

BARTHOLOMÄUS KECKERMANN. A manduction to theologie. London, 1622. 8°. STC.

129 Tailers rule of life.

THOMAS TAYLOR. Regula vitæ, the rvle of the law vnder the gospel. Containing a discovery of the pestiferous sect of libertines, Antinomians, and sonnes of Belial, lately sprung up to destroy the law, and disturbe the faith of the gospell. London, 1631. 12°. MCA. STC.

130 Mortons 3. fold estat.

THOMAS MORTON. A treatise of the three-folde state of man, or, an anatomie of the soule. London, 1596. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1599.

131 Ainsworths S^t^ comun.

HENRY AINSWORTH. The communion of saints. A treatise of the fellowship, that the faithfull have with God, and His angels, and one with another; in this present life. [Amsterdam?] 1615. 8°. BM. HCL. has an edition of 1628.

132 Saints societij.

JOSEPH BENTHAM. The saints societie. London, 1636. 4°. STC. A reprint of "The societie of the saints; or, a treatise of good-fellowes." London, 1630. 4°. STC.

133 Richardson on Peter & Jude on repent.

CHARLES RICHARDSON. The repentance of Peter and Iudas. Together with the frailtie of the faithfull, and the fearefull ende of wicked hypocrites. London, 1612. 4°. MCA. STC.

134 Sadeel in Terranum.

ANTOINE DE CHANDIEU (SADEEL). Opera theologica. Geneva, 1592. f°. HCL. Several parts are devoted to a controversy with Francisco Torres, a Spanish Jesuit, the first section of which (pp. 561–829) is headed: Sophismata F. Tvrriani Monachi, ex eorum sodalitate qui sacrosancta Iesu nomine ad suæ sectæ inscriptionem abutantur.

135 Smith patt: of prayer.

JOHN SMITH. A paterne of true prayer. London, 1605. 4°. STC.

136 Gilpins life.

GEORGE CARLETON. Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri sanctissimi, famaqve apvd Anglos aqvilonares celeberrimi. London, 1628. 4°. MCA. Translated by W. Freake with the title "The life of Bernard Gilpin." London, 1629. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1636.

137 Rogers on saul.

RICHARD ROGERS. Samuel's encovnter with Saul. London, 1620. 12°. MCA. STC.

138 Lightfoot his missella.[1]

JOHN LIGHTFOOT. Erubhin: or miscellanies, Christian and Judaicall. London, 1629. 8°. STC.

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[1] This entry was substituted for another crossed out.

139 Tayler on Titus in 4to.

Thomas Taylor. A commentarie vpon the Epistle of S. Paul written to Titvs. Cambridge, 1612. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

140 Tayler on the Types.

Thomas Taylor. Christ revealed, or, the Old Testament explained. A treatise of the types and shadowes of our Saviovr contained throughout the whole Scriptvre. London, 1635. sm 4°. MCA.

141 Frogmorton on faith.

G. Throgmorton. A treatise of faith. London, 1624. 8°. STC. Watt.

142 Sacra Heptad.

G. S. (George Sandys?). Sacræ heptades, or seaven problems concerning Anti-christ. Leyden, 1625. 4°. MCA. STC.

143 Europæ speculum.

Sir Edwin Sandys. Europæ specvlvm or, a view or svrvey of the state of religion in the westerne parts of the world. Wherein the Romane religion, and the pregnant policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed. The Hague, 1629. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has editions of 1632 and 1637.

144 Rogers practicall catich. foll.

Daniel Rogers. A practicall catechisme: or, a view of those principall truths of the word, which most directly tend to life and godlinesse. London, 1632. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1640.

145 Rogers on the sacriments 4to.

[Daniel Rogers.] A treatise of the two sacraments of the gospel: Baptisme and the Svpper of the Lord. London, 1633. 4°. STC.

146 Israels Idolatry Genisson.

Robert Jenison. The height of Israels heathenish idolatrie. London, 1621. 4°. STC. Mackenzie: Historical Account of Newcastle, I. 282, 316.

147 Moulins Anoton. of Armin.

Pierre du Moulin, *the Elder*. Anatome Arminianismi seu, enucleatio controversiarum quæ in Belgio agitantur. Leyden, 1619. 4°. Potter. English translation with the title "The anatomy of Arminianisme." London, 1620. 4°. MCA. STC.

148 Testamentij restitutio.

149 Ursinus Catich.

ZACHARIAS URSINUS. Catechesis religionis Christianæ quæ in ecclesiis Palatinatus traditur. Edinburgh, 1591. 8°. STC. The Heidelberg Catechism, of which Ursinus was one of the authors.

ZACHARIAS URSINUS. Explicationum catecheticarum editio altera. Cambridge, 1587. 8°. STC.

150 Bucanum Coīn. pl.

GULIELMUS BUCANUS. Institutiones theologicæ, seu locorum communium Christianæ religionis analysis. Geneva, 1617. sm. 8°. Potter.

GULIELMUS BUCANUS. Institvtions of Christian religion framed out of Gods word. London, 1606. 4°. MCA.

151 Fresh suit agst Cerum.

WILLIAM AMES. A fresh svit against human ceremonies in Gods worship. [Rotterdam ?] 1633. 3 pts. 4°. MCA. STC.

152 The visible church.

[HENRY BARROW]. A true description out of the word of God of the visible church. London, 1589. 4°. STC.

153 Trelcatius.

LUCAS TRELCATIUS. [Probably] A briefe institution of the common places of sacred divinitie. London, 1610. 8°. STC. Cf. 454.

154 Spirituall stedfastness.

JOHN BARLOW. A seasonable discourse of spiritvall stedfastnes. Published in his "Exposition of the first and second chapters of the latter Epistle to Timothie." London, 1632. 4 pts. f°. MCA.

155 Weemes in 2 volł in 4to.

JOHN WEMYSS (WEEMSE). Works. London, 1633. 3 vols. 4°. 1636. 4 vols. 4°. HCL.

JOHN WEMYSS (WEEMSE). Exercitations divine, in two books. The first containing sundry questions for the understanding of the Scripture in general, the second containing sundry questions for the understanding of the moral law. London, 1632. 4°. STC. Cf. 484.

156 Weems godes Image in q^{to}.

JOHN WEMYSS (WEEMSE). The povrtraiture of the image of God in man. London, 1627. 2 pts. 4°. MCA. STC.

157 White woolf.

STEPHEN DENISON. The white wolfe or, a sermon preached at Pavls Crosse, Feb. 11. 1627. Wherein faction is vnmasked, and iustly taxed without malice. Especially the Hetheringtonian faction growne very impudent in the citie of late yeeres, is here confuted. London, 1627. 4°. MCA. STC.

158 Harrisons Sermō st[?] Abso. Fun^{ll}: & others.

ROBERT HARRIS. Absaloms fvnerall: or, the lamentation of a loving father for a rebellious childe. London, 1626. 4°. HCL.

159 Baynes Letters.

PAUL BAYNES. Christian letters. London, 1620. 8°. STC.

160 Denison on sacriment^{s}.

STEPHEN DENISON. The doctrine of both the sacraments. To wit, Baptisme and the Svpper of the Lord. London, 1621. 4°. STC. 1634. MCA.

161 Sibs saints saftij.

RICHARD SIBBES. The saints safetie in evill times. London, 1633–1634. 2 pts. 12°. STC.

162 Randall of the church.

JOHN RANDALL. Twenty nine lectures of the church. London, 1631. 4°. MCA. STC.

163 Luther on Gallath.

MARTIN LUTHER. A commentarie vpon the Epistle to the Galathians. London, 1575. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1588. Cf. 290.

164 Slater on Thess.

WILLIAM SCLATER, *the Elder*. An exposition with notes upon the first and second Epistles to the Thessalonians. London, 1627. 2 vols. 4°. MCA. STC. A work of his on First Thessalonians only was published in London in 1619. MCA.

165 Slater on rom.

WILLIAM SCLATER, *the Elder*. A key to the key of Scriptvre: or an exposition with notes vpon the Epistle to the Romanes; the three first chapters. London, 1611. 4°. MCA. STC. Cf. 312.

166 Gualter on act.

RUDOLPH WALTHER. An hundred, threescore and fiftene homeleyes or sermons vppon the Actes of the Apostles. London, 1572. f°. STC.

167 Rogers on faith.

JOHN ROGERS. The doctrine of faith. 3d ed. London, 1629. 12°. STC.

168 Goodwins Moses & aron.

THOMAS GODWIN. Moses and Aaron. Civil and ecclesiastical rites, vsed by the ancient Hebrewes; obserued, and at large opened, for the clearing of many obscure texts thorowout the whole Scriptvre. London, 1625. 4°. STC. HCL. has editions of 1628 and later.

169 Rogers 7 Treatesys.

See under 108.

170 [ ][1] in Gen:

171 Culverwel on faith.

EZEKIEL CULVERWELL. A treatise of faith. Wherein is declared, how a man may liue by faith, and finde reliefe in all his necessities. 6th ed. London, 1629. 4°. MCA.

172 Essex Dove.

JOHN SMITH. Essex dove, presenting the world with a few of her olive branches. London, 1629. 4°. MCA. STC.

173 Rayners sinfulnes of sin q^{to}.

EDWARD REYNOLDS. Three treatises of the vanity of the creature; the sinfulnesse of sinne; the life of Christ. London, 1631. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1634.

174 Palag: Rediviūm.

[DANIEL FEATLY.] Pelagius redivivus. Or Pelagivs raked ovt of the ashes by Arminivs and his schollers. London, 1626. 4°. HCL. MCA. The same as his "Parallel of new-old Pelagiarminian error."

175 Wheatlij Care-clo[th].

WILLIAM WHATELY. A care-cloth: or a treatise of the cumbers and troubles of marriage. London, 1624. 4°. STC. Cf. 331.

176 Vestig Antiquitees.

RICHARD VERSTEGEN (ROWLANDS). A restitvtion of decayed intelligence: in antiquities. Concerning the most noble and renowned English nation. Antwerp, 1605. 4°. HCL. MCA.

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[1] The name of the author has been crossed out in the original MS.

178 [1] Genevas Discipline.

ROBERT FILLS (translator). The laws and statutes of Geneua, as well concerning ecclesiastical discipline as ciuill regiment, with certeine proclamations, duly executed, whereby Gods religion is most purelie mainteined, and their common wealth quietli gouerned. London, 1562. 8°. BM. MCA.

179 Dike on 4: [2] Evang hystor:

DANIEL DYKE. Sixe evangelical histories. Of water turned into wine. The temples purgation. Christ and Nicodemvs. Iohns last testimonie. Christ, and the woman of Samaria. The rvlers sonnes healing. Contained in the 2. 3. and 4. chapters of St. Iohns Gospel. London, 1617. 4°. STC. 1633. MCA.

180 Baal on faith.

JOHN BALL. A treatise of faith. London, 1631. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1632.

181 Rogers on Luke: ch. 15.

NEHEMIAH ROGERS. The trve convert. Or an exposition vpon the whole parable of the prodigall. London, 1620. 4°. MCA.

NEHEMIAH ROGERS. The trve convert: or, an exposition vpon the XV chapter of St. Luke's Gospell, containing the lost sheepe, the lost groat, the lost sonne. London, 1632. 3 pts. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC. Cf. 307.

182 Rogers on the vinyard.

NEHEMIAH ROGERS. A strange vineyard in Palæstine. London, 1623. 4°. STC.

NEHEMIAH ROGERS. The wild vine: or, an exposition on Isaiah's parabolicall song of the beloued. London, 1632. 4°. MCA. Cf. 333.

183 Rogers his sermon.

RICHARD ROGERS. Certaine sermons. London, 1612. 4°. STC.

184 Richardson his Lodgick.

ALEXANDER RICHARDSON. The logicians schoolmaster. London, 1629. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1657.

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[1] The manuscript contains no number 177.

[2] The manuscript shows signs of emendation; the number may originally have been "6," changed to "4," because of the number of the gospels, by some one who did not know the full nature of the book.

185 Mayor on James.

JOHN MAYER. Praxis theologica: or, the Epistle of the Apostle St. Iames resolved, expovnded, and preached vpon by way of doctrine and vse. London, 1629. 4°. MCA. STC.

186 Smith on ps ye 51.

SAMUEL SMITH. Davids repentance: or, a plaine and familiar exposition of the 51. psalme. London, 1614. 4°. STC. 1640. 8°. MCA.

187 Whitaker ag^st^ Camp.

WILLIAM WHITAKER. Edmvndi Campiani Iesvitæ rationes decem, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei: & ad eas responsio. London, 1582. 4°. MCA. STC. Translated into English with the title "An answere to the ten reasons of Edmvnd Campian the Iesvit." London, 1606. 4°. MCA.

188 Arrainent of hipocrites.

JOHN YATES. Gods arraignement of hypocrites: with an inlargement concerning Gods decree in ordering sinne. As likewise a defence of Mr. Calvine against Bellarmine: and of M. Perkins against Arminivs. Cambridge, 1615. 4°. MCA. STC.

189 Brightman on revelat.

THOMAS BRIGHTMAN. Apocalypsis apocalypseos. Frankfort, 1609. 4°. Prince. Translated into English with the title "A revelation of the Apocalyps." Amsterdam, 1611. 4°. STC. Another English edition: "A revelation of the Reuelation that is the Revelation of St. John opened clearely with a logicall resolution and exposition." Amsterdam, 1615. 4°. MCA.

190 Gilt Latin bible.

191 wattons defence of Perkins.

ANTHONY WOTTON. A defence of M. Perkins booke, called A Reformed Catholike: against the cauils of a popish writer, one D. B. B. or W. B. in his Deformed Reformation. London, 1606. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

192 Prins Antijarminisme.

WILLIAM PRYNNE. Anti-Arminianisme. Or the Church of Englands old antithesis to new Arminianisme. Wherein seven anti-arminian orthodox tenets, are evidently proved; their seven op-

posite Arminian (once popish and Pelagian) errours, are manifestly disproved, to be the ancient, established, vndoubted doctrine of the primitive and moderne Church of England. London, 1630. 4°. HCL. MCA.

193 Cristopher on Eph.

[Possibly] ST. CHRYSOSTOM. An exposition upon the Epistle of S. Paule the Apostle to the Ephesians: trucly and faithfully translated out of Greeke, perused and auctorized, according to an order appointed in hir Maiesties iniunctions. London, 1581. 4°. BM.

194 Boltons his instructions.

ROBERT BOLTON. Instrvctions for a right comforting afflicted consciences, with speciall antidotes against some grievous temptations. London, 1631. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

195 Bolton his Direction for walks.

ROBERT BOLTON. Some generall directions for a comfortable walking with God. London, 1625. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1630.

196 Boltons 4 last thinges.

ROBERT BOLTON. The foure last things, death, ivdgement, hell, and heaven. London, 1632. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1639. Cf. 416.

197 Passors Lexicon.

GEORG PASOR. Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum. London, 1620. 8°. STC.

198 Riders Dictionary best sort.

JOHN RIDER. Riders Dictionarie, corrected and augmented by F. Holyoke. London, 1606. 4°. STC. HCL. has editions of 1639 and 1659.

199 Dikes Deceit of ye hart.

DANIEL DYKE. The mystery of self-deceiving. Or, a discovrse and discouery of the deceitfulnesse of mans heart. London, 1614. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1634.

200 Barnard on witchCraft.

RICHARD BERNARD. A guide to grand jury men [with respect to witches]. London, 1627. 12°. HCL. STC. Sta. Reg. Cf. 531.

The Catalogue of mine Thomas Jenner. This aboue written Cattaloug of bookes according as they are nombred being tow hundred Bookes are sould vnto the Corporacon for the propagacõn of the Gospell in New England [1]

A CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY Y^t^ Mr ELIOT HATH BOUGHT OF ME THO: WELD FOR THIRTY & FOWRE POUNDS, PAID ME BY THE CORPORATION FOR N. ENGL. AUG. 18 1651.

Bookes in folio [2]

201 Tremelius & Junius bible.
See under 15. Cf. 476.

202 Halls workes.
JOSEPH HALL. Works. London, 1625. f°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1634.

203 Zanchij opera. vol. 1, 2, 3
GIROLAMO ZANCHI. Opera theologica. Geneva, 1613. 3 vols. f°. BN.

204 Chemnitij opera. vol. 1, 2, 3
MARTIN CHEMNITZ (CHEMNITIUS). Loci communes. Frankfort-on-Main, 1631, 1591, 1592. 3 pts. f°. Cat. 1723.
MARTIN CHEMNITZ (CHEMNITIUS). Loci theologici quibus et Loci Communes Philippi Melanthonis explicantur. Frankfort-on-Main, 1591–2. 3 vols. f°. HCL.

205 Cypriani opera.
ST. CYPRIAN. Opera ab innumeris mendis repurgata, adjectis nonnullis libellis quæ hactenus non habebantur ac remotis iis, quæ falso videbantur inscripta, una cum annotatiunculis, atque hæc omnia nobis præstitit labore suo Erasmus. Basel, 1521. f°. BN. HCL.

[1] Figures which may represent the price have been crossed out.
[2] As Weld did not number his books, numbers beginning with 201 have been assigned to them.

206 Basilij Magni Opera.

ST. BASIL THE GREAT. Ἅπαντα τα του Θειου και Μεγαλου καλουμενου Βασιλειου. Divi Basilii Magni opera Græca quæ ad nos extant omnia. J. Cornarius, ed. Basel, 1551. f°. BM. HCL.

ST. BASIL THE GREAT. Opera omnia. Paris 1638, '37. 3 vols. f°. HCL.

207 Polani Syntagma.

AMANDUS POLANUS. Syntagma theologiæ Christianæ. Hanover, 1615. f°. Potter. Translated into English with the title "The svbstance of Christian religion, sovndly set forth in two bookes. The first booke concerneth faith. The second concerneth good workes." London, 1595. 8°. MCA.

208 Perkins workes, in $\left.\begin{matrix}1\\2\\3\end{matrix}\right\}$ vol.

See under 6.

209 Grenehams works.

RICHARD GREENHAM. Workes. London, 1601. f°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1627.

210 Rogers 7 treatises.

See under 108. Cf. 169.

211 Heirons works.

SAMUEL HIERON. Workes. London, 1620. 2 vols. f°. MCA. STC.

212 Tayler on Titus.

See under 139.

213 Cottons Concordance.

See under 1.

214 Destructoriū Viciorum.

ALEXANDER, *Anglus* (ALEXANDER CARPENTER). Tabula compendiosa operis præsentis destructoriū viciorum intitulati. Cologne, 1480. f°. BM.

ALEXANDER, *Anglus* (ALEXANDER CARPENTER). Summa quæ destructorium viciorum appellatur. Cologne, 1485. f°. Nuremburg, 1496. f°. BM. Copies in America of the Cologne, 1485, edition are in the Providence, R. I., Athenæum and in the library of the

Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; of the Nuremberg, 1496, edition, in HCL., at the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, and at Cornell University. Census of Fifteenth-Century Books in America.

215 Babingtons workes.

GERVASE BABINGTON. Workes. London, 1615. 5 pts. f°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1637.

216 Hemingius in Epistolas.

NIELS HEMMINGSEN. Commentaria in omnes Epistolas Apostolorum, Pauli, Petri, Judæ, Johannis, Jacobi, et in eam quæ ad Hebræos inscribitur. Leipzig, 1572. f°. BM.

217 Calvinus in 5 libros Mosis.

See under 23.

218 Calvins sermons in Deutero:

JOHN CALVIN. Sermons vpon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie; faithfully gathered word for word as he preached them in open pulpet. London, 1583. f°. HCL. MCA.

219 Ainsworth in Gen. et. Exod.

HENRY AINSWORTH. Annotations upon the first book of Moses, called Genesis. Amsterdam, 1617. 4°. STC.

HENRY AINSWORTH. Annotations vpon the second booke of Moses, called Exodus. Amsterdam, 1617. 4°. STC. The earliest folio edition in which these items appear is "Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses," London, 1627, 26. BM.

220 Attersole on numbers.

WILLIAM ATTERSOLL. A commentarie vpon the fourth booke of Moses, called Numbers. London, 1618. f°. DNB. STC. Made up of "The pathway to Canaan" (1609), "The historie of Balak" (1610), and other works.

221 Pet: Martir in Iud.

PETER MARTYR (VERMIGLI). Most fruitfull & learned commentaries with a very profitable tract of the matter and places. London, 1564. f°. HCL. MCA. STC. The running title is "A commentary vpon the booke of Iudges."

222 Rogers on ye Judges.

RICHARD ROGERS. A commentary vpon the whole booke of Ivdges. London, 1615. f°. MCA. STC.

223 Willet on 1st & 2d lib. Saīn.

Andrew Willet. An harmonie upon the first booke of Samuel. Cambridge, 1614. f°. stc.

Andrew Willet. An harmonie upon the second booke of Samuel. Cambridge, 1614. f°. stc. Cf. 471.

224 Musculus in Psalmos.

Wolfgang Musculus. In Davidis psalterium sacrosanctum commentarii. Basel, 1618. f°. bm.

225 wilcocks on the psal.[1]

Thomas Wilcox. Works, containing an exposition upon the whole booke of David's Psalmes. London, 1624. f°. bm.

226 Musculus in Isaiā.

Wolfgang Musculus. In prophet. Isaiam. Basel, 1570. f°. Cat. 1723.

227 Bullinger in Isa.

Heinrich Bullinger. Isaias excellentissimus Dei propheta expositus. Zurich, 1567. f°. bm. Potter.

228 Marloret in Isa.

Augustin Marlorat. Esaie prophetia, cum Catholica expositione ecclesiastica. Paris, 1564. f°. bm.

229 Musculus in Math.

Wolfgang Musculus. Commentarij in Matthæum Evangelistam. Basel, 1611. 3 vols. f°. bm. Potter.

230 Marloret in novū test.

Augustin Marlorat. Novi Testament: Catholica expositio ecclesiastica. [Paris?] 1570. f°. bm.

231 Galter in Acta Aposto.

See under 166.

232 Calinus in Epistolas.

John Calvin. Commentarii in omnes Pauli Epistolas. Adivnximvs commentarios in omnes Epistolas canonicas. Geneva, 1580. f°. Prince.

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[1] "& Proverbs" crossed out.

233 Erasmus in novū test.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. The first tome or volume of the paraphrase vpon the Newe Testamente. London, 1548. f°. MCA. STC.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. The second tome or volume of the paraphrase vpon the Newe Testament. London, 1549. f°. MCA. STC.

234 Musculus in Rom. & Corinth.

WOLFGANG MUSCULUS. In Epistolam D. Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos commentarii. Basel, 1600. f°. BM.

WOLFGANG MUSCULUS. In Apostoli Pauli ambas Epistolas ad Corinthios commentarii. Basel, 1611. f°. BM.

235 Willet on ye Romans.

ANDREW WILLET. Hexapla: that is, a six-fold commentarie vpon the most diuine Epistle of the holy Apostle S. Paul to the Romanes: wherein according to the authors former method sixe things are observed in euery chapter. Cambridge, 1611. f°. MCA. STC.

236 Byfield on ye Col.

See under 20.

237 Hildersham on ye 4 chap. of John.

ARTHUR HILDERSAM. Lectvres vpon the fovrth of Iohn. London, 1629. f°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1632.

238 P. Martir. Loci.

PETER MARTYR (VERMIGLI). Loci communes. London, 1576. f°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1622. Translated into English with the title "The common places of Peter Martyr." London, 1583. f°. HCL. STC.

239 Willets Synopsis.

See under 8.

Bookes in 4to

240 Wilsons dictionary.

THOMAS WILSON. A Christian dictionary. Opening the significations of the chiefe words dispersed generally through Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. 2nd ed. London, 1616. 4°. STC. Cf. 488.

241 Simpsons history of the church.

See under 13.

242 Byfield on ye Creeds.
See under 112.

243 Heron on Psal. 51.
See under 14.

244 Dyke on the heart.
See under 199.

245 Dyke on Philemon.
DANIEL DYKE. Two treatises; the one upon Philemon, the other the school of affliction. London, 1618. 2 pts. 4°. STC.

246 Dyke on repentance &c.
See under 118. Cf. 413.

247 Dyke of 6 histories on John.
See under 179.

248 Downhams warfare in 1 2 3 booke.
See under 9.

249 Downhams 4^r^ treatises.
JOHN DOWNAME. Foure treatises tending to diswade all Christians from swearing. London, 1609. 4°. STC.

250 Smiths sermons.
HENRY SMITH. Sermons. London, 1595. 4°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1631.

251 Gouch on Ephes: domesticall duties.
WILLIAM GOUGE. An exposition of part of the fift and sixt chapters of S. Paules Epistle to the Ephesians, wherein is handled all such duties as belong to household gouernment; also the spiritvall armour, ovt of which a Christian may fetch svfficient furniture against all his spirituall enemies. London, 1630. 4°. MCA.

252 Rogers on ye 39 Art.
THOMAS ROGERS. The faith, doctrine, and religion, professed, & protected in the realme of England, and dominions of the same: expressed in 39 articles, concordablie agreed vpon by the reuerend bishops, and clergie of this kingdome. Cambridge, 1607. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

253 Forbes on Justification.
JOHN FORBES. A treatise tending to cleare the doctrine of ivstification. Middelburgh, 1616. 4°. MCA. STC.

254 [Sphinx Philosophica] [1]
See under 362.

255 Molineus contra Armin.
See under 147.

256 Negus of faith.
WILLIAM NEGUS. Mans active obedience, or the power of godlines, especially in the commandement of the gospell, which requireth faith in euerie Christian: or a treatise of faith. London, 1619. 4°. MCA. STC.

257 Counsell of Dort.
SYNODUS. Ivdicium synodi nationalis, reformatarvm ecclesiarvm Belgicarvm, habitae Dordrechti, Anno 1618. & 1619. Dort, 1619. 4°. MCA. HCL. has two editions of 1620.

258 Boultons Workes.
ROBERT BOLTON. Workes. London, 1641. 4°. MCA. STC.

259 Dr Preston Allsufficieny & Coven^t^.
See under 83.

260 Dr Preston of faith & Love.
See under 84.

261 Pemble his Vindicia Gra. et Glo.
See under 98. The source of the phrase "& Glo." is not apparent.

262 Pemble in Zach.
See under 97.

263 Granger in Eccles.
THOMAS GRANGER. A familiar exposition or commentarie on Ecclesiastes. London, 1621. 4°. MCA. STC.

264 2 Physick bookes

265 Esties Workes.
GEORGE ESTEY. Certaine godly and learned expositions vpon diuers parts of Scripture. London, 1603. 2 pts. 4°. MCA. STC.

[1] Crossed out.

266 Topsell on Ruth.

EDWARD TOPSELL. The reward of religion. Deliuered in sundrie lectures vpon the Booke of Ruth. London, 1601. 4°. MCA.

267 Topsell on Joel.

EDWARD TOPSELL. Times lamentation: or an exposition on the prophet Ioel. London, 1599. 4°. MCA.

268 Edwins Works.

269 Calvin on ye Psalmes.

See under 29.

270 Dod on ye Proverbs.

JOHN DOD and ROBERT CLEAVER. A plaine and familiar exposition of the ninth and tenth chapters of the Proverbs of Salomon. London, 1606. 4°. STC. Four later volumes, 1607–1610, carried their exposition through chapter 20. STC.

271 A. C. on Eccles:

ANTONIO DE CORRO (CORRANUS). Salomons sermon of mans chief felicitie with paraphrase. Oxford, 1586. 8°. STC.

272 Giffird on ye Cant.

GEORGE GIFFORD. Fifteen sermons vpon the Song of Solomon. London, 1598. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1612. Cf. 376.

273 Clapham on ye Cant.

HENOCH CLAPHAM. Three partes of Salomon his Song of Songs, expounded. London, 1603. 4°. MCA. The fourth and fifth parts were published in London in 1606. STC.

274 Gouch on ye Cant.

WILLIAM GOUGE. An exposition of the Song of Solomon. London, 1615. 4°. STC.

275 Brinsley in Chap. 9th of Ezekiell.

JOHN BRINSLEY, *the Elder*. The third part of The Trve Watch, containing the call of the Lord, to awake all sorts to meet him with intreatie of peace, and to turn unto him by true repentence: taken out of the vision of Ezekiel, chap. 9. London, 1622. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1623.

276 Map of Rome.

THOMAS TAYLOR. A mappe of Rome: lively exhibiting her mercilesse meeknesse, and cruell mercies to the church of God; preached in fiue sermons on occasion of the Gunpowder Treason. London, 1619. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1659.

277 Renolds against Hart.

JOHN RAINOLDS. The summe of the conference betwene John Rainolds and John Hart; touching the head and faith of the church. London, 1584. 4°. BM. HCL.

278 Whitaker against Bellermine.

WILLIAM WHITAKER. Disputatio de sacra scriptvra contra huius temporis papistas, imprimis Robertum Bellarminum & T. Stapletonum. Cambridge, 1588. 4°. BM.

WILLIAM WHITAKER. Prælectiones in quibus tractatur controversia de ecclesia contra pontificios, inprimis R. Bellarminum. Cambridge, 1599. 4°. BM.

279 Danæus in Omnes minores Prophetas.

LAMBERT DANEAU. Commentarium in prophetas minores. Geneva, 1586. 2 vols. 8°. BM. Translated into English with the title "A frvitfvll commentarie vpon the twelue small prophets." Cambridge, 1594. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

280 Winklemanñ in omnes Prophetas minores.

JOHANNES WINKLEMANN. Commentarius in XII prophetas minores. Frankfort, 1603. 8°. Watt.

281 Downham on ye 4 Chap of Hosea.

JOHN DOWNAME. Lectures upon the foure first chapters of Hosea. London, 1608. 4°. STC.

282 Dr Mayers Catechisme.

JOHN MAYER. The English catechisme explained, or, a comentarie on the short catechisme set forth in the Booke of Common Prayer. London, 1620. 4°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1623.

283 Mayer on the 4^r^ Evangl. & Acts.

JOHN MAYER. A treasvry of ecclesiasticall expositions, vpon the difficult and doubtfull places of the Scriptures, collected out of the best esteemed interpreters, both auncient and moderne, together with the authors judgement, and various observations. Conteining

270. texts, throughout the Gospels of Mathew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, and the Acts of the Apostles. London, 1622. 4°. MCA. STC. Cf. 489.

284 Malcolmus in Acta.
JOHN MALCOLM. Commentarius in Apostolorum Acta, notis locisque sacrarum literum appositis illustratus. Middleburg, 1615. 4°. BM.

285 Musculus in Johañ.
WOLFGANG MUSCULUS. In Divi Joannis Apostoli Evangelium commentarii. Basel, 1618. f°. BM.

286 Bucerus in Johañ.
MARTIN BUCER (BUTZER). In Euangelium Joannis. Catalogue of William Ames library in Prince Collection.

287 Wilson on ye Romanes.
See under 17.

288 Pareus in Romanos.
DAVID PAREUS (WAENGLER). In divinam ad Romanos S. Pauli Apostoli Epistolam commentarius. Heidelberg, 1613. 4°. BM.

289 Pareus in 1st Epist. ad Cor.
See under 89.

290 Luther on ye Gal.
See under 163.

291 Pareus in Gal.
See under 90.

292 Aiery on y^e^ Philipians.
HENRY AIRAY. Lectvres upon the whole Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians. London, 1618. 4°. BM.

293 Elton on Col.
EDWARD ELTON. An exposition of the Epistle of St. Paule to the Colossians. London, 1615. 4°. MCA. STC. Cf. 477.

294 Rolocus in Thes. $\bar{1}$ et $\bar{2}$ Epist.
See under 63.

295 Slater in $\bar{1}$ Epist: ad Thes.
See under 164.

296 Phillips sermons.

EDWARD PHILIPS. Certaine godly and learned sermons. London, 1605. 4°. MCA. STC.

GEORGE PHILLIPS. Fiue godly and learned sermons. London, 1594. 8°. STC.

297 Tayler on ye Parable of ye Sower.

THOMAS TAYLOR. The parable of the sower and of the seed. London, 1621. 4°. MCA. STC. To the third edition (1634) was added the "Mappe of Rome." HCL. has an edition of 1659. See 276.

298 Tayler on 10. Chap of the Acts.

THOMAS TAYLOR. Exposition of the 10th chap. of the Acts from verse 34 to verse 43. Cambridge, 1612. 4°. Cat. 1723.

299 Tayler on Psal. 32.

THOMAS TAYLOR. Davids learning, or the way to true happinesse, in a commentarie vpon the XXXII. psalme. London, 1617. 4°. MCA. STC.

300 Luther on the epistles of Joh: Jude & Revel.

MARTIN LUTHER. A commentarie or exposition vpon the twoo Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jvde. London, 1581. 4°. MCA. STC. A commentary by Luther on Revelation was published in German in 1530. BM.

301 Boulton on ye 1 Psal.[1]

ROBERT BOLTON. A discourse [on Ps. i. 1] about the state of true happinesse. London, 1611. 4°. HCL. This book strongly influenced John Winthrop. Winthrop Papers, I. (1929), 211.

302 Simpson on 7 Pen. Psalmes.

ARCHIBALD SIMSON. A sacred septenarie or the seven psalms of repentance. London, 1638. 4°. STC.

303 Cygnæa Cantio.

DANIEL FEATLEY. Cygnea cantio:[2] or, learned decisions, and most prvdent and poivs directions for stvdents in divinitie; delivered by our late soveraigne of happie memorie, King Iames, at White Hall a few weekes before his death. London, 1629. 4°. MCA.

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[1] Following this, crossed out, is "Withers on 1 Psal."

[2] The title "Swan Song" was a great favorite in subtitles for works written not long before the author's death.

JOHN LELAND. Κύκνειον ᾄδμα. Cygnea cantio. London, 1545. 2 pts. 4°. STC.

304 Bradshaw on 2 Thess.

WILLIAM BRADSHAW. A plaine and pithy exposition of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians. London, 1620. 4°. MCA. STC. Cf. 405.

305 Jackson on 2 Thess.

TIMOTHY JACKSON. A brief and plaine exposition upon S. Pauls second Epistle to the Thessalonians. London, 1621. 4°. STC.

306 Bradshaw on ye 90 Psal.

WILLIAM BRADSHAW. A meditation of mans mortalitie. Containing an exposition of the ninetieth psalme. London, 1621. 4°. MCA. STC.

307 Rogers on ye Parables.

See under 181.

308 Anatomy of Death.

JOHN MORE. A liuely anatomie of death. London, 1596. 8°. STC.

309 Stapletons Postillory libri Duo.

THOMAS STAPLETON. Promptvarivm morale svper evangelia dominicalia totivs anni. Ex sacris Scripturis SS. Patribus, & optimis quibusq[*ue*] authoribus studiosè collectum. Antwerp, 1593. 2 pts. 4°. Allibone. MCA.

310 Theodorici Postill. libri tres.

CONRAD DIETERICH. Analysis logica evangeliorum quæ diebus festis in D. Apostolorum ecclesia Christi proponi solent. Giessen, 1617. 8°. BM.

311 Whatly of Gods husbandry. &c.

WILLIAM WHATELY. Gods husbandry. London, 1619. 4°. STC.

312 Slater on Rom. / Cap. 1. 2. &. 3.

See under 165.

313 Parr on Rom. / cap. 12. to end of ye Epist.

See under 93.

314 Couper on ye 8 cap. ad Rom.

WILLIAM COWPER. Three heavenly treatises upon the eight chapter to the Romanes. London, 1609. 4°. STC.

315 Elton on ye 7th Cap: ad Rom.

EDWARD ELTON. The complaint of a sanctified sinner answered: or an explanation of the seuenth chapter of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans. London, 1622. 4°. MCA.

316 Dr Denison on 1 Cor. 11. 28 ad finem.

See under 160.

317 Cooper on 2 Cor. Cap. 5 to vv. 10th.

WILLIAM COWPER. A defiance to death. London, 1610. 12°. STC. A collection of tracts by Cowper, with autobiography, the general title page having been torn out, but with separate title pages intact, is in the Dartmouth College Library, presented to Samson Occum in London. It has this treatise (ed. 1629), which proves to be a commentary on II. Cor. 5: 1–9, inclusive, which might be called "to verse 10."

318 Baines on ye first Chapt. to ye Ephes.

PAUL BAYNES. A commentarie vpon the first chapter of the Epistle of Saint Pavl to the Ephesians. London, 1618. 4°. MCA. Reading this book suggested to Judge Sewall the writing of his antislavery tract "The Selling of Joseph." 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VI. 16.

319 Byfield on 1 Pet. Cap. 1.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD. Sermons vpon the first chapter of the first Epistle generall of Peter. London, 1617. 4°. MCA. STC.

320 Byfield on 1 Pet. Cap. 2.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD. A commentary: or, sermons vpon the second chapter of the first Epistle of Peter. London, 1623. 4°. MCA.

321 Denison. 2 Pet. Cap. 1.

STEPHEN DENISON. An exposition upon the first chapter of the second Epistle of Peter. London, 1622. 4°. STC. Cf. 386.

322 Boys his Postills.

JOHN BOYS. An exposition of all the principall Scriptvres vsed in our English liturgie. Together with a reason why the church did chuse the same. London, 1609. 4°. MCA. Thirteen other editions with varying titles: on dominical epistles and gospels; on festivall epistles; of the proper psalmes. STC. HCL. has an edition of the "festivall epistles," 1613–14.

323 Brentij Postil.

JOHANN BRENZ. Pericopæ evangeliorum, quæ singulis diebus dominicis publice in ecclesia recitari solent, expositæ. Frankfort-on-Main, 1556. 4°. HCL.

324 Hemingij Postil.

NIELS HEMMINGSEN. A postill, or exposition of the Gospels that are vsually read in the churches of God, vpon the Sundayes and feast dayes of saincts. London, 1569. 4°. HCL. MCA. STC.

325 Erasmi Post. in dies festas.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. Evangelia et epistolæ quæ diebus festis in templis leguntur. Cologne, 1534. 8°. BN.

326 Melancton. Postil.

PHILIPP MELANCHTON. Annotationes in Evangelia dominicalia, quæ usitato more diebus dominicis et festis proponuntur. Wittemberg, 1561. 8°. BN.

PHILIPP MELANCHTON. Postilla. The same, edited with additions and comments by Christopher Pezellerich, Hanover, 1594, 1596. Corpus Reformatorum: Melanchton's Works, XIV.11*n*.

327 Whites way to ye church.

JOHN WHITE. The way to the true church. London, 1608. 4°. STC. HCL. has editions of 1610, 1612. This was defended by his brother, Francis White, in "The orthodox faith and way to the chvrch explained and iustified." London, 1617. 4°. MCA. STC. Both treatises were included in Dr. John White's "Workes," 1624, the latter with separate register and pagination. MCA.

328 Ames Contra. Armin.

WILLIAM AMES. De Arminii sententia, qua electionem omnem particularem fidei prævisæ docet inniti. Amsterdam, 1613. 4°. BN. HCL. has an edition of 1658.

329 Dod on ye 10 com̄ds.

See under 106.

330 [Dod][1] on ye 4th com̄d.

See under 106.

331 Whately of Mortif. & troubles of Marriage.

See under 175.

[1] Although this space is left blank in the MS., it seems clear that Dod was meant as the author.

332 Dr Twisesus Contra Armin.

See under 19. Or perhaps, although the edition seems later than most of Weld's books: Ad Jacobi Arminii collationem cum Francisco Junio; & Johan. Arnoldi Corvini defensionem sententiæ Arminianæ, de prædestinatione, gratia, & libero arbitrio. Amsterdam, 1639. f°. MCA.

333 Strange Vinyards in Palestina.

See under 182.

Libri in octavo. & 16°

334 Bucani Loci.

See under 150.

335 Hyperij Loci.

ANDREAS GERARDUS, *Hyperius*. Methodi theologiæ, sive præcipuorum Christianæ religionis locorum communium libri tres. Basel, 1567. 8°. BN. Translated into English with the title "Two common places taken out of A. Hyperius." London, 1581. 8°. STC.

336 Alstedij Loci.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. Loci communes theologici, perpetuis similitudinibus illustrati. Frankfurt-on-Main, 1653. 12°. BN. Weld's must have been an earlier edition.

337 Yates his Modell.

JOHN YATES. A modell of divinitie catechistically composed. London, 1622. 4°. MCA. STC.

338 Crookes
339 Par.
340 Baines
} Catechisme.

SAMUEL CROOKE. The gvide vnto trve blessednesse. Or, a body of the doctrine of the Scriptures, directing man to the sauing knowledge of God. London, 1614. 8°. MCA. An abridgment was published the same year under the title "A briefe direction to trve happinesse." DNB.

DAVID PAREUS (WAENGLER). Explicationum catecheticarum Z. Ursini opus recognitum. Geneva, 1608. 8°. Cf. 509.

PAUL BAYNES. Briefe directions vnto a godly life. London, 1618. 12°. BM. STC.

341 Baals expos. of ye Cat.

JOHN BALL. A short treatise contayning all the principall grounds of Christian religion. By way of questions and answers. London, 1631. 8° MCA.

342 Cartwrights Cat.

See under 94.

343 Alstedij Lexicon.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. Lexicon theologicum, in quo sacrosanctæ theologiæ termini dilucide explicantur juxta seriem locorum communium. Accedit monitio de lectione Novi Testamenti. Hanover, 1620. 8°. BM. Cf. 113; 114.

344 Virelij opera.

MATTHIEU VIREL. A learned and excellent treatise concerning all the principall grounds of Christian religion. 2nd ed. London, 1594. 8°. STC.

345 Allins Cat.

EDMOND ALLEN. A catechisme, that is to saie, a familiar introduccion and trainyng of the simple in the commaundementes of God. London, 1548. 8°. STC.

ROBERT ALLEN. A treasvrie of catechisme, or Christian instrvction. London, 1600. 12°. MCA. STC.

346 Practise of Piety.

See under 109. Cf. 550.

347 Bunies resol. $\left.\begin{matrix}1\\2\end{matrix}\right\}$ p^t^.

EDMUND BUNNY. A booke of Christian exercise appertaining to resolution, that is, shewing how that we should resolue our selues to become Christians indeede; by R. P. Perused, and accompanied now with a treatise tending to pacification. London, 1585. 8°. STC. The first part is Bunny's altered version of a treatise published anonymously by Robert Parsons the Jesuit. The second part was issued separately in 1594 and 1598. DNB. In 1585, Parsons reissued his treatise under the title "A Christian directory gviding men to their salvation, with reprofe of the corrupt and falsified edition of the same booke lately published by M. Emd. Buny." Bunny replied in 1589 with "A briefe answer vnto those idle quarrels of R. P. against the late edition of the Resolution." DNB. STC.

348 Plutarchi Moralia in $\left.\begin{matrix}1\\2\\3\end{matrix}\right\}$ lib.

Plutarch. Moralia. Latine, ex diversorum interpretum versione. London, 1542–1551. 3 vols. 8°. BM. An English version appeared in 1603 under the title "The philosophie, commonly called, the morals." STC.

349 Piscator in novū Test. in quatuor libris.

Johannes Piscator (Fischer). Commentarii in omnes libros Novi Testamenti. Herborn, 1621. 4°. BM. Cf. 482.

350 Downhamus in Ramū.

George Downame. Commentarius in Rami dialecticam. Frankfurt-on-Main, 1610. 8°. DNB., HCL.

351 Magirij Physica.

Johannes Magirus. Physiologiæ peripateticæ libri sex. Frankfort-on-Main, 1619. 8°. Cat. 1723. HCL.

352 Keckermanni Logica.

Bartholomäus Keckermann. Gymnasium logicum. London, 1606. STC.

353 Dy on scandalls.

Jeremiah Dyke. The mischiefe and miserie of scandals, both taken and given. London, 1631. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1632. Cf. 413.

354 Dy on Conscience.

Jeremiah Dyke. Good conscience: or, a treatise showing the nature thereof. London, 1624. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1632. Cf. 413.

355 Burroughs Gra. spirit.

Jeremiah Burroughs. The excellency of a gracious spirit. London, 1638. 8°. STC.

356 T. Goodwin of Returne of Prayer.

See under 126. Cf. 442.

357 Child of light.

Thomas Goodwin. A childe of light walking in darknes. London, 1636. 4°. MCA. STC.

358 Sibbs, bruised reed.

Richard Sibbes. The bruised reed and smoaking flax. London, 1630. 12°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1632.

359 Great assize.

Samuel Smith. The great assize or day of jubilee. London, 1618. 8°. STC.

360 Greenwoods works.

Henry Greenwood. Workes contayned in five several tractates. London, 1616. 8°. STC.

361 Danæus de hæresibus.

Lambert Daneau. Augustini liber De hæresibus adquodvoltdeum emendatus et commentariis illustratus. Geneva, 1578. 8°. BM.

Lambert Daneau. Elenchi hæreticorum. Geneva, 1592. 8°. BN.

362 Sphinx Philosophica.

Johann Heidfeld. Sphinx theologico-philosophica. Herborn, 1604. 8°. BM. HCL. has an edition of 1621. Cf. 438.

363 Morneus de veritate rel. Christ.

Philippe de Mornay. De la verité de la religion chrestienne. Antwerp, 1581. 4°. BM. The author's own Latin version appeared in 1583 under the title "De veritate religionis Christianæ." Prince. (HCL. has editions of 1587 and 1592.) An English version (1587), "begunne to be translated by Sir Philip Sidney Knight," has the title "A woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian religion."

364 Sam[ll] Wards sermons.

Samuel Ward. Collection of sermons and treatises. London, 1627. 8°. MCA. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1636.

365 Aristophanes.

Aristophanes. Comœdiæ undecim. Leyden, 1600. 12°. BM.

366 Greeke Test.

367 Chaine of Graces.

Cornelius Burgess. A chaine of graces, London, 1622. 8°. STC.

368 Greeke Graīer.

[William Camden.] Institutio Græcæ grammaticæ compendiaria in vsum regiæ scholæ Westmonasteriensis. London, 1595. 8°. STC.

369 True watch.

JOHN BRINSLEY, *the Elder.* The true watch. London, 1606. 8°. STC. HCL. has an edition of 1626. Cf. 275 for the third part of this work.

370 Brightman on ye Revel. Engl.

See under 189.

371 Halls contemplations. in 3 bookes.

JOSEPH HALL. Contemplations upon the principal passages of the holie storie. Vol. 1. London, 1612. 8°. STC. The second volume, "in four bookes," appeared in 1614, and the third, "in three bookes," in 1615. Seven volumes in all appeared up to 1623.

372 Rogers on 1 Sam. 15.

See under 137.

373 Pilkington in Nehemiah.

JAMES PILKINGTON. A godlie exposition vpon certeine chapters of Nehemiah. Cambridge, 1585. 4°. STC.

374 Beza on Job.

See under 18.

375 Beza on Psal.

See under 74.

376 Gifford on Cant.

See under 272.

377 Benifield on Amos. 1 cap.

SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD. A commentarie or exposition vpon the first chapter of the prophecy of Amos. Oxford, 1613. 4°. MCA. STC.

378 Theophilac. in Evangelia.

THEOPHYLACTUS, *Archbishop of Achrida.* In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes. Cologne, 1532. 8°. BM.

379 Hochmester in Lucan.

380 Mathisius in Rom.

GUERARD MATTHYS. In Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos commentarius. Cologne, 1562. ADB.

381 Rolocus in Ephes. & 1 Thess.

See under 61 and 62.

382 Bullinger in Reu.

HEINRICH BULLINGER. A hundred sermons vpō the Apocalips. London, 1561. 4°. HCL. STC.

383 Fox in Reu.

JOHN FOX. Eicasmi, seu, meditationes in Apocalypsin S. Ioannis Apostoli et Euangelistæ. Geneva, 1596. 8°. BM.

384 Dent in Reu.

ARTHUR DENT. The rvine of Rome: or an exposition vpon the whole Reuelation. Wherein is plainly shewed and proued, that the popish religion, together with all the power and authoritie of Rome, shall ebbe and decay still more and more throughout all the churches of Europe, and come to an vtter ouerthrow euen in this life before the end of the world. London, 1603. 4°. MCA. STC.

385 Withers in ye 1 Psal.

GEORGE WITHER. Exercises upon the first psalme. London, 1620. 8°. HCL. STC.

386 Dr Denison on 2 Pet. 1 Chap.

See under 321.

387 Moulin of the Love of God.

PIERRE DU MOULIN. Theophilvs, or love divine. A treatise containing five degrees, markes, aides, of the loue of God. London, 1610. 12°. MCA. STC.

388 Governm^t^ of thoughts.

See under 120.

389 Converts Catechisme.

CLEMENT COTTON. The converts catechisme; wherein are seaven of the divine graces of the Holy Spirit anatomized. London, 1616. 12°. STC.

390 Pathway. Dent.

ARTHUR DENT. The plaine mans path-way to heaven. London, 1601. 8°. STC. Twenty-five editions before 1612. HCL. has an edition of 1648.

391 Faithfull Shepherd., Bernard.

See under 122.

392 Lewes his sermons.

R. LEWES. A sermon preached at Paules Crosse concerning Isaac his testament. Oxford, 1594. 8°. BM.

JEREMIAH LEWIS. The doctrine of thankfulnesse. A sermon. London, 1619. 4°. STC.

JOHN LEWIS. Treatise on Heb. x. 2. Sermon on I John iv. 19. London, 1620. 8°. WATT.

393 Hildersham on ye Lo. supper.

ARTHUR HILDERSAM. The doctrine of communicating worthily in the Lords Svpper. London, 1617. 12°. DNB. Included in William Bradshaw's "A preparation to the receiving of the Sacrament." See under 124.

394 Sutton on ye Sac^ts^.

CHRISTOPHER SUTTON. Godly meditations upon the sacrament of the Lordes Supper. London, 1601. 12°. STC.

395 Houshold Goverm^t^. m^r^ Dod.

See under 125.

Diverse other, small bookes. wch I sett not down.[1]

p me THOMĀ WEL[D]

NOVEMB : 18 : 1702

AN INVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF
Mr THOMAS WELD MINISTER OF DUNSTABLE
DECEASED, LYING IN ROXBURY[2]
BOOKS, VIZ

396 Leighs Critica Sacra.

EDWARD LEIGH. Critica sacra: or philologicall and theologicall observations upon all the Greek words of the New Testament in order alphabeticall. London, 1639. 4°. BM. DNB. STC.

EDWARD LEIGH. Critica sacra. Observations on all the radices or primitive Hebrew words of the Old Testament in order alphabeticall. London, 1642. 4°. BM. DNB. The two published together, London, 1650. 4°. Dart. DNB.

[1] The list ends on folio 38 verso of the manuscript.

[2] Transcription, with notes, of a paper preserved in the archives of Middlesex County, from a photostat furnished by the Register of Probate, Cambridge. The list is in two columns, unnumbered. For convenience, numbers beginning with 396 have been assigned the entries.

397 Featlye's Clavis Mystica.

Daniel Featley. Clavis mystica: a key opening divers difficult and mysterious texts of Holy Scripture. London, 1636. f°. BM. STC.

398 Musculus In Genesin.

Wolfgang Musculus. Commentarii in Genesin. Basel, 1554. f°. ADB. BU.

399 R. Bajlij opus historicum &c.

Robert Baillie. Operis historici et chronologici libri duo. Amsterdam, 1663. f°. DNB. MCA. HCL. has an edition of 1668.

400 Reliquiæ Raleighanæ.

Walter Ralegh, D.D. Reliquiæ Raleighanæ, being discourses and sermons on several subjects. London, 1679. 4°. DNB. MCA.

401 A Practicall Catechism By D. R.

See under 144.

402 An English Bible.

403 Scarpij Cursus Theologicus.

John Sharp (Sharpe, Scharpius). Cursus theologicus. Geneva, 1618. 4°. DNB. HCL. has President Hoar's edition of 1620.

404 Grynei Enarratio Brevis Psal. 133 &c.

Johann Jacob Grynæus. Enarratio brevis psalmi CXXXIII. De concordia fidelium: CX. De Jesu Christo Immanuele: XIX. De Studio Theologico. Geneva, 1579. 8°. BM.

405 Gataker on the 2^{d} Epistle to ye Thessal:

Thomas Gataker, *Editor*. See under 304.

406 Normans Cases of Conscience Resolved.

John Norman. Cases of conscience practically resolved. London, 1673. 8°. DNB. MCA.

407 Poems Occasioned by a Melancholy vision.

Humphrey Mill (Mille). Poems occasioned by a melancholy vision. Or, a melancholy vision upon divers theames enlarged. London, 1639. 8°. DNB. HCL. STC.

408 Baxters Saints Everlasting Rest.

Richard Baxter. The saints everlasting rest. London, 1650, 49. 4 pts. 4°. BM. HCL.

409 Antisynodalia Scripta &c.

WILLIAM AMES. Anti-synodalia scripta, vel animadversiones in dogmatica ulla, quæ Remonstrantes in Synodo Dordracena exhibuerunt, & postea divulgarunt. Amsterdam, 1633. 12°. BM. HCL.

[CHARLES CHAUNCY.] Anti-synodalia scripta Americana. Or, a proposal of the judgment of the dissenting messengers of the churches of New England assembled, by the appointment of the General Court, March 10, 1662, whereof there were several sessions afterwards. n.p., 1662. 4°. Sabin's Bibliotheca Americana.

410 Brooks paradice opened.

THOMAS BROOKES. Paradise opened; or the secrets, mysteries, and rarities of divine love. London, 1675. 4°. BM.

411 Mr Hooker on ye 17 of John.

THOMAS HOOKER. A comment upon Christ's last prayer in the seventeenth of John. London, 1656. 4°. Massachusetts Historical Society Library. On the half-title-page it says that this is Hooker's "Seventeenth Book, made in New-England."

412 Pembles Treatise of Justification.

See under 99.

413 Dykes 2 Treatises.

JEREMIAH DYKE. Two treatises; the one of good conscience, the other of scandals. 5th ed. London, 1632. 8°. STC. Published separately first in 1624 and 1631 respectively.

DANIEL DYKE. Two treatises; the one upon Philemon, the other the school of affliction. 2 pts. London, 1618. 4°. STC.

DANIEL DYKE. See under 118, 246.

414 Calvin on ye Book of Joshua.

See under 30.

415 Owen on ye Sabbath.

JOHN OWEN. Exercitations concerning the day of sacred rest. London, 1671. 8°. BM. DNB. HCL.

416 Bolton on ye 4 Last things.

See under 196.

417 Keckermanni Systema Mathematices.

BARTHOLOMÄUS KECKERMANN. Systema compendiosum totius mathematices; hoc est, geometriæ, opticæ, astronomiæ et geographiæ. In fine accessit brevis commentatio nautica. Hanover, 1617. 12°. Fogg Museum, Harvard University.

418 Nortons Orthodox Evangelist.

JOHN NORTON. The orthodox evangelist. London, 1654. 4°. BM. HCL. has an edition of 1657.

419 Roman Antiquities.

THOMAS GODWIN. Romanæ historiæ anthologia, or an English exposition of the Romane antiquities. Oxford, 1614. 4°. DNB. STC. HCL. has editions of 1623 and 1628.

420 Meads[1] Treatise of Sacramental Covenanting with X^{t}.

JOHN RAWLET. A treatise of sacramental covenanting with Christ. 5th ed. London, 1692. 8°. BM. The Mead referred to may have been Matthew Mead, Independent divine (1630?–1699). No such title, however, appears among his works.

421 Calvin on the Psalms.

See under 29. Cf. 269.

422 Ch:^{t} ye perfect pattern.

423 Cotton of Schism.

JOHN COTTON. A defense from the imputation of selfe contradiction, charged on him by Mr D. Cawdrey. Whereunto is prefixed, an answer to a late treatise of the said Mr Cawdrey about the nature of schisme. Oxford, 1658. 8°. BM. Prince.

424 Dr Rolls Answer to Dr Patrick.

SAMUEL ROLLS (ROLLE). A sober answer to the friendly debate betwixt a conformist and a nonconformist. London, 1669. 8°. BM.

425 Dicksons Therapuetica Sacra.

DAVID DICKSON. Therepeutica sacra; seu, de curandis casibus conscientiæ circa regenerationem per fœderum divinorum prudentem applicationem. London, 1656. 4°. BM. An English translation appeared in 1695 with the title "Therapeutica sacra, or the method of healing the diseases of the conscience concerning regeneration." DNB.

[1] The reading may be "Heads."

426 Durnhams Treatise Concerning Scandal.

JAMES DURHAM. The dying man's testament to the church of Scotland. Or, a treatise concerning scandal. Edinburgh, 1659. 4°. HCL. MCA.

427 Drakes Bibliotheca Scholastica.

THOMAS DRAXE. Bibliotheca scholastica instructissima, or, a treatise of ancient adagies, and sententious proverbs, selected out of the English, Greeke, Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish. London, 1633. STC.

428 Loves two Treatises.

CHRISTOPHER LOVE. The souls cordiall: in two treatises. London, 1653. 2 pts. 8°. BM. DNB.

CHRISTOPHER LOVE. Heaven's glory, hell's terror: or two treatises. London, 1653. 2 pts. 4°. BM. DNB.

429 Cartwright in Eccleasiastes.

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. In librum Salomonis qui inscribitur Ecclesiastes homiliæ. London, 1604. 4°. DNB. STC.

430 Weckerus de Secretis.

JOHANN JACOB WECKER. De secretis libri XVII ex variis auctoribus collecti. Basel, 1582. 8°. BU. HCL. has editions of 1587 and later.

431 Chamberlains present State of Eng^{d}.

EDWARD CHAMBERLAYNE. Angliæ notitia: or, the present state of England; together with divers reflections upon the antient state thereof. London, 1669. 12°. BM. HCL. The first volume of a long series under the same title.

432 The Barren figtrees doom.

SAMUEL WILLARD. The barren fig trees doom. Boston, 1691. 8°. Evans.

433 Henrici Smitii Prosodia.

HENRICUS SMETIUS. Prosodia; de syllabarum quantitate, ex veterum poetarum auctoritate. Frankfort-on-Main, 1611. 8°? AAS.

HENRICUS SMETIUS. Prosodia in novam formam digesta. Amsterdam, 1648. 12°. BM.

Henricus Smetius. Prosodia promptissima quæ syllabarum posic̄one et dipthongis carentium quantitates sola veterum poetarum auctoritate adductis exemplis demonstrat ab autore reformato, locisque inumeris emendata et quarta sui parte audaucta. Sta. Reg., April 29, 1695.

434 Ius Regum &c.

Henry Parker. Jus regum. Or, a vindication of the regall power: against all spirituall authority exercised under any form of ecclesiasticall government. London, 1645. MCA.

435 Ward of Wit & wisdome.

Richard Ward. Two theological treatises: the first shewing the nature of wit, wisdom, and folly. The second describing the nature, use, and abuse of the tongue. London, 1673. 8°. BM.

436 Riveti critici Sacri Libri 4.

André Rivet. Critici sacri libri IV. Geneva, 1626. HCL.

437 Horn on Infant Baptism.

John Horne. Διατριβη περι παιδο-βαπτισμου: or, a consideration of infant baptism. London, 1654. 4°. BM. DNB. HCL.

438 Heildfedij Sphynx Theolog: Philosophico.

See under 362.

439 Hookers four Treatises.

Thomas Hooker. Foure learned and godly treatises; viz. The carnall hypocrite. The churches deliverance. The deceitfulnesse of sinne. The benefit of afflictions. London, 1638. 12°. Allibone. STC.

440 Index biblicus Multijugus.

Leonard Hoar. Index biblicus multijugus, or a table to the Holy Scriptures wherein each of its books, chapters, and divers matters are distinguished and epitomized. London, 1672. 8° Cat. 1723. DNB. HCL. An enlarged edition of "Index biblicus." London, 1668. 8°. Prince.

441 Castanej distinctiones Philosophicæ.

Henri Louis Chasteigner. Celebriorum distinctionum tum philosophicarum, tum theologicarum synopsis. London, 1617. 4°. STC.

442 Goodwin's Return of prayers.
See under 126. Cf. 356.

443 Amesij Sciagraphia xtianæ Catecheseos.
WILLIAM AMES. Christianæ catecheseως sciagraphia. Amsterdam, 1635. 12°. BM.

444 Netheni Examen Arminianismi.
MATTHIAS NETHENUS, *Editor*. Examen Arminianismi. Utrecht, 1668. 8°. BM. From a MS. left by Samuel Rutherford.

445 Clarks Golden Apples.
SAMUEL CLARKE. Golden apples; or seasonable and serious counsel from the sanctuary to the rulers of the earth, held forth in the resolution of sundry questions and cases of conscience about divisions, schisms, heresies, and the tolleration of them. London, 1659. 8°. BM.

446 Crucjj Logica.
JACOBUS CRUCIUS. Medulla logicæ contracta. Leyden, 1646. 8°. Cat. 1723. JHT.

447 Dansie's Mathematicall Manuell.
JOHN DANSIE. A mathematicall manuel; wherein is handled arithmeticke, planimetry, stereometry, and the embatteling of armies. Whereunto is annexed the measuring of superficies. London, 1627. 12°. Allibone. BM.

448 Cobbett on ye Respective duties of parents & children.
THOMAS COBBET. A fruitfull and usefull discourse touching the honour due from children to parents, and the duty of parents towards their children. London, 1656. 8°. Sabin's Bibliotheca Americana.

449 Ravisii Text Epithet: Epitome.
JOANNES RAVISIUS TEXTOR (JEAN TIXIER DE RAVISI). Epithetorum epitome. Accedunt synonyma poetica. London, 1564? 16°. STC. First published (Paris, 1518) under the title "Specimen epithetorum." BU. HCL. has editions of 1595 and later.

450 Mathers Companion for Cōmunicants.
COTTON MATHER. A companion for communicants. Discourses upon the nature, the design, and the subject of the Lords Supper, with devout methods of preparing for, and approaching to that blessed ordinance. Boston, 1690. 8°. Evans. HCL.

451 Alstedij Methodus Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. Methodus theologiæ. Hanover, 1619. 16°. AAS.

452 Prestons Sermons Concerning God.

See under 85.

453 Bacons Advancem[t] of Learning.

FRANCIS BACON. The twoo bookes of the proficience and advancement of learning, divine and humane. London, 1605. 4°. STC.

454 Trelcatij Institutiones.

LUCAS TRELCATIUS. Scholastica et methodica locorum communium sacræ theologiæ institutio. London, 1604. 8°. STC. Translated into English with the title "A briefe institution of the common places of sacred divinitie." London, 1610. 8°. STC. Cf. 153.

455 Sphera Johan. de Sacro Bosco Emendata.

JOHANNES DE SACRO BOSCO (JOHN HOLYWOOD or HALIFAX). Sphæra Ioannis de Sacro Bosco, emendata. Paris, 1562. Library of Congress. HCL. has editions of 1478 and later. A copy of the edition of 1478, containing the signature of Christopher Columbus and two marginal notes resembling his engrossing hand, is in the John Carter Brown Library.

456 Hereboords Collegium Ethicum.

ADRIAN HEEREBOORD. Collegium Ethicum. Leyden, 1649. JHT.

457 Fullers Infants Advocate.

THOMAS FULLER. The infants advocate. Of circumcision on Jewish, and baptisme on Christian, children. London, 1653. 2 pts. 8°. BM. HCL.

458 Giffard against y[e] Brownists.

GEORGE GIFFORD. A short treatise against the Donatists in England, whom we call Brownists. London, 1590. 4°. DNB. STC.

459 Willards childs Portion.

SAMUEL WILLARD. The child's portion: or the unseen glory of the children of God, asserted and proved. Boston, 1684. 16°. Evans. HCL.

460 Mathers mystery of Christ.

INCREASE MATHER. The mystery of Christ opened and applyed. Boston, 1686. 12°. Evans. HCL. Cf. 551.

461 of Peters Supremacy &c.

WILLIAM CLENCHE. St. Peter's supremacy faithfully discuss'd, according to Holy Scripture, and Greek and Latin Fathers. London, 1686. Book 1. 3 pts. 4°. MCA.

462 Bulkleys Gospell Covenant.

PETER BULKELEY. The gospel covenant; or, the covenant of grace opened. London, 1646. 4°. DNB. HCL. has an edition of 1651.

463 Joseph or ye divine Providence.

RENÉ DE CERISIERS (CERIZIERS). Joseph, ou la providence divine. Paris, 1642. 8°. BU. Translated into English with the title "The innocent Lord, or the divine providence, the incomparable history of Joseph." London, 1655. 8°. DNB.

464 Thomas Dictionary.

THOMAS THOMAS (THOMASIUS). Dictionarium summa fide ac diligentia accuratissime emendatum, magnaque insuper rerum scitu dignarum, et vocabulorum accessione, longè auctius locupletiusque redditum. Cambridge, 1587. 8°. Allibone. BM.

465 Clarks Lives.

SAMUEL CLARKE. The lives of twenty-two English divines. London, 1662. DNB.

SAMUEL CLARKE. Lives of ten eminent divines. London, 1662. DNB. HCL.

SAMUEL CLARKE. Lives of thirty-two English divines. 3rd ed. London, 1670. DNB.

SAMUEL CLARKE. Lives of sundry eminent persons in the later age. London, 1683. DNB. HCL.

466 Wanlyes history of ye little world.

NATHANIEL WANLEY. The wonders of the little world, or a general history of man. London, 1678. f°. BM. DNB. HCL.

467 Heylens Cosmography.

PETER HEYLYN. Microcosmus; a little description of the great world. Oxford, 1621. 4°. STC. Revised and enlarged by the author about 1648 (DNB.) and issued as "Cosmography, in four books; containing the corography and history of the whole world, and all the principal kingdoms, provinces, seas and isles thereof." London, 1657. f°. HCL. Watt.

468 Mede's Works.

JOSEPH MEAD (MEDE). Works. London, 1648. 4°. DNB. Prince.

469 Zanchius de Natura Dei.

GIROLAMO ZANCHI (ZANCHIUS). De natura Dei, sive de divinis attributis. In Volume 1 of "Opera theologica." Geneva, 1605. f°. ADB.

470 P. Rami Arithmetica & Geometria.

PETRUS RAMUS. Arithmeticæ libri duo: geometriæ septem et viginti. Frankfort-on-Main, 1599. 2 pts. 4°. BM.

471 Willets harmony upon ye 2nd of Sam^ll^.

See under 223.

472 Isocratis orationes & Epistolæ.

ISOCRATES. Isocrates nuper accurate recognitus et auctus. Venice, 1534. f°. BM.

ISOCRATES. Orationes. Accesserunt ejuodem epistolæ. Basel, 1546. 8°. BM. Greek and Latin texts. An edition of the orations and letters was published in London in 1615. STC.

	℔	s	₫₫
which Books are prized att	05	10	00[1]

[*Signed:*]

NEHEMIAH WALTER
TIMOTHY STEUENS
SAMUELL WILLIAMS

By ye Hon^rbl^ John Leverett Esqr J Prob^t^:
Decemb^r^ 7th 1702

Nath: Brewer Admitted Adm̄^r^ of all and singular ye Goods, &c of m^r^ Tho: Weld Late Of Chelmford decd Intestate psonally Appearing

[1] Other miscellaneous items included in this inventory are:

		℔	s	₫₫
An Old Bedstead an old chest a Brass hetchell 5 old chairs A Cupboard for Books a Table A Cupboards Head,	prized at	02	00	00
Silver clasps for a Bible		00	02	06
Twenty Acres of Land Lying at the Neck, valued att		200	00	00

made oath y^{t} ye within written Contains a true Inventory of ye Estate of sd deēed so far as is come to his hand, and when more Appears he will Cause itt to be added

Jud Cod
J LEVERETT.

AN INVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF M^{r} THŌAS WELD, MINISTER OF DUNSTABLE, DECEASED, LYING IN DUNSTABLE [1]

In Dunstable

473 Newmans Camb. Concordanc.

SAMUEL NEWMAN. A large and complete concordance to the Bible in English according to the last translation. London, 1643. f°. BM. Generally known as the "Cambridge Concordance."

474 Diotati Annotat.

GIOVANNI DIODATI. Pious annotations upon the Holy Bible: expounding the difficult places thereof learnedly, and plainly. London, 1643. 6 pts. 4°. BM.

475 Τροποσχημαλογεια

BENJAMIN KEACH. *τροποσχημαλογια*; tropes and figures; or, a treatise of the metaphors, allegories, and express similitudes, &c. contained in the Bible of the Old and New Testament. London, 1682. f°. MCA. HCL. has an edition of 1779.

476 Biblia Sacra Junij & Tremelij.

See under 15. Cf. 201.

477 Eltons Exposit. on Coloss.

See under 293.

478 Hall on 2^{d} Tim°.

THOMAS HALL. A practical and polemical commentary or exposition upon the third and fourth chapters of the latter Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy. London, 1658. f°. DNB. Sta. Reg.

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[1] This section of the inventory, constituting the second page of the MS., is written in another hand.

479 Morning Exercise agst Popery.

NATHANIEL VINCENT, *Editor*. The morning-exercise against popery. Or, the principal errors of the church of Rome detected and confuted. London, 1675. 4°. BM. Dart. MCA. This consists of twenty-five sermons preached by eminent divines in Vincent's Southwark pulpit. DNB.

480 Morning Exercise 1st part.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY, *Editor*. The morning-exercise at Cripplegate: or, several cases of conscience practically resolved, by sundry ministers. London, 1661. 4°. ATS.

481 Supplem^{t} of Morning Exercise.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY, *Editor*. A supplement to the morning-exercise at Cripplegate: or, several more cases of conscience practically resolved, by sundry ministers. London, 1674. 8°. ATS.

482 Piscator in Nov. Test.

See under 349.

483 Caryl on Job. vol. 8.

JOSEPH CARYL. An exposition with practical observations upon the book of Job. London, 1644–69. 12 vols. 4°. BM. A folio edition of 1676–7 is listed in the Catalogue of 1723.

484 Weems 2 Volūs.

See under 155.

485 Gots Div̄. Hyst.

SAMUEL GOTT. The divine history of the genesis of the world. London, 1670. 4°. BM.

486 Harris's Works.

ROBERT HARRIS. Workes. London, 1635–34. 17 pts. f°. STC.

487 Dr Jacomb on 8. Rō.

THOMAS JACOMBE. Several sermons preach'd on the whole eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. London, 1672. 8°. MCA.

488 Wilsons Xtian Dict: 4to.

See under 240.

489 Mayer on ye Gospel & acts.

See under 283.

490 Nomenclatura.

PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. Nomenclatura rerum, innumeris, quam antea, nominibus, cum locupletior, tum castigatior. Frankfort-on-Main, 1573. 8°. BM.

491 Culverwels light of Natr.

NATHANIEL CULVERWELL. An elegant and learned discourse of the light of nature. London, 1652. 2 pts. 4°. BM. HCL.

492 Shep^{ds} Sincere Convert.

THOMAS SHEPARD. The sincere convert; discovering the paucity of true believers, and the great difficulty of saving conversion. London, 1641. 12°. BM. HCL.

493 Culpepers phys.

NICHOLAS CULPEPER. The English physician, or an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of the nation. London, 1652. 12°. BM.

NICHOLAS CULPEPER. School of physick. London, 1659. 8°. BM.

494 Baily of glorifying god.

JOHN BAILEY (BAILY). Man's chief end to glorifie God. Boston, 1689. 8°. Evans.

495 Hubbards Hyst. of Ind. wars.

WILLIAM HUBBARD. A narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New-England, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607, to this present year 1677. Boston, 1677. 4°. Evans. HCL.

496 Cases of Consc. about witch^{ft}.

INCREASE MATHER. Cases of conscience concerning evil spirits personating men; witchcrafts, infallible proofs of guilt in such as are accused of that crime. London, 1693. 4°. BM. HCL.

497 Synops. pur. Theol.

JOANNES POLYANDER A KERCHOVEN, ANDRÉ RIVET, ANTONIUS WALÆUS, ANTONIUS THYSIUS. Synopsis purioris theologiæ, disputationibus quinquaginta duabus comprehensa. Leyden, 1625. 8°. BM. HCL. has an edition of 1658. There is mention of an English translation in Sta. Reg. (April 17, 1656).

498 plot agst K. W.

An impartial history of the plots and conspiracies against the life of his sacred majesty, King William III. London, 1696. 4°. MCA.

499 Mart. Chemnetij Theol.

MARTIN CHEMNITZ (CHEMNITIUS). Theologiæ Jesuitarum præcipua capita. La Rochelle, 1589. 8°. ADB. BU. Cf. 204.

500 fulfilling of ye scriptr.

ROBERT FLEMING, *the Elder*. The fullfilling of the Scriptures held forth in a discovery of the exact accomplishment of the word of God in the works of providence performed. Rotterdam, 1669. f°. Arber. DNB. There was another edition in 1693 with a slightly different title. MCA. HCL. has an edition of 1773.

501 Mathers remarkable prov^ds^.

INCREASE MATHER. An essay for the recording of illvstrious providences. Boston, 1684. 8°. Evans. HCL. Running title, "Remarkable providences."

502 Bailys life & Death.

THOMAS BAILY. The life and death of the renowned John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. London, 1655. 8°. DNB. HCL. has an edition of 1740.

503 Bell. Enerv^tus^.

See under 78.

504 Vincent on ye Catechism.

THOMAS VINCENT. An explicatory catechism: or, an explanation of the Assemblies shorter catechism. London, 1673. 8°. Allibone.

505 Allins Alarm.

JOSEPH ALLEINE. An alarm to unconverted sinners. London, 1672. 8°. Arber. DNB. HCL.

506 Engl. Bible.

507 Blessed unions.

COTTON MATHER. Blessed unions; an union with the Son of God by faith, and an union in the church of God by love. Boston, 1692. 24°. Evans. HCL.

508 Flavel of feare.

JOHN FLAVEL. A practical treatise of fear. London, 1682. DNB.

509 paræus in urs. catech.

See under 339.

510 Lukin of sc. Tropes.

HENRY LUKIN. An introduction to the Holy Scripture, containing the several tropes, figures, proprieties of speech used therein, with other observations necessary for the understanding thereof. London, 1669. 8°. DNB. Sta. Reg.

511 Macovij Distinct.

JOHANNES MACCOVIUS (MAKOWSKI). Distinctiones et regulæ theologicæ ac philosophicæ. Franeker, 1653. 16°. AAS.

512 Safety of appearing in X^ts^ Right^ns^.

SOLOMON STODDARD. The safety of appearing at the day of judgment in the righteousness of Christ. Boston, 1687. 8°. Prince. HCL. has an edition of 1729.

513 Johan. in Eremo.

COTTON MATHER. Johannes in Eremo. Boston, 1695. 16°. Evans. HCL.

514 Bileivers Evid. for life.

FRANCIS ROBERTS. The believer's evidences for eternal life. London, 1649. 8°. BM. HCL.

515 Eaton ag^st^ Knowls.

SAMUEL EATON and JOHN KNOWLES. A friendly debate on a weighty subject; or a conference by writing concerning the divinity of Jesus Christ. London, 1650. 4°. BM.

516 A. R. his Remedys.

ALEXANDER READ (RHEAD, REID). Most excellent medicines and remedies for most diseases. London, 1652. 8°. BM. DNB.

517 Perill of ye Times.

SAMUEL WILLARD. The peril of the times displayed. Or the danger of mens taking up with a form of godliness, but denying the power of it. Boston, 1700. 8°. Evans. HCL.

518 Russels sermons.

ROBERT RUSSELL. Seven sermons. On the sin against the Holy Ghost. 13th ed. London, 1705. 12°. BM. HCL. has editions of 1711 and later. Weld's must have been an earlier edition.

519 Mather of Comets.

INCREASE MATHER. ΚΟΜΗΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ. Or, a discourse concerning comets. Boston, 1683. 8°. Evans. HCL.

520 Morton's Resp. ad Appolō.

JOHN NORTON. Responsio ad totam quæstionum syllogen à clarissimo viro Domino Guilielmo Apollonio propositam. Ad componendas controversias quasdam circa politiam ecclesiasticam in Anglia nunc temporis agitatas spectantem. London, 1648. 8°. HCL. Prince.

521 Art of Simpling.

WILLIAM COLE (COLES). The art of simpling: or, an introduction to the knowledge and gathering of plants. London, 1656. 12°. Watt. Wood.

522 wiggl^{s} poems.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH. (No general collection of the poems by the author of "The Day of Doom" is known to have been published.)

523 Confess. of faith.

[Probably] A confession of faith owned and consented unto by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled at Boston, May 12, 1680. Boston, 1680. 16°. Evans. HCL.

524 Apollons works.

WILLIAM APOLLON (APOLLONIUS). [Probably] Disputationes de lege Dei. Middelbourg, 1655. 12°. BU. Cat. 1723.

525 Ind̄. Bible.

JOHN ELIOT. Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe up-Biblum God naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament. Boston, 1663. sm. 4°. Evans. HCL. The New (Wusku) Testament was first printed in 1661, but the whole Bible appeared in 1663 as above.

526 Amis. in Petrū.

WILLIAM AMES. Utriusque Epistolæ divi Petri Apostoli explicatio analytica. Amsterdam, 1625. 12°. Allibone. HCL. has an edition of 1635.

527 Gr. Test.

528 Brightman in Canticū.

THOMAS BRIGHTMAN. Scholia in Canticum Canticorum. Basel, 1614. 8°. Allibone, DNB.

529 Moody of Com: wth God.

JOSHUA MOODEY. A practical discourse concerning the choice benefit of communion with God in His house, witnessed unto by the experience of saints as the best improvement of time. Boston, 1685. 12°. Evans. HCL. has an edition of 1746.

530 Marc. Tull. officia.

CICERO. De officiis libri tres. Leyden, 1557. 8°. Cat. 1723. The entry in the catalogue reads "De officio."

531 Guid to Grandjurymen.

See under 200.

532 Amesii Consc:

See under 82.

533 Spirit of man Sanctified.

CHARLES MORTON. The spirit of man. Boston, 1693. 8°. HCL. Prince. Running title: "The spirit of man sanctified and preserved."

534 Am. Medulla.

See under 76.

535 principle of Ptest. Releḡ.

JAMES ALLEN, JOSHUA MOODEY, SAMUEL WILLARD, COTTON MATHER. The principles of the Protestant religion maintained, and churches of New-England, in the profession and exercise thereof defended, against all the calumnies of one George Keith, a Quaker, in a book lately published in Pensilvania, to undermine them both. Boston, 1690. 8°. Evans. HCL.

536 mitchels life & Death.

COTTON MATHER. Ecclesiastes. The life of the reverend & excellent Jonathan Mitchel; a pastor of the church, and a glory of the colledge, in Cambridge, New-England. Boston, 1697. 8°. Evans. HCL.

537 Burg. log.

FRANCO-PETRI BURGERSDIJCK. Institutionum logicarum libri duo. Ex Aristotelis præceptis editi. Cambridge, 1634. 8°. BM. HCL. has 1647 and later editions.

538 Riveti com: in psalmos.

ANDRÉ RIVET. Commentarius in Psalmorum propheticorum de mysterijs Euangelicis decadem selectam. Leyden, 1626. 4°. BM.

539 Discovery of Err^{rs} of ye Times.

WILLIAM LYFORD. The plain mans senses exercised to discern both good and evil; or, a discovery of the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times. London, 1655. 4°. Sta. Reg. Watt.

540 Prideaux fascicula Controv.

JOHN PRIDEAUX. Fasciculus controversiarum theologicarum ad juniorum aut occupatorum captum sic colligatus ut in præcipuis fidei apicibus compendiose informentur. Oxford, 1649. 4°. Allibone. BM.

541 2^{d} Spira.

[RICHARD SAULT.] The second Spira: being a fearful example of an atheist (F. N.) who apostatized from the Christian religion, and died in despair at Westminster, Decemb. 8. 1692. With an account of his sickness, convictions, discourses with friends and ministers: and of his dreadful expression and blasphemies when he left the world. London, 1693. 12°. DNB. MCA.

542 Trenchf^{ds} Hyll Improvd.

543 30 Imptant Cases resolved.

COTTON MATHER. Thirty important cases, resolved with evidence of Scripture and reason. By several pastors of adjacent churches, meeting in Cambridge, New England. Boston, 1699. 8°. Evans. HCL.

544 ps. Book.

JOHN ELIOT, RICHARD MATHER, THOMAS WELD. The whole Booke of Psalmes faithfully translated into English metre. Cambridge (Mass.), 1640. 18°. Evans. HCL.

545 Cobbet of prayer.

THOMAS COBBET. A practical discourse of prayer. London, 1654. 8°. HCL. MCA.

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546 Math. Expectanda.

COTTON MATHER. Expectanda: or things to be looked for. Discourses on the glorious characters, with conjectures on the speedy approaches of that state which is reserved for the church of God in the latter dayes. Cambridge (Mass.), 1691. 12°. Evans. Artillery Election Sermon, 1691.

547 Math. of Conversion.

INCREASE MATHER. Some important truths about conversion delivered in sundry sermons. London, 1674. 8°. DNB. Boston, 1684. 8°. Evans.

548 Alstedij volū 2.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED. Encyclopædia. Frankfort-on-Main, 1649. 7 vols. in 2. f°. AAS. Cf. 343.

549 Hom. odissa.

HOMER. Odyssey. Weld's may have been a Greek text. If it was an English translation, there was extant Chapman's. London, 1614. f°. STC.

550 ptice of piety.

See under 109. Cf. 346.

551 Math. myst. of X^{t}.

See under 460.

552 Buchleij Thes. poet.

JOHANN BÜCHLER. Thesaurus poeticus. Antwerp, 1618. 8°. Cat. 1723.

553 Schib. logica.

CHRISTOPH SCHEIBLER. Introductio logicæ. Giessen, 1613. ADB. Combined with other works under the title "Opus logicum." Giessen, 1620. ADB.

554 Whites Cabinet.

JOHN WHITE. A rich cabinet with variety of inventions; unlock'd and opened, for the recreation of ingenious spirits at their vacant hours. London, 1651. 8°. BM.

555 Sick mans Jewell.

556 Jenesins N. Castles Call.

ROBERT JENISON. Newcastles call to her neighbor and sister townes and cities throughout the land, to take warning by her sins and sorrowes lest this overflowing scourge of pestilence reach even to them also. London, 1637. 12°. BM. DNB. STC.

557 Stobej Sententia.

JOANNES STOBÆUS. Collectiones sententiarum, græce. Parts 3 and 4 of "Florilegium." Venice, 1535. 4°. BM. The above, together with his "Eclogæ," was published at Lyons in 1608 with the title "Sententiæ ex thesauris Græcorum delectæ."

558 Mather of providence.
Increase Mather. The doctrine of divine providence opened and applied. Boston, 1684. 8°. Evans. HCL.

559 Calamys Ark.
Edmund Calamy. The godly mans ark or city of refuge in the day of his distresse. London, 1657. 12°. DNB.

560 Gutb logica.

561 Baxters Call.
Richard Baxter. A call to the unconverted to turn and live and accept of mercy, while mercy may be had. London, 1657. DNB.

562 Rami phys.
Petrus Ramus. Scholarum physicarum libri octo, in totidem acroamaticos libros Aristotelis. Frankfort-on-Main, 1606. 8°. BM. HCL.

563 Hils Secret. Guid.
John Hill. The young secretary's guide, or, a speedy help to learning. London, 1687. 12°. Arber. BM. HCL. has American editions of 1727 and later.

564 phrases poeticæ.
Thomas Farnaby. Phrases oratoricæ et poeticæ. London, 1631. 4°. STC.

565 Magiri phys. peripet.
See under 351.

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Totall	6[li]	10.	

Apprized by
23. Nov. 1702 { Thomas Clark
John Hancock

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1931

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Saturday, November 21, 1931, at seven o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the Records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death, on May 16, 1931, of GEORGE FOOT MOORE, a Resident Member; on July 16, 1931, of WILLIAM DAVIS PATTERSON, a Corresponding Member; on August 31, 1931, of CLIFFORD HERSCHELL MOORE, a Resident Member; on October 5, 1931, of DWIGHT WHITNEY MORROW, a Corresponding Member; on October 16, 1931, of WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY, a Corresponding Member; and, on October 24, 1931, of CHARLES FRANCIS DORR BELDEN, a Resident Member.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the receipt of letters from Mr. ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and from Mr. JOHN PELL, accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ROBERT WALCOTT.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has met three times: on December 18, 1930, at the home of President Morison; on February

26, 1931, at the home of Mrs. Bayard Thayer; and on April 23, 1931, at the home of the Reverend James H. Ropes in Cambridge.

There have been elected during the year the following members:

Resident:

James Duncan Phillips
Matt Bushnell Jones
Leverett Saltonstall
Edward Allen Whitney
Allyn Bailey Forbes

Corresponding:

John Pell

We have lost thirteen members by death during the past year:

William Keeney Bixby, Corresponding, 1924: died October 16, 1931, in St. Louis; captain of industry and colonial enthusiast, a great collector of manuscripts.

Dwight Whitney Morrow, Corresponding, 1928: died October 5, 1931; Amherst classmate of President Coolidge, lawyer, banker, envoy to Mexico, Senator from New Jersey, and potential candidate for the presidency of the United States.

William Davis Patterson, Corresponding, 1924: died July 16, 1931; antiquary and genealogist; deeply versed in the history of Maine and, more particularly, of the town of Wiscasset and of Lincoln County.

Edward Robinson, Corresponding, 1910: died April 18, 1931; Director of the Metropolitan Art Museum, under whose direction was added the American wing, giving to our overwrought metropolis the vision of a simpler style in colonial architecture, furniture, and silver.

Michael Joseph Canavan, Associate, 1929: died January 21, 1931; his simple, friendly presence and his encyclopedic knowledge of the occupants of early Boston, both here and in England, will be missed.

Charles Francis Dorr Belden, Resident, 1927: Harvard Class of 1895, died October 24, 1931; and William Coolidge Lane, Resident, 1897: Harvard Class of 1881, died March 18, 1931; two noted librarians; both always in that employment, the former as head of the Boston Public Library, coming from that of the Harvard Law

School, the latter at the Harvard College Library, coming from the Boston Athenæum. It will be well for us should the son-in-law of the latter now succeed the former!

Robert Gould Shaw, Resident, 1919: Harvard Class of 1869, died April 10, 1931; of the same name and cousin of the subject of St. Gaudens' famous bronze on Boston Common — the hero of Fort Pillow — donor to the Harvard Library of the great collection of playbills and theatrical papers.

Edward Channing, Resident, 1915: Harvard Class of 1878, died January 7, 1931; a great teacher; in writing *from his own research* a history of the United States from the beginning to 1865, he accomplished what has not been done before and will certainly not be done again. Member of a family whose history is that of liberal thought in and out of the pulpit. A personality like one of the apples produced by Colonel Loammi Baldwin — having a sharp tang.

Clifford Herschell Moore, Resident, 1929: Harvard Class of 1889, died August 31, 1931; another lifelong servant of Harvard, in later years as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences; classical scholar by training, a Yankee by tradition. Student, teacher, and trustee of Phillips Academy, Andover.

George Foot Moore, Resident, 1910: died May 16, 1931; graduate of Yale College and Andover Theological Seminary, and a most loyal and enthusiastic son of Harvard, to which he gave so much in perfect scholarship and delightful personality. A lover not alone of Hebrew lore but of all learning of the field and forest and the mountains.

Morris Gray, Resident, 1919: Harvard Class of 1877, died January 12, 1931; lawyer, trustee, and poet, for a short time head of the Boston Art Museum; member of a family noted for its achievements in the life of this state for 150 years past. A man of the greatest refinement and charming delicacy.

George Wigglesworth, Resident, 1893: Harvard Class of 1874, died November 26, 1930; with his brother, Edward, among the first members of this Society; lawyer, trustee, and president of New England manufacturing corporations. Fifth in descent from Michael Wigglesworth, the minister and poet who graduated at Harvard in 1651, who better could qualify as of colonial descent? No line has shown a stronger list of first scholars in that college. He was an expo-

nent of high ideals and gentlemanly conduct. He taught Christian principles not by preaching, as did his ancestors — the first two Hollis Professors of Divinity — but by practice. A friendly, gracious man, of keen intelligence, broad education, and wide charity: a charming personality.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1931.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, November 14, 1930, Principal Cash		$1,311.62	
Income Cash		21,694.79	$23,006.41
Receipts of Principal:			
Detroit Edison Company 5's, 1940, $5,000 called	$5,250.00		
Detroit Edison Company 6's, 1940, $5,000 called	5,250.00		
Mortgage of Nazira Gannum, No. 4441, paid in full	5,000.00		
Horace Everett Ware Fund: Income transferred to Principal	321.85		
Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund: Income transferred to Principal	240.21		
Commutations: Two life memberships	200.00		
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings Account	113.70		
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings Account	1.55		
Total Receipts of Principal		$16,377.31	
Receipts of Income:			
Interest	$6,643.68		
Dividends	1,749.00		
Annual Assessments	690.00		
Sales of the Society's Publications	62.00		
Admission Fees	50.00		
Contributions	355.00		
Total Receipts of Income		9,549.68	
Total Cash Receipts			25,926.99
Total			$48,933.40

DISBURSEMENTS

Disbursements of Principal:			
$5,000.00 Western Union Telegraph Company 5's, 1960	$5,137.50		
$5,000.00 Texas Corporation 5's, 1944	5,012.50		
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings Account, added to Principal	113.70		
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings Account, added to Principal	1.55		
Total Disbursements of Principal		$10,265.25	
Disbursements of Income:			
Editor's Salary	$1,000.00		
Tolman Print, Inc.	738.07		
Folsom Engraving Company	54.42		
P. B. Sanford Company	55.75		
Annual Dinner	464.30		
Stewart, Watts & Bollong, accounting services	250.00		
Clerk hire	200.00		
Postage and clerical expense	244.05		
Thomas S. Longridge, insurance (net)	18.63		
Union Safe Deposit Vaults	20.00		
American Historical Association (net)	717.00		
New England Quarterly	2,000.00		
Bibliography of American Historical Writings	100.00		
Consolidated Index (contribution)	350.00		
Miscellaneous expense	67.50		
Interest accrued on securities purchased	145.14		
Interest on Henry Herbert Edes Memorial Fund, added to Principal	240.21		
Interest on Horace Everett Ware Fund, added to Principal	321.85		
Total Disbursements of Income		6,986.92	
Total Cash Disbursements			$17,252.17
Balance, November 14, 1931:			
Principal Cash		$7,423.68	
Income Cash		24,257.55	31,681.23
Total			$48,933.40

The funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$10,500.00	in first mortgages on improved property in Greater Boston
127,540.00	in bonds and stocks elsewhere described in this report
37.94	on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
2,612.57	on deposit in the Warren Institution for Savings
$140,690.51	

The investments of the Society yield an average annual income of approximately 5.57% on book value.

A Trial Balance of the accounts as of November 14, 1931, is hereto annexed and made a part of this report.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT
Treasurer

BOSTON, November 14, 1931

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash, Principal		$7,423.68	
Income		24,257.55	$31,681.23
Provident Institution for Savings			37.94
Warren Institution for Savings			2,612.57
Mortgages			10,500.00
Bonds:			
$5,000	Cedars Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund Gold 5's, due 1953	$4,450.00	
5,000	Central Manufacturing District, Inc., First Mortgage 6½'s, Series C, due 1944	5,100.00	
5,000	Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding Gold 5's, due 1940	3,762.50	
4,000	Cleveland Union Terminals Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund Gold 5½'s, Series A, due 1972	3,930.00	
5,000	England, Walton & Company, Inc., First Mortgage Sinking Fund Gold 6's, due 1942	4,932.50	
2,000	Kingdom of Belgium, First 6's, Sinking Fund Extension Loan, due 1955	1,750.00	
5,000	Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company, First Mortgage Refunding 6's, Series A, due 1946	5,000.00	
5,000	New England Telephone & Telegraph Company, First Mortgage Gold 5's, Series A, due 1952	4,875.00	
12,000	New River Company, First Mortgage and Collateral Trust 5's, due 1934	11,130.00	
5,000	New York Edison Company, First Lien and Refunding Mortgage Gold 6½'s, Series A, due 1941	5,000.00	
5,000	Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, First and Refunding Mortgage 4's, Series A, due 1961	4,105.00	

5,000	Texas Corporation, Convertible Sinking Fund Debenture 5's, due 1944	$5,012.50	
5,000	Union Pacific Railroad, Series A, Equipment Trust 7's, due 1932–1934	5,000.00	
4,000	United States Cold Storage Company, First Mortgage Real Estate, Chicago, Illinois, Gold 6's, due 1945	4,000.00	
2,500	United States Cold Storage Company, First Mortgage 6's, Sinking Fund Bonds, due 1946	2,500.00	
20,000	Western Telephone & Telegraph Company, Collateral Trust Gold 5's, due 1932	16,960.00	
5,000	Western Union Telegraph Company, 30 Year Gold 5's, due 1960	5,137.50	
5,000	Wickwire-Spencer Steel Company, First Mortgage Sinking Fund Prior Lien Collateral and Refunding Gold 7's, due 1935	5,000.00	
$104,500			$97,645.00

Stocks:

35	Shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Common	$6,825.50	
100	Shares Electric Bond and Share Company, Cumulative $6 Preferred	10,600.00	
240	Shares General Electric Company, Common	5,719.50	
50	Shares United States Cold Storage Corp., 7% Preferred A	6,750.00	
50	Shares United States Cold Storage Corp., Common		29,895.00
	Total		$172,371.74

CREDITS

Income		$24,257.55
Funds:		
Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00	
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal. Income only to be used for Current Expenses	32,571.89	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. The income only to be used	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restrictions as to use	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00	

Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	$5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, established in 1916 by a gift of $500 from him. Increased under his will by sundry installments of cash since 1919. To be accumulated and used for Massachusetts Bay Colony monument or other memorial	5,685.94	
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00	
Henry H. Edes Bequest, established in 1923 under his will. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $3,000 when it shall be called the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	2,612.57	
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To be expended for a memorial to Mr. Edes	4,243.79	
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00	148,114.19
Total		$172,371.74

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year which ended November 14th, 1931 have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts & Bollong, Public Accountants & Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 1052-E in the Union Safe Deposit Vaults.

We herewith submit their report which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

Nathaniel T. Kidder
Matt B. Jones
Auditing Committee

Boston, November 21, 1931.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The following minute on the resignation of Mr. William Crowninshield Endicott as Treasurer was read by the Recording Secretary, and was unanimously adopted:

William Crowninshield Endicott was elected Treasurer of the Society in November, 1922, in succession to Henry Herbert Edes. During a period of extraordinary inflation and equally amazing deflation he has managed the property of the Society with such acumen and fidelity that its financial condition today is thoroughly sound, and the capital value of its investments has actually increased. Upon his retirement as Treasurer the Society wishes to express its grateful appreciation of his ability and of his devotion to their interests.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
JAMES HARDY ROPES

RECORDING SECRETARY
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
ROBERT WALCOTT

TREASURER
JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

REGISTRAR
ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Professor Walter E. Clark,

Mr. Howard Corning, the Reverend C. Leslie Glenn, Lt. Col. Edgar E. Hume, Mr. Philip A. Means, Mr. J. C. Miller, Dr. Perry Miller, Professor Sigurthur Nordahl, Mr. Robert E. Peabody, Mr. Clifford K. Shipton, and Professor Friedrich von der Leyen.

After the dinner the President read the following minute adopted by the Council on the retirement of Albert Matthews from that body:

ALBERT MATTHEWS

This year completes his twenty-ninth year of service on the Council of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

The unremitting pains, the exact scholarship, and the good taste which he spent on the Society's publications, are evident throughout the twenty-one volumes he has edited.

His many communications have thrown light on the most difficult problems in colonial history, literature, and philology.

To the Council of the Society he has brought no less valuable gifts of character and judgment. His influence has kept the Society true to her best interests, yet alert for new opportunities of usefulness.

Upon the occasion of his retirement from the Council, his present and former colleagues unite in this testimonial of their gratitude and affection.

The President then presented to Mr. Matthews an illuminated manuscript containing the text of the above minute.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1931

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held, at the invitation of the President, at No. 44 Brimmer Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 17, 1931, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Mr. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. Frederic Ives Carpenter, of Belmont, Mr. Robert Ephraim Peabody, of Jamaica Plain, Mr. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., of Boston, Dr. Harold Bowditch, of Boston, and Mr. William Emerson, of Boston, were elected Resident Members. Mr. Leonard Woods Labaree, of New Haven, was elected a Corresponding Member, and Dr. Timothy Leary, of Jamaica Plain, was elected an Associate Member.

The President presented, on behalf of Mr. Thomas H. Johnson, a paper entitled "Jonathan Edwards and the 'Young Folks' Bible,'" to be published elsewhere.[1]

Mr. Matt B. Jones presented

SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON COTTON MATHER'S "THE ACCOMPLISHED SINGER"

Music at religious services in the early New England churches consisted of singing a metrical version of the Psalms, alternately read and sung line by line, except in a few churches where the whole

[1] See New England Quarterly, v. (January, 1932), 35–54.

congregation was furnished with psalters. After its publication in 1640, the Bay Psalm Book was generally used, although other versions found some favor. Until the eighteenth century was well ushered in, not more than ten tunes, it is said, were used in this connection, and few congregations could sing more than five.[1]

One finds little criticism of the manner of singing in vogue until the middle of the second decade of that century, although it should be noted that when the newly gathered Church in Brattle Street, Boston, was organized in December, 1699, under the pastorship of the Reverend Benjamin Colman, just returned from an extended stay in England, it promptly "Voted Unanimously that ye psalms in our public Worship be sung without Reading line by line." [2] Gradually, however, there arose a feeling that the manner of singing in the churches had degenerated from that of the earlier years, although one queries whether there actually had been a change or whether public opinion was at length aroused to long existing defects.

At any rate, in 1715, John Tufts published at Boston his Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes, "with a collection of tunes, in three parts." Of this book Evans says that it was the first publication of its kind printed in the United States. On September 24, 1716, Cotton Mather notes in his diary: "The Psalmody in our Assembly must be better provided for"; [3] and again, under date of October 13, 1718, he says: "The Psalmody is but poorly carried on in my Flock, and in a Variety and Regularity inferior to some others. I would see about it." [4] With Cotton Mather "I would see about it" was frequently synonymous with "I will write about it." Hence it was doubtless as the fruit of thoughts like these that his Psalterium Americanum, The Book of Psalms, "all in blank verse," was published at Boston in 1718.

Samuel Sewall gives a picture of what was going on in Boston in the winter of 1720/21: "At night Dr. Mather preaches in the School-House to the young Musicians, from Rev. 14.3 — no man could learn that Song. — House was full and the Singing extraordi-

[1] John G. Palfrey, History of New England, II. 41.
[2] Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, p. 5.
[3] 7 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 373.
[4] Id., p. 560.

narily Excellent, such as has hardly been heard before in Boston. Sung four times out of Tate and Brady." [1]

During the next five years the question of singing by note in the churches was clearly controversial, and the literature on the subject is considerable.[2] The laudable efforts of the reformers did not meet with universal favor. The elder brethren, especially in the rural sections, were not disposed to accept the newfangled contrivances. The situation is described by Mather himself in a letter to Thomas Hollis, under date of November 5, 1723, as follows:

A mighty Spirit came Lately upon abundance of our people, to Reform their singing which was degenerated in our Assemblies to an Irregularity, which made a Jar in the ears of the more curious and skilful singers. Our Ministers generally Encouraged the people, to accomplish themselves for a Regular singing, and a more beautiful Psalmody. Such Numbers of good people, (and Especially young people,) became Regular Singers, that they could carry it in the Congregations. But, who would beleeve it? Tho' in the more polite City of *Boston*, this Design mett with a General Acceptance, in the Countrey, where they have more of the *Rustick*, some Numbers of Elder and Angry people, bore zelous Testimonies against these wicked Innovations, and this bringing in of

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[1] 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII. 285; Cotton Mather also notes this meeting in his Diary. Editions of A New Version of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches, by N. Brady and N. Tate, were printed in New York in 1710 and 1725, and in Boston in 1713 and 1720.

[2] For example see:

Thomas Symmes, The Reasonableness of Regular Singing or Singing by Note. In an Essay to Revive the True and Ancient Mode of Singing Psalm-Tunes. Boston, 1720.

Thomas Walter, The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained or an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note. Boston, 1721. Of this Evans says that in it appears the first music printed in bars in the United States. It was advertised by the Boston News-Letter for February 13, 1720/21, as "Now in the Press."

Thomas Walter, The Sweet Psalmist of Israel, "a sermon preach'd at the Lecture held in Boston, by the Society for promoting regular & good singing," etc. Boston, 1722.

John Tufts, A Very Plain and Easy Introduction to the Art of Singing Psalm-Tunes. Boston, 1721.

Peter Thacher, John Danforth, and Samuel Danforth, Cases of Conscience about Singing Psalms, Briefly Considered and Resolved. Boston, 1723.

Cotton Mather, A Pacificatory Letter. Boston, 1723.

Josiah Dwight, An Essay to Silence the Outcry that has been Made in Some Places against Regular Singing. Boston, 1725.

Popery. Their zeal transported some of them so far (on the behalf of *Mumpsimus*) that they would not only use the most opprobrious Terms, and call the Singing of these Christians, a worshipping of the Devil, but also they would run out of the Meetinghouse at the Beginning of the Exercise. The Paroxysms have risen to that Heighth, as to necessitate the Convening of several Ecclesiastical Councils, for the Composing of the Differences and Animosities arisen on this occasion.[1]

After such an indictment one feels that it is appropriate to allow these "Elder and Angry people" an opportunity for at least a brief defence, but apparently their opposition was chiefly vocal. Some statements of their arguments may be found in the ministerial tracts favorable to "regular singing" which have been referred to, but they are in a way men of straw, set up by the authors to be bowled over, and must be viewed accordingly. Probably the liveliest statement is to be found in the Reverend Thomas Symmes' Utile Dulci (Boston, 1723)—described in the title as a "joco-serious dialogue concerning regular singing"—in which the author says that he has answered all the objections which he has heard to the new method of church singing. They may be summed up as follows: It is a new way — an unknown tongue; it is not so melodious and pleasant as the old way, some have called it yelling; there are so many tunes that we shall never have done learning them; the practice of singing by note exasperates men's spirits, grieves good people, and causes them to behave themselves indecently and in a disorderly way; this way of singing is Quakerish and Popish and introductive of instrumental music; the names given to the notes are "baudy, yea blasphemous"; this new method is needless, since the Fathers that knew it not are got to heaven without it, so what need of all this "Adoo and Pudder for nothing"; the bringing up of this mode of singing is a contrivance to get money; too much time is spent in learning it, and it causes people to "tarry out disorderly"; it is a company of "young upstarts" that fall in with this way and set it forward, and some of them are "lewd and loose" persons guilty of prophaneness in "Singing Psalm Tunes in Barns and at Plow and Cart . . . nay they'll Sing Fa, Sol, La in the Tavern."

It would have been wholly unlike Cotton Mather to refrain from active participation in this debate. That it was much in his mind

[1] 7 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII, 693. See also Mather's letter to Thomas Bradbury, July 1, 1724. Id., p. 797.

is attested by several entries in his Diary.[1] One is not surprised, therefore, to find in the Boston News-Letter for February 13, 1720/21, an advertisement which describes as "Just Publish'd and to be sold by Samuel Gerrish" the great preacher's pamphlet entitled The Accomplished Singer, which is, although we have been a long time in reaching it, the subject of these notes, and which bears the imprint, "Boston: Printed by B. Green, for S. Gerrish at his Shop in Cornhill. 1721." The advertisement was repeated in the News-Letter for February 20, but not thereafter.

Ten copies of the tract are known to exist.[2] As originally printed, it consisted of a title-page upon the reverse of which is printed "A Proposal" that pastors use a short expository preface to the psalm that is to be sung by the congregation. These two unnumbered pages are followed by twenty-four numbered pages, A to C in fours, D in two with D2 blank. This title, which is hereinafter referred to as the original title, is as follows:

The Accomplished SINGER./ INSTRUCTIONS/ FIRST,/ HOW the PIETY of/ SINGING/ WITH A/ True DEVOTION, may be/ obtained and expressed; the Glo-/rious GOD after an uncommon/ manner Glorified in it, and His/ PEOPLE Edified./ AND THEN,/ HOW the MELODY of RE-/GULAR SINGING, and the/ SKILL of doing it, according/ to the RULES of it, may be easily/ arrived unto.

Then come three lines of quotation, followed by the imprint given above.

Subsequent to the printing the author decided to change the language of the title, and there was printed an additional two-leaf signature consisting of a half title, reverse blank, and a revised title-

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[1] 7 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 606, 608, and 624.

[2] The following census of copies is given through the courtesy of Mr. Thomas J. Holmes, Librarian of the William Gwinn Mather Library, Cleveland:

1. American Antiquarian Society.
2. John Carter Brown Library.
3. Harvard College Library.
4. Matt B. Jones, Boston, Mass.
5. Massachusetts Historical Society.
6 and 7. New York Historical Society (2 copies).
8. New York Public Library.
9. Lemuel A. Welles, Esq., New York City.
10. Yale University Library.

The Accompliſhed SINGER.

INSTRUCTIONS

FIRST,

HOW the PIETY of

SINGING

WITH A

True DEVOTION, may be obtained and expreſſed; the Glorious GOD after an uncommon manner Glorified in it, and His PEOPLE Edified.

AND THEN,

HOW the MELODY of REGULAR SINGING, and the SKILL of doing it, according to the RULES of it, may be eaſily arrived unto.

DEI Laudes Canere et Audire Jucundum ſit, Hæc eſt Voluptas vera; quæ comes et Socia Virtutis eſt.
Lactant. Inſtit. *Lib.* 6. *C.* 21.

BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*, for *S. Gerriſh* at his Shop in Cornhill. 1721.

The Accompliſhed SINGER.

Inſtructions How the PIETY OF SINGING WITH A

True DEVOTION, may be obtained and expreſſed; the Glorious GOD after an uncommon manner Glorified in it, and His PEOPLE Edified.

Intended for the Aſſiſtance of all that would Sing PSALMS with *Grace* in their Hearts; But more particularly to accompany the Laudable Endeavours of thoſe who are Learning to *Sing by Rule*, and ſeeking to preſerve a *Regular Singing* in the Aſſemblies of the Faithful.

DEI Laudes Canere et Audire Jucundum ſit, Hæc eſt Voluptas vera; quæ comes et Socia Virtutis eſt.
Lactant. Inſtit. *Lib.* 6. *C.* 21.

BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*, for *S. Gerriſh*, at his Shop in Cornhill. 1721.

page, reverse blank. In the case of eight of the ten known copies the blank reverse of the revised title is or was pasted over the original title. In three cases it is still so pasted, and in five cases it is known to have been pasted, but the two title-leaves have now been separated in order that both texts may show. In one copy, owned by Lemuel A. Welles, Esq., of New York City, the half title and revised title are stitched up with the remaining signatures, and the same was once true of the copy owned by the writer of these notes; but amid the vicissitudes of more than two centuries the revised title-leaf has become detached and has disappeared.

The revised title reads as follows:

The Accomplished SINGER./ Instructions/ How the PIETY/ OF/ SINGING/ WITH A/ True DEVOTION, may be/ obtained and expressed; the Glo-/rious GOD after an uncommon/ manner Glorified in it, and His/ PEOPLE Edified./ Intended for the Assistance of all that would/ Sing PSALMS with *Grace* in their Hearts;/ But more particularly to accompany the/ Laudable Endeavours of those who are/ Learning to *Sing by Rule,* and seeking to pre-/serve a *Regular Singing* in the Assemblies of/ the Faithful.

Three lines of quotation and the imprint follow as in the original title, except for the insertion of a comma after the word "Gerrish."

It is quite clear that when the pamphlet was put on sale by the publisher the revised title had been printed, because Gerrish's advertisement quotes the revised title in condensed form. Doubtless the titles were pasted together by printer or bookseller at or before sale. It is perhaps not wholly speculative to suggest reasons for the failure to paste the titles together in copies four and nine of the census given in the note on page 190.

In the former case the original title-page bears the date 1701 instead of 1721. This is obviously a printer's error, for Gerrish did not establish his bookshop until 1707. It is reasonable to suppose that it is one of the copies which came very early from the press, and it may have been given out in advance of public sale into the hands of some especially interested person who later procured and stitched on the half title and revised title.

On the half title of Mr. Welles's copy is written the date "Feb. 14th 1720/21," and the inscription "Mr. Green to S. Williams." On the revised title-page are the signatures "Joseph Green's 1720/21"

and "S. Williams 1721." Joseph Green was the minister of that name who was born in Boston, graduated from Harvard College in 1720, and was ordained as minister of the East Parish, Barnstable, Mass., in 1725; while S. Williams is probably the Reverend Solomon Williams, graduate of Harvard in 1719, and ordained as minister at Lebanon, Conn., in 1722. If young Mr. Green bought this book on February 14, 1720/21, as seems probable, he was treading closely upon the heels of its first offering in Gerrish's bookshop and may have been ahead of the business of pasting, in which case the bookseller or his boy might well deliver an unpasted copy. Some further evidence of the correctness of this surmise is to be found in a notation on the blank reverse of the half title of this copy in a contemporary hand to the effect that: "You must put this title Page upon the tother."

It is of interest that Evans, Sabin, and Sibley make no mention of two title-pages, and that they give only the revised title. Sibley states that the "Proposal," which is in fact printed upon the reverse of the original title-page, is pasted to the reverse of that title; that is, he noted that there were two leaves pasted together but did not suspect the original title concealed between them.

Three of the ten copies of the tract have "An Attestation From the very Reverend Dr. Increase Mather" carefully pasted upon the blank reverse of the half title. It is printed upon a separate leaf. In three other copies this attestation was formerly pasted upon the reverse of the half title, but has now been separated from it. Four copies lack the attestation, and there is nothing to indicate that it was ever a part of them.

It is clear that in its earliest form the tract had only a single title, and one rather naturally wonders why the half title, the revised title, and the attestation were added to it later.

It may be noted that the final sentence of the original title contains a promise that the text does not fully make good, and it is possible that the author thought it wise to modify it into the somewhat less definite phraseology of the revised title, which Mr. Thomas J. Holmes has characterized as "more intriguing and tentative and less positive in its claims." But there is another possible reason for the change that ought not to be lost sight of.

The Reverend Thomas Walter was Cotton Mather's favorite nephew. One needs only to turn to the pages of Mather's Diary to

AN ATTESTATION

From the very Reverend,

Dr. *Increaſe Mather.*

HAving been Solicited ſeveral Times, to Declare my judgment, concerning the Endeavours of Some, to recover our Pſalmody, unto that Regular Singing, which is reported now to be ſomewhat loſt in many Places; I take this Opportunity to Signify, That I have peruſed the Book Entituled, *The Accompliſh'd Singer*; and I Entirely Concur to the Sentiments, and Propoſals, which are offered in that *Eſſay*; and I would Encourage, eſpecially our Younger People, to Learn the Skill, by which they may Sing Regularly; that ſo this Part of Divine Worſhip may be more beautifully carried on, and more generally delighted in; But above all, to be moſt careful of the more Spiritual Part, that with Grace in their Hearts, they may always make Melody to the LORD.

INCREASE MATHER.

be assured of his affection for his sister's son, the great anxiety that the young man occasioned him in his early years, and the joy that followed his successful entry into his uncle's profession. As noted above, Thomas Walter's The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained Or An Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note was published in the same year as The Accomplished Singer; in fact, the issue of the Boston News-Letter for February 13, 1720/21, which announces the publication of Mather's tract, also announces that Walter's book is "Now in the Press," and it is referred to in the Boston Gazette of May 8, 1721, and July 17, 1721. Mather's Accomplished Singer is largely historical in character, while Walter's book is definitely a text book for use among those learning to sing by note. In view of the relations between the authors it would have been entirely in keeping with Mather's attitude of helpfulness to his nephew if he had modified the original title-page of The Accomplished Singer in such a way as to remove any inference that the two books in any considerable measure covered the same ground.

No definite reason for the subsequent printing of the attestation appears, and it is perhaps unwise to speculate, but, whatever the occasion, we may well believe that it constituted still a third step in the mechanics of the somewhat hesitant accouchement of this rare and interesting little tract. This belief may be based upon the failure of the publisher to mention the attestation in his advertisements of February, 1720/21, as would have been natural and customary, and also upon the absence of this leaf from so large a proportion of the known copies.

The PRESIDENT communicated by title a paper by Mr. THOMAS H. JOHNSON on

JONATHAN EDWARDS' BACKGROUND OF READING

The rewards of antiquarian research, however valuable, are not always so genuinely interesting as those bestowed upon the investigation of an author's reading. For, as Professor Lowes' almost classic Road to Xanadu so startlingly indicated of Coleridge's writing, an author, however much he live in a world of unreality, does not write of things which he has not experienced; and, furthermore, the experience that is written about is very likely to be the distillation

of some pattern of consciousness that has been arranged and fused from the most disparate and seemingly incompatible essences.

The poetic mind of Coleridge may seem more patently to challenge investigation than the prosaic mind of Edwards. But the minds of these two men were less different than one at first might suppose. Both were vigorously philosophic and, as William James would call it, "tough-minded"; both read constantly and omnifariously; both chased speculative ideas with the delight that a dog takes in chasing rabbits; both journeyed frequently into mental worlds where the atmosphere is much too rarefied for those who are untrained to follow; and, unburdened with the artifices others would need, they sustained themselves at will in any empyrean. And yet, mystics and seers though they were, they never became mere disembodied spirits. One is therefore the more eager, knowing how doubly fascinating the writings of Coleridge become when his reading has been disclosed, to search out the clues that lead to Edwards' literary background.

The clues are many. Edwards' controversial treatises, written to destroy the arguments of his opponents, are documented with notes that show how deeply he has been stirred to admiration or contempt by some pamphlet or other; his letters eagerly discuss the books he has read, or gratefully acknowledge the receipt of a "pacquet" of books from friends in Boston or correspondents in Edinburgh; his Diary and Resolutions occasionally make reference to books that have interested him, or those that he feels he must see. Best of all there is his Catalogue. But I am getting ahead of my story, which should begin the study of Edwards' reading where he himself started.

Jonathan Edwards' training for a life of study began early. His father, the Reverend Timothy Edwards, who was particularly distinguished for his accurate knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics, prepared pupils for college in the early years of the eighteenth century; and, his reputation as tutor being unusually high, his son Jonathan, whom he taught, must have received the best of preparatory educations. Jonathan's sisters were also trained by their father — some in Greek, all in Latin;[1] and in their father's absence from home, the four that were older than Jonathan undertook their brother's

[1] J. A. Stoughton, Windsor Farmes, p. 77.

tutoring. He was studying Latin at the age of seven, for in a letter to his wife on August 3, 1711, Timothy wrote:[1] "I would have Jonathan keep what he hath Learnt in his Grammar, & so I would have the Girls do, & I would have none of them forget their writing." And again, on August 7, he wrote:

> I desire thee to take care that Jonathan dont Loose w^{t} he hath Learned but y^{t} as he hath got ye accidence, & about two sides of *propria Quae maribus*[2] by heart so y^{t} he keep what he hath got, I would therefore have him Say pretty often to the Girls. . . .

Jonathan's mother, a daughter of the distinguished pastor Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton — from 1667 to 1672 he had served as Librarian at Harvard College, the first of whom there is record — must have aided her son's education, for she "was always fond of books, and discovered a very extensive acquaintance with them in her conversation."[3]

At the outset, however, it must be understood that Jonathan Edwards, born into a provincial family, always lived in rural New England; and that many of the facilities for a good education — libraries, personal association with cultivated minds, a cosmopolitan breadth of interests such as were to be found in Boston — were his only upon rare and hard-earned occasions. His friends were such men as David Brainerd, Eleazar Wheelock, Joseph Bellamy; not the Mathers, Wigglesworths, and Chauncys. He did not, like the Mathers, have friends abroad among the noted men of the century; nor did he, like Increase, travel abroad or enjoy political prestige. His temper was provincial. He did not have a social nature, as did many of the urban clergy. Their names are synonymous with colonial aristocracy, theocratic government, and Harvard College. Edwards' name is associated with the more democratic and provincial developments — Indian missions, revivals, and the new colleges, Yale and Princeton. There is a tinge of wistfulness in the opening sentence of the only letter he ever wrote to Edward Wigglesworth, Professor of Divinity at Harvard — written as late as 1757, the year before his death —

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[1] E. C. Smyth, "Jonathan Edwards," Andover Review, XIII. 5 *n*; see also S. E. Dwight, Life of President Edwards (1829), p. 17.

[2] See note on Lily's Latin grammar, Publications of this Society, XXVII. 24.

[3] Dwight, Edwards, p. 18.

in which he is discussing a book of Jonathan Mayhew: "I can't assign any particular acquaintance as my warrant for troubling you with these lines; not being one of them that have been favored with opportunities for such an advantage."[1] Edwards' provincialness must be made clear from the start, because he became a writer of such influence and popularity, here and abroad, that his works at the turn of the nineteenth century had been more widely printed and frequently reprinted than those of any other American minister — more so, indeed, than the works of any other American writer whatsoever, if we except Franklin.[2] He achieved this fame while living in the rural parish of Northampton and the frontier settlement of Stockbridge. Especially interesting, then, becomes the search to find how he built up that background of reading with which he later produced sermons and treatises that have been for two hundred years considered chief among the remarkable displays of disciplined thinking in American letters.

I have pointed out that Edwards' home training was begun under the guidance of two especially able parents. But his father was not a scholar, nor did he have the means or interest to collect a library so fine as those some of the urban ministers had gathered. Yet since Jonathan had written his notable "Of Insects" and "Of the Rainbow" before he entered college[3] — that is, before he was thirteen years old — one knows that this training had opened many studies to his extraordinarily active mind, and had made him a keen observer. We also know that in these pre-college days he had become acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton's essay on Optics, and that he was experimenting with rainbows, using such crude but ingeniously homemade materials as a glass bottle, a stick, and a puddle.[4]

In the absence of a more precise knowledge of his father's library, we can only say that it was small; and concerning Jonathan's early reading, we can only hazard the guess that probably he began his college life with little background besides a formal training in the

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[1] J. S. Clark, Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, p. 181.

[2] These figures are based on a comparative analysis of works of American writers as they are set forth in Evans' American Bibliography.

[3] Andover Review, XIII. 4.

[4] Id., p. 5.

classics. As a freshman, he continued Latin and Greek, and undertook Hebrew. But though Edwards seems later to have read Latin with ease, he always preferred English translations whenever he could secure them; he seldom made reference to a Greek text, and all that remains of his Hebrew is a negligible amount of marginalia and a few Hebrew idioms that he jotted on old envelopes.[1] Latin was supposed to be used by undergraduates in their class work and conversations, but there are those who doubt whether many lived up to the standards.[2]

His sophomore year laid that foundation of logic on which his later fame was to rest. Four days a week were devoted to the study of it. In his junior year he began the study of physics; and the meticulous care with which he builds the ideas that appear in the Notes on Natural Science, written at this time, reveals his great concern for this new branch of learning.

His senior year was largely given to metaphysics and mathematics, and his Notes on the Mind and Notes on Natural Science show how profoundly this boy was moved by the vision of the new world of ideas that opened before him. The logic that he learned in the sophomore year was employed constantly, for all undergraduates disputed syllogistically five times a week, using as textbooks Ramus, Burgersdicius, and Keckermann.[3] Locke's Essays, which had appeared less than thirty years before, he avidly read when he was but fourteen,[4] as well as that miscellaneous storehouse of Platonism, Ralph Cudworth's Intellectual System. For his study in physics, Edwards probably used Rector Pierson's manuscript notes on Natural Philosophy,[5] and we know from a letter of Edwards to his father, dated July 21, 1719, what texts he probably bought during his senior year:[6]

I have enquired of Mr. Cutler, what books we shall have need of the next year. He answered he would have me get against the time, Alstead's Geometry and Gassendus' Astronomy . . . and also, the Art of Think-

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[1] Edwards Collection, Yale University, No. 26. Cited as Ed. MSS., Yale.

[2] T. D. Woolsey in Memorial Volume of the Edwards Family Meeting at Stockbridge, Mass. (1871), p. 31. But see also S. E. Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony, p. 207.

[3] Woolsey, p. 31.

[4] Dwight, Edwards, p. 30.

[5] F. B. Dexter, A Sketch of the History of Yale University, p. 14.

[6] Dwight, Edwards, p. 32.

ing,[1] which, I am persuaded, would be no less profitable, than the other necessary, to me. . . .

But his college reading, though intensive in prescribed fields, was not wide. For one thing, the library was very limited.[2] The study of mathematics in Edwards' undergraduate days had been stretched to include only the textbooks mentioned in the preceding quotation. Algebra was not then taught; nor were aesthetics, politics, or history. Modern natural sciences were undeveloped, and the systems taught were narrow and intended for theological students, who made up the major part of all classes.[3] Had he attended Harvard, where the library was more ample, or entered Yale at a later time, he would probably have been more widely read when he graduated. He surely read much during the period of his study for the ministry; and between his return in 1723 from eight months of preaching in New York, and the beginning of his tutorship in 1724, he had leisurely days in New Haven. He has left no record of his reading during this time, but undoubtedly he acquired a background then that was broader than his modest temper allowed to appear. "Remember," he wrote in his Diary, under date of January 10, 1724, "to act according to Prov. xii. 23, *A prudent man concealeth knowledge.*"[4] "In writing," he says in rule twelve of his Notes on Natural Science, "let there be much Compliance with the *readers* weakness and according to the Rules in the Ladies library Vol. 1, p. 340 & seq."[5] And rule nine reads:[6] "To be very moderate in the use of terms of

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[1] This is the Port Royal Logic, written by Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole and first published, in French, in 1662. This book is one of the products of the Port Royalists, remarkable as teachers and text-book writers, that survived the attacks levied against them by the Jesuits.

[2] In 1714, the Trustees received at Saybrook at one time over 700 volumes to add to the very slender library, the result of Jeremiah Dummer's assiduous solicitations among his English friends. In 1718, the library contained some 1300 volumes, but in their transfer to New Haven at least a fifth were lost or destroyed. As Edwards was at Wethersfield until 1719, he could not have had easy access to them. See Dexter, Sketch, pp. 14, 19, 100; Papers of the New Haven Historical Society, iii. 240; E. Oviatt, Beginnings of Yale, p. 367.

[3] Woolsey, p. 32; Oviatt, Beginnings, pp. 422–424.

[4] Dwight, Edwards, p. 100.

[5] Ed. Mss., Yale, No. 5; Dwight, Edwards, p. 703. The reference is to modesty in writing.

[6] Dwight, Edwards, pp. 702–703.

art. Let it not look as if I was much read, or was conversant with books, or with the learned world." Though he made these resolutions when he was young, he efficiently practiced them all through his life. Perhaps the most interesting rule that he states is one in shorthand which says:[1]

The World will expect more modesty [because] of my circumstances in America young &c. Let there [therefore] be a superabundance of modesty and [though perhaps 'twill] otherwise be needless it will wonderfully make way for its reception in the world. Mankind are [by] nature proud and exceeding envious [and evermore] jealous of such upstarts and it exceedingly irritates and affronts them to see them [appear] in print. Yet the modesty ought not to be affected and foolish but decent and natural.

The purpose of this discussion is to show how Edwards built up a background of reading, yet the more one knows of him the less easy such an attempt becomes. Not only was he diffident, but he had so little pride in any of his accomplishments that he left no record of his library or of his reading. Even his most learned treatises — those written in Stockbridge — do not parade any knowledge. So effectually had he lived up to his early resolutions that we can distinguish only scatterings of his preparatory reading, for the footnotes and even the imagery of his language are sparse. We know that he built up a good-sized library, but we do not know what it contained. In 1753, when Edwards made his will, his library, bequeathed to those of his sons that should "be brought up to learning" was valued at £80, and contained three hundred volumes and five hundred and thirty-six pamphlets.[2] But no itemized inventory of this collection was made, and there is not today, so far as I know, a single volume from it extant. It went to his son Jonathan, but from that time all trace of it is lost. Hence the first and most valuable evidence of his interests in reading is out of our reach.

Had he kept a diary, as one would conjecture he might almost certainly do, one could find there the second-best source for one's knowledge. But it happens that the least interesting writing Edwards undertook was the turgid, colorless document begun in 1723 and

[1] Deciphered by Upham, 2 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., xv. 515.

[2] "Jonathan Edwards' Last Will," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xxxiii. 438 ff.

intermittently continued for four or five years, that may be termed Diary only by courtesy. It records the adolescent introspections of a precocious Puritan, and ceases abruptly when the self-castigation has become intolerable.

We turn next in our search to his correspondence, but find little help there, for unfortunately only a very small amount of it remains. Yet from his letters we learn that he was starved for reading — doubly starved in that he who was so omnivorous a reader thought he had so little to read. Indeed, the Edwards correspondence is a check upon rather than a key to his reading. His Notebooks occasionally — almost inadvertently — supply a hint, but for this particular search are even less valuable than his correspondence.

Then one looks to discover what facilities were close at hand to which he might resort. Did he have access to libraries other than his own? Something is known of his grandfather Stoddard's library in Northampton, mentioned, though not itemized, in Stoddard's will of 1728. It consisted of four hundred and sixty-two volumes and four hundred and ninety-one sermons and pamphlets.[1] But this collection went to Stoddard's eldest son Anthony, pastor of the church in Woodbury, Connecticut; and though Edwards may have had access to it, he could not have used it conveniently, nor does he ever seem to have done so. He and the neighboring ministers sometimes swapped books. To Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, he wrote in 1747:[2]

> I herewith send you Mastrict, & one vol. of Turretine, If you have one of Mr. Beach's & Dr- Johnsons last, I should be glad if you would lend them to me, after you have used 'em sufficiently your self, & send 'em by some safe hand.

And preserved on a scrap used in writing Efficacious Grace appears the first draft of a letter to Caleb Clark:[3]

> If you are not like to be over-loaden in coming Home I should be glad if you could bring some Books belonging to Mr. Darling for me. If you can bring 'em, & speak to Job Strong about 'em He knows what they be & will Procure 'em for you.

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[1] J. R. Trumbull, History of Northampton, II. 65–66.
[2] New England Quarterly, I. 234.
[3] Ed. Mss., Yale, No. 11.

Perhaps those are the same books of which he is speaking in his letter of March 9, 1741, to Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Boston, which begins: "I humbly thank you four [*sic*] your kindness by Mr Clarke in those Books you sent me by him."[1] In January, 1747, he wrote to the Reverend Robert Abercrombie, of Pelham:[2]

I wrote to you, a Little while ago, desiring you, if you went speedily to Boston, to enquire of Capt. McCun, for some Pamphlets & Letters, that I understood were sent me from Scotland, that I had not received, & to bring them with you: I hear you have been to Boston, & are lately returned. I shall be glad if you would write me word, by the first good opportunity, how you found; and if you brought me any letters or Pamphlets, send them; for I want them very much. — please also to send me word how long it will be e're Capt McCun & Capt. Scot set sail for Scotland.

And in August, 1748, he wrote to his Scotch correspondent, the noted theologian Dr. John Erskine:[3]

It might be of particular advantage to me, here in this remote part of the world, to be better informed what books there are, that are published on the other side of the Atlantic.

In another letter to Bellamy, he wrote:[4]

It now comes to my mind that I heard that Dr. Pynchon[5] of Longmeadow, has Turretine, and that he lately offered to change it away for other Books; so that in all probability you may there have it at a moderate Price.

So much for the type of information that his correspondence offers. But Edwards had yet another library to draw on — one which he himself helped to build. During the thirties there was established the Associated Ministers of the County of Hampshire, "a vigorous organization" made up of thirteen pastors, among whom, in addition to Edwards, were Isaac Chauncy, of Hadley, William Williams, of Hatfield, Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow, Samuel Hopkins, of West Springfield, and Ebenezer Devotion, of Suffield.[6] It was

[1] Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[2] Ed. Mss., Yale, No. 26.
[3] Dwight, Edwards, p. 251.
[4] New England Quarterly, I. 232.
[5] Joseph Pynchon (H. C. 1726), preacher and doctor.
[6] Papers of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, II. 2.

organized "for the mutual improvement of its members" and maintained a library for them. Means were available, furthermore, for the purchase of expensive books — such, for instance, as the eighteen-volume set of the Present State of the Republic of Letters, (London, 1728–1736) — as the following makes clear:[1]

May ye 4th 1739 Then Receiv'd of Mr Stephen Williams as Treasurer of ye Association In order to pay for ye Republick of Letters the full & Just Sum of Thirty one pounds Eighteen Shillings wch together wth Twelve pounds I Receiv'd of ye Rev'^d^ Mr John Sergeant (for wch I Gave him a Receipt) makes up ye full Sum of forty three pounds Eighteen Shillings I Say Receiv'd by me

Jonathan Edwards

But how extensive their library grew, and what became of it when the Association ceased, are questions as unanswered as the final disposition of Edwards' own.

From the newspaper scraps which Edwards made into covers for his notebooks we can conjecture whence his weekly news came to him. And important, of course, though not extensive, are the quotations within and the references attached to his treatises. Yet the sum of all items which we can gather by these methods is small indeed, and we might still know very little about Edwards' reading were it not for a document which is certainly the most interesting and curious manuscript among his unpublished papers. This is a notebook or journal that he labelled, as aptly as any name could describe it, Catalogue[2] — a thin, brown-paper volume of forty-three numbered pages, measuring eight by six inches, bound between paper covers of a slightly heavier, greyish-brown material. It is an invaluable document, since it contains upward of five hundred itemized book titles. It is a puzzling one, for the items do not represent *certainly* anything more than his literary interests — that is, the Catalogue is not a list of books which he had collected. But since it is so important in a discussion of Edwards' reading, it must be examined with some care.

Evidently while he was at New Haven, either as tutor or student, he had the idea of jotting down names of books in which he was or

[1] Waterston Autographs, I. M.H.S.

[2] Ed. Mss., Yale, No. 24.

thought he might be interested. In close-packed file, on the back of an envelope addressed to him "At Yale-Colledge," he began as follows:

Bible	Lock of human Understanding
~~Mr Baxters Life~~	Art of thinking
Mr Stoddards Safety of appearances	the tongues
~~His Manuscripts~~	Isaiah
The English Grammar	~~the Psalms~~
~~Mr Watts Poems~~	~~Revelation~~
~~The Bible~~	~~Acts~~
~~Guardian~~	~~Proverbs~~
~~Bp of Bangor~~	~~Ezra~~
Mr Watts sermons	~~Nehemiah~~
~~Elisha Coles of Gods Sovereignty~~	~~Romans~~
Mr Flavels Application of Redemption	~~Galatians~~
Dr Mantons Sermons	Job

This is a sample of the whole page, and those items which he crossed out, are here so reproduced. From the nature of the items listed, and from the way some, like the Bible in this excerpt, are re-entered crossed off, I sometime ago concluded that the list was begun very early, and that the items crossed probably represent books that he had read. And after a more minute study of the Catalogue, together with other sources of Edwards' reading, I still hold the opinion as far as its early pages are concerned. There is a notation in the middle of the first page which reads "vid Aug 28 1723," and I think that it probably refers to his diary of that date, which imposes a discipline upon himself bordering on unctiousness:

When I want books to read; yea, when I have not very good books, not to spend time in reading them, but in reading the scriptures, in perusing Resolutions, Reflexions, &c., in writing on Types of the Scripture, and other things, in studying the Languages, and in spending more time in private duties.[1]

Probably the jottings on this envelope gave him the idea of keeping a record of books that he did not wish to forget, for the Catalogue proper begins on the first bound sheet, numbered one, and the envelope is set loosely into it. Page one [2] has other notations besides the com-

[1] Dwight, Edwards, p. 94.

[2] For convenience, I designate the reverse side of the envelope, on which the first entries were made, page A; the obverse, page B; the beginning of the bound pages, 1, 2, etc., as Edwards himself numbered them.

paratively simple horizontal line; a few items are crossed off in that way, but in addition all of them have a vertical or diagonal line drawn through, not as if they all had been crossed off at once, but as if they had been checked at different times. For example:

~~Lock of Education~~
the independent Whigg
Bp×Burnets Pastoral Care
*Bp Burnets× history of the Reformation
Jenkins Reasonableness & certainty of the Xtian Religion
~~Dr Cheyne's Religious Philosophic book~~
Sir Isaac Newton's mathematick Philosophy more easily demonstrated with Dr halley's account of Comets illustrated being 40 Lectures Read in the Publick Schools of Cambridge by Mr Whiston

In addition to the lines, there now and then appears a × or a star. No amount of study makes these markings clear. The two sides of the envelope and the first three numbered pages of the Catalogue contain well over half of the total list of entries, which seldom are accompanied by comments of any sort. But as one progresses through the Catalogue one finds such diverse items as the following:

To Read the bible Comparing it with the key of the bible [page A]

a new comparison of all Religions with the Xtian. that I have seen at New Haven [page 2]

Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies Refer'd to in the London Magazine in April 1736 [page 5].

×Dr Doddridges Family Expositor of which I have Proposals for printing by subscription from Dr. Colman [page 7].

An Inquiry into the original of our Idea of Beauty that seems a very ingenious thing by the specimens of that Book in Chambers[1] under the word *Common Places* where tis mentiond as a Book in octavo. & the 199 pages Referd to. also under the word Evil [page 8]

×To send for a number of the narratives of the wicked Life & Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston alias Samson who was Executed at York July 24. 1734[2] [page 8].

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[1] Ephraim Chambers, Cyclopædia (1738).

[2] Error for 1735.

Mr Addisons Evidences of the Xtian Religion. with several additions from his other writings a Book in the Springfield Library [1] [page 10]

Two vol of sermons one on the Power & Grace of X and Evidence of holy Gospel the 2nd Edition and the other a series of Discourses on the Important Subject of Regeneration. Both By Dr Doddridge. mentioned in his Letter to me [page 10]

The whole concern of man in what he ought to know & do in order to Eternal Salvation laid down in a plain & familiar way for the use of all, but especially the meanest reader. divided into seventeen Chapters by John Edwards D.D. of which see the printed advertisement in the drawer in which this is commonly laid [page 11].

×Discourses deliverd at Cambridge against Arminianism by Mr. William Hammond A.B. against Arminianism. a Large Pamphlet which Mr. Brainerd says is lately come over to Boston which Dr. Pynchon bought one of [page 16].

×Mr. McLaurin Professor of Mathematicks in Edinburgh his account of Sir Isaac Newtons discoveries. Mentiond by his Brother Mr. McLaurin of Glasgow in his Letter to me of April 14. 1748 [page 17].

×Mr. Gill on the 5 Points in four volumes in octavo of which Mr. Prince and Mr Foxcroft [told me?] when I was in Boston [page 18]

The Knowledge of divine things from Revelation & not from Reason & Nature much commended by Dr. Ellis [&] Dr Gibbons of Boston. The author he said was a tip-top man [page 32].

N.B. It is said that the addition to Chambers dictionary has two first volumes may be had separate. in a Catalogue of Books printed in London brought from N. York by my wife June. 1754 [page 35].

×The Praeceptor two vol^{s} octavo. See Mr. Hopkins Letter to Capt. Hubbel. of Jan. 13. 57 in my drawer [page 42].

×from something I saw in Boston in Print Johnsons dictionary was said to be in two vols 8vo Price 10^{s} Sterling in England By Mr Boons account this is the Abridgment of Johnsons English dictionary [page 42].

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[1] This refers, I think, to the library of the Hampshire Ministers' Association, housed probably by one of the Springfield ministers.

These items clearly show that Edwards turned his Catalogue to more than one use. He kept here the names of books he wanted to remember, and information about where books could be secured. Sometimes he quoted from books that he had seen, and occasionally he abstracted a book — possibly because he feared he might not have access to it again. He read the magazine advertisements minutely and set down the magazine and page in which he saw the book advertised; quite often he quoted the words of the advertiser. The Catalogue was evidently begun in the early twenties, and the entries were made chronologically until within a year of his death.[1]

One would like to reach some certain conclusion about the use to which the Catalogue was put, but probably nothing is possible beyond reasonable guesses. Whenever Edwards quotes from or abstracts a book, we know that he had read it; whenever he includes a book which other evidence shows that he had read, we know that he had finally secured the book which he had hoped to see. But his complicated checking of books suggests no conclusive evidence that he either had or had not read them. Probably he used the horizontal line early in the Catalogue to represent a book read — later, simply to cross out a mistake. He used the vertical line throughout as if he meant to indicate a book that he had read, though we know that he sometimes read books that are not crossed or checked — or, in fact, entered in the Catalogue at all; so that no complete solution to the checking system seems possible. But the Catalogue shows with perfect clearness two important things: first, the direction in which his literary interests lay; and secondly, the books he read as demonstrated by quotations taken from them. I shall try to make a clear distinction between his interests and his actual reading.

. . . . . .

As Edwards' profession was theology at a time when the number of theological books and pamphlets issuing from the presses of England and America far outnumbered any other category — in this country, all other categories put together — one naturally finds that his reading was intensively theological. The quotations and direct

[1] The dates, and the pages on which they were entered, might roughly be stated thus: 1720?–1726, pp. A and B; 1726–1736, pp. 1–4; 1736–1746, pp. 5–15; 1746–1757, pp. 15–43. The last date, on page 42, is January 13, 1757.

references in his treatises furnish us our most certain knowledge of his reading. The following list of authors and their works is therefore inserted here, because it is definitely an example of his professional reading: [1]

William Ames, De Conscientia (1632; translation). Affec., p. 77 *n.*
Aristotle, De Mundo. Observ., p. 259.
Isaac Barrow, Works (1683–9). Bible, p. 210.
Jacques Basnage de Beauval, History of the Jews (1708). Messiah, p. 21.
Arthur Bedford, Scripture Chronology (1741). Bible, p. 175.
Benjamin Bennet, Truth, Inspiration and Usefulness of the Scripture (1730). Observ. (frequently).
Samuel Bochart, Opera Omnia (1692). Bible, p. 315.
Anthony Burgess, The Doctrine of Original Sin (1659). Affect., p. 170 *n.*
John Calvin, Institutes. Affec., p. 161 *n.*
Thomas Chubb, Posthumous Works (1748). Will (frequently).
Samuel Clarke, A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God (1716). Observ., p. 313; Will, p. 84.
Ralph Cudworth, The True Intellectual System of the Universe (1678). Mind, p. 673.
Humphrey Ditton, A Discourse Concerning the Resurrection (1714). Observ., p. 206.
Philip Doddridge, Practical Discourses on Regeneration (1742). Misrep., p. 558 *n.*
—— Scripture Doctrine of Salvation (1761). Affec., p. 288 *n.*
Epicurus, "the very worst of heathen philosophers." Will, p. 224.
John Flavel, Touchstone of Sincerity (1678). Affec. (frequently).
—— Husbandry Spiritualized (1669). Affec. (frequently).
—— Preparation for Sufferings (1682). Affec. (frequently).
—— A Discourse of the Causes and Remedies of Mental Errors (1691). Affec. (frequently).
—— Sacramental Meditations (1689). Affec. (frequently).
Theophilus Gale, Court of the Gentiles (1669). Affec., p. 194 *n.*
Solomon Glassius. Philologiæ Sacræ Libri V (1711). Misrep., p. 542 *n.*
Thomas Goodwin, Works. Crea., p. 76.
Hugo Grotius, De Veritate Religionis. Observ. (frequently).
Thomas Hobbes, Works. Will, p. 60.

[1] The items are tabulated together with the volume and page in Edwards' Works (1829) where they appear. The key is as follows:

Affec. Religious Affections, Vol. v.
Bible. Notes on the Bible, Vol. ix.
Crea. End in Creation, Vol. iii.
Faith. Justification by Faith Alone, Vol. v.
Messiah. Types of the Messiah, Vol. ix.
Mind. The Mind, Vol. i.
Misrep. Misrepresentations Corrected, Vol. iv.
Observ. Miscellaneous Observations, Vol. vii.
Qual. Qualifications for Full Communion, Vol. iv.
Prayer. Union in Prayer, Vol. iii.
Redemp. History of Redemption, Vol. iii.
Remarks. Miscellaneous Remarks, Vol. vii.
Sin. Original Sin, Vol. ii.
Trinity. Observations on the Trinity (Smyth, ed., 1880).
Will. Freedom of the Will, Vol. ii.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, Essays on the Principles of Morality (1751). Will, p. 290.
Samuel Hudson, Vindication of the Essence and Unity of the Church Catholic Visible (1650). Misrep., p. 538.
Jeremiah Jones, New Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament (1726). Affec., p. 211 *n*; Observ., p. 247.
Richard Kidder, Demonstration of the Messiah (1684–1700). Observ., p. 242 *n*.
John Locke, Essays (1690). Will (frequently).
Moses Lowman, Argument from Prophecy (1733). Prayer, p. 515 *n*; Messiah (frequently).
Thomas Manton, Sermons (1678). Remarks, p. 559.
Isaac Newton, Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms (1728). Observ. (frequently).
William Nicholls, Conference with a Theist (1696, 1723). Bible, p. 163.
Charles Owen, Wonders of Redeeming Love (1723). Observ., p. 507.
John Owen, Discourses Concerning the Holy Spirit (1693). Affec., p. 138 *n*.
—— Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews (1668–84). Bible, p. 169.
William Perkins, Works (1618). Affec., p. 61 *n*.
Plato, De Legibus. Observ., p. 259.
Edward Polhill, Speculum Theologiæ in Christo (1678). Remarks, p. 425.
Matthew Poole, Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Sacræ Scriptæ Interpretum (1669–76). Messiah, p. 110.
John Preston, A Heavenly Treatise of the Divine Love of Christ (1640). Affec. (frequently).
—— The Golden Scepter Held forth and the Churches Dutie in her Carriage (1638). Affec. (frequently).
—— Paul's Conversion (1637). Affec. (frequently).
Humphrey Prideaux, The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews (1716–18). Bible, p. 146.
Andrew Michael Ramsay, Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion (1748–49). Observ., p. 315.
Thomas Ridgley, Body of Divinity (1731). Trinity, p. 91.
Samuel Rutherford, Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist (1648). Affec., p. 169 *n*.
Thomas Shepard, Parable of the Ten Virgins (1660). Affec. (frequently).
—— Sound Believer (1645). Affec. (frequently).
—— Sincere Convert (1641). Affec. (frequently).
Thomas Sherlock, Use and Interest of Prophecy (1725). Bible, p. 169.
Samuel Shuckford, Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected (1728). Bible, p. 241.
Richard Sibbes, Bruised Reed (1630). Affec., p. 296 *n*.
Philip Skelton, Deism Revealed (2nd. ed., 1751). Observ., p. 314.
John Smith, Select Discourses (1660). Affec., p. 112 *n*.
Johann Friedrich Stapfer, Institutiones Theologiæ Polemicæ (1743–7). Observ. (frequently).
Henry Stebbing, Treatise on the Spirit (1719). Will, p. 153.
Solomon Stoddard, Works. Qualif. (frequently); Affec. (frequently).
Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels (1684). Bible, p. 176.
John Taylor, Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin (1740). Sin, p. 307.
—— Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans (1745). Sin, p. 307.
Gilbert Tennent, The Divine Government over All (1752). Crea., p. 19.

Tertullian. Redemp., p. 349.
John Tillotson, Sermons (1695–1704). Observ. (frequently).
Matthew Tindal, Christianity as Old as Creation (1730). Observ., p. 275; Remarks, p. 433.
George Turnbull, Principles of Moral Philosophy (1740). Sin, p. 307.
François Turretin, Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ (1688). Affec., p. 170 *n.*
Isaac Watts, Essay on Freedom of the Will (1732). Will, p. 13.
Edward Wells, Historical Geography of the New Testament (1708). Bible, p. 355.
Daniel Whitby, Discourses Concerning Election (1710). Will (frequently).
Solomon Williams, Works. Misrep. (frequently).
Henry Winder, Critical and Chronological History of Knowledge (1745). Observ., p. 240.

Edwards refers to the following as if familiar with their works:

John Beach, in a letter to Joseph Bellamy, Jan. 15, 1746/7 (New England Quarterly, I. 231).
Thomas Boston, in a letter to Gillespie, Sept. 4, 1747 (Works, I. 241).
George Campbell, in a letter to Erskine, 1754 (Works, I. 545).
Isaac Casaubon, in a letter to Erskine (id.).
Jonathan Dickinson, in a letter to Bellamy, Jan. 15, 1746/7 (New England Quarterly, I. 231).
John Erskine, in frequent letters to Erskine (Works, I).
Thomas Gilbert, in a letter to Erskine, 1754 (Works, I. 545).
James Hervey, in a letter to Erskine (id.).
Samuel Johnson, in a letter to Bellamy, Jan. 15, 1746/7 (New England Quarterly, I. 231).
Petrus van Mastricht, in a letter to Bellamy (id., p. 229).
Marshal Montagu Merrick, in a letter to Erskine, 1754 (Works, I. 545).
Alexander Moncrieff, in a letter to Erskine, 1754 (id.).
Henry Pemberton. A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy (1728), in the Catalogue, p. 3.
Chevalier Ramsay, (A. V. G. Allen, Jonathan Edwards, pp. 346 ff.).
William Warburton, in a letter to Erskine, 1754 (Works, I. 545.)
Joannes Wollebius, (*Bibl. Sacra*, XXXVIII. 364).

And these also he had read, for he quotes from them in his Catalogue:

Joseph Butler, The Analogy of Religion.
John Clarke, An Essay on Study.
Ebenezer Erskine, Sermons.
Herman Frink, Discourse concerning preaching.
Nathaniel Lardner (no title mentioned).
Cotton Mather, Manuductio ad Ministerium.
John Owen, Exposition on the Hebrews.
Micajah Towgood, Dissenting Gentleman's Letters.
Daniel Waterland, Queries.
George Whitefield, Journal and Sermons.

His letter to Professor Wigglesworth[1] discussed books by Jonathan Mayhew and Thomas Emlyn. But there are a legion of theological items in the Catalogue which he probably read, yet which can be chronicled here with certainty only as books in which he was interested. Many titles are entered so briefly as to make identification difficult. Yet there are many others that should be noted. "St Austins Conversion" (page A) is not crossed, but Mr. G. P. Fisher thinks that Edwards was acquainted with Augustine;[2] Richard Baxter is many times mentioned; so are Dr. George Bull and the "Bp of St David's." Bishop Thomas White's noted commentary on the Bible is crossed; likewise, on page A, Bunyan's Excellency of a Broken Heart. The name of Gilbert Burnet appears more than once; and such writers as Philo the Jew, Tertullian, Josephus, and Eusebius appear on early pages. We know that he had read some of the writings of John Clarke, Jonathan Dickinson, and Philip Doddridge, whose names appear often throughout the Catalogue. So do the names of Thomas Manton, John Edwards, Charles Owen, John Owen, Robert Fleming, Isaac Watts, William Whiston, and John Howe. The two authors whom Edwards most venerated were Isaac Newton and John Locke, and nothing they published escaped his notice. Luther's Colloquies is entered crossed on page A. At least one work by each of the following — all entered very early — appears: William Beveridge, Thomas Bradbury, Daniel Finch (Earl of Nottingham), Matthew Henry, Robert Jenkins, William Jameson, William Law, Edward Leigh, John Lightfoot, Simon Patrick, James Ray, John Sharp, William Wall, Thomas White, Edward Wigglesworth, Samuel Willard, and Robert Woodroe.

Though Edwards was a strict believer in the tenets of his own theology, he strove constantly to broaden and deepen his training in all branches and forms of religion, whether expressed by Jews, Romanists, Deists, or Anglicans. In a letter of 1755 to the Scotch clergyman, John Erskine, he wrote:[3]

I had before read . . . that book of Mr. David Hume's, which you speak of. I am glad of an opportunity to read such corrupt books,

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[1] Clark, Congregational Churches in Mass., pp. 181–182.

[2] An Unpublished Essay of Edwards on the Trinity (1903), pp. 39 ff.

[3] Dwight, Edwards, p. 550.

especially when written by men of considerable genius; that I may have an idea of the notions that prevail in our nation.

Hopkins noticed this willingness of Edwards to read books of which he disapproved:[1]

He read all the books, especially books of divinity, that he could come at, from which he could hope to get any help in his pursuit of knowledge. And in this, he confined not himself to authors of any particular sect or denomination; yea, took much pains to come at the books of the most noted writers, who advance a scheme of divinity most contrary to his own principles.

Thus while his background in Calvin, Cudworth, Grotius, Mastricht, and Turretine appears established by his frequent reference to them, many Church of England divines are also quoted by him: Warburton, Barrow, Tillotson, Samuel Clarke, Prideaux, Whitby, Sherlock, and Kidder. From English and Scotch Nonconformists he derived arguments or authority: Ames, Rutherford, Flavel, Manton, Poole, Owen, Ditton, Doddridge, Erskine, Hervey, and Boston. He also had at hand the works of the French protestant divine Basnage, famous for his historical treatises on the church, and of the Scotch Roman Catholic Ramsay; and he superbly ridiculed the English Deists, Chubb — whom Voltaire praised — and Tindal.

Whoever is familiar with Edwards' writings must know his dependence upon and contributions to contemporary philosophy. Yet the limited knowledge available as to his reading offers no solution of certain traditional Edwards problems — such, for instance, as whether or not he was acquainted with the philosophy of Berkeley *before* he developed his own youthful theories of idealism. Actually there is no direct external evidence that he had read Berkeley at all, for he never discussed him, and the latter's Theory of Vision, Principles of Human Knowledge, and Alciphron, though entered in the Catalogue, are not crossed off. Francis Hutcheson is entered in the Catalogue, and so is Cumberland's Law of Nature; but neither is crossed, though Professor Foster thinks, from the quality of Edwards' philosophy, that he was acquainted with them, as well as with Leibnitz to whom there is nowhere a reference.[2] As a boy, Edwards had read Shaftesbury's

[1] S. Hopkins, Life and Character of Jonathan Edwards, pp. 43–44.

[2] F. H. Foster, A Genetic History of New England Theology, p. 48.

Characteristics, for in the Notes on Science one reads: "Oftentimes it suits the subject and Reasoning best to Explain by way of objection and answer after the manner of Dialogue like the Earl of Shaftesbury."[1] We have noted that he had read Hume sometime before 1755. He quoted in the Catalogue from "an Advertisement at the End of Mons Paschals thoughts," and more than once made reference to a volume he regarded with great esteem, the Chevalier Ramsay's Philosophical Principles.[2] In 1749 appeared Henry Grove's System of Moral Philosophy, which Edwards had read before the end of the year 1751. Turnbull's Moral Philosophy he read shortly after the Grove volume; and also Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, by the fashionable physician Dr. George Cheyne. Henry Winder's History of Knowledge is also quoted in the Catalogue. Locke, of course, Edwards read, and probably Malebranche's Search After Truth, which he early crossed off. Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, Watts' Logic, and perhaps something of Descartes were also among the philosophical works familiar to him. In any case, he mentions them all in one place or another, and he could hardly have read at all in the field of philosophy and religion without being acquainted with them, if only at secondhand. He makes reference to Hobbes and Lord Kaimes; and of the important Deists he was thoroughly familiar with Chubb,[3] Tindal, and Whiston.[4] Of the moralists, we have noted Samuel Clarke, Shaftesbury, and Bishop Butler; of the mystics, probably we should not omit William Law [5] and Dr. Cheyne.

The eighteenth-century connection between science and philosophy was as interlocking as that between philosophy and religion. Edwards'

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[1] Andover Theological Library, Edwards Mss.

[2] Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), Scottish author of the treatise, noted in its day, Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion (1747), a book which combats Berkeley and Malebranche as tending to Pantheism. See A. V. G. Allen, Jonathan Edwards, p. 347.

[3] Thomas Chubb (1679–1746) is not referred to by name, but a good part of Freedom of the Will is directed against his deistic writings.

[4] Considering that Edwards' later writings were directed against deism, I think that he must have known something about other deists: Charles Blount, Charles Leslie, John Toland, Anthony Collins, William Woolston — for he often asked Erskine to give him more information about books that were appearing on the subject, and he probably scanned the magazines for such works particularly.

[5] Mentioned in the Catalogue, but not crossed off. But Law was a very important figure in a field that could not escape Edwards' attention.

early acquired and well-informed interest in the sciences — physics, astronomy, mathematics, even medicine — did not lag. These entries in the Catalogue, for example, are suggestive: "To Enquire after some Philosophical Treatise of the nature of Electricity the best that is extant"; "History of the Royal Socicty"; "Cowper's Anatomy." We also find Edwards inquiring for editions of Euclid by Whiston and Scarburgh. The last entry of all is a quotation from Ward's Mathematics. Whiston's Astronomical Principles of Religion and his New Theory of the Earth; Dr. Woodward's Natural History of the Earth; Watts' Last Principles of Astronomy and Geography; and, of course, Newton's Principia, Optics, and Mathematic Philosophy are entered each time they were re-issued from the press, so fascinated was Edwards by the genius of that scientist.

He records dictionaries and grammars on every page. Probably he did not own Robert Ainsworth's Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendiarius, which he had seen advertised in the London Magazine of April, 1736, and in the Republic of Letters, for he was almost wistful in outlining the advertisement of it, and he entered it uncrossed more than once. Three important books of rcference, however, he did own: Cruden's Concordance, Greenwood's English Grammar, and Chambers' Dictionary; for he quotes from them all many times. Bennet's Hebrew Grammar and Richard Busby's very popular Greek Grammar appear on early pages of the Catalogue, in which are also listed new editions of Bailey's Etymological English Dictionary, Bayle's Dictionary, recently translated into English, Bohn's Geographical Dictionary, Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, Collier's translation of Moreri's Historical Dictionary, Martin's Bibliotheca Technologica, and Moll's Geography; a Dictionarium Sacrum, a Globular Atlas, and Bedford's Scripture Chronology.

Nearly forty histories appear, including both political and religious subjects. He had easy access to, or perhaps owned, a few; for he quotes more than once from such as a History of the Popes, Oldmixon's Critical History of England, Laurence Echard's Roman History, and Gillies' Historical Collections. There are also entries of the works of the historians Burnet, Collier, Raleigh, and Rollins. He did not, however, mention Kennett, Tindal, or Bolingbroke.

Miscellaneous items that he owned — or at least quotes from — are the Art of Thinking, the book he asked his father to send him in

1719; some unnamed work of the classicist John Hudson; James Wiston's Stenography, Or the Art of Short-hand Writing, a volume by which he doubtless intended to further his skill in that art, though no record exists to show that he did so; Locke's Dialogues on Education; Youth's Friendly Monitor; and the ubiquitous Dr. Cheyne's An Essay of Health and Long Life.

He seemed to be very interested in stories of travel, for he quoted from Tavernier's Travels,[1] Admiral Anson's Voyage Round the World,[2] and the Chevalier Ramsay's Voyages of Cyrus.[3] He had also seen advertised, and noted in his Catalogue, "A compleat collection of voyages & Travels consisting of about 600 of the most authentic writers, continuing whatever has been observed worthy of notice in Europe Asia Africa and America . . . By John Harris D D & F R S."[4] Other miscellaneous titles that were entered in early pages in the Catalogue include: "Dictionary Domesticum being a compleat Household dictionary showing the whole art of cookery art of making all sorts of English works The Art of Managing Bees"; an essay on midwifery; William Darrell's The Gentleman Instructed; "Onania or the heinous sin of self Pollution and all its frightfull consequences on both sexes considered."[5] These items do not exhaust the entries of special or peculiar interest, but they are entered early in the Catalogue and therefore are more likely to have been read.

Finally, and most interesting perhaps, are the items of his reading or acquaintance which are of a more literary nature — the periodicals, and such works as might go under the head of biography, poetry, and romance. There can be no doubt that he was a subscriber to and an eager reader of literary magazines; the ones with which he was familiar included all those of note in the early eighteenth century. The earliest one mentioned in the Catalogue is the Guardian (page A). Both the Spectator and the Englishman are entered early, and both are crossed. Steele is very frequently mentioned throughout the Catalogue, and on page two his Lover and the Reader (1715) has been

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[1] "Notes on the Bible," Works (1830), IX. 176. [2] Catalogue, p. 26.

[3] Id., p. 34. Though it was a palpable imitation of Fénelon's Télémaque, I suspect that Edwards thought of it as a story of travel.

[4] Id., p. 36.

[5] This is crossed off (page 2). The volume went into an eleventh edition in 1726. See Evans, I.

crossed and checked. Addison's venture of 1715–1716, the Freeholder, appears on page A, and again on page two, both times crossed. Trenchard and Gordon's Independent Whig (1721) has been entered crossed on page one. We may feel almost certain that he subscribed to the London Magazine for a year at least, since not less than fourteen quotations from it appear in the Catalogue between March, 1736, and March, 1737. Notice has already been taken of how the Hampshire Ministers' Association bought the eighteen-volume set of The Present State of the Republic of Letters. Edwards perused those volumes with attention, for he has extracted some comment from almost every volume. In 1750, he quotes from the Newcastle General Magazine. Perhaps the item abstracted from it, as well as the two from the Scots Magazine of approximately the same date, came to him in a "pacquet" from one of his Scotch correspondents. So probably did the Glasgow Journal abstract of 1753. About 1754, he entered Mrs. Haywood's Female Spectator, but it stands without comment and is not crossed. From March, 1751, to January, 1754, are seven references to the Monthly Review, a scientific and literary magazine, whig and nonconformist, which would suit him well and to which I imagine he subscribed. He may have read from such diverse periodicals articles by Defoe, Arbuthnot, Bolingbroke, Swift, or Johnson. Addison and Steele were the earliest of the eighteenth-century authors for whom Edwards showed warm regard. Addison's Works he has jotted down on page three, and the only reference to drama — Cato — appears crossed on page A. Steele's Christian Hero is entered on page one. The Duke of Marlborough died in 1722, and shortly thereafter Edwards records a biography of him written by Steele.[1] A very early entry is this: "the Gentlemans library and Ladies library Published by Sir Richard Steel containing rules for conduct in all Parts of life." [2] He may have read Montaigne's Essays, entered on page five, and he certainly

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[1] In 1714, Steele proposed a Life which he never carried out. See G. A. Aitken, Life of Richard Steele, II. 29.

[2] The Ladies' Library was "written by a lady" [Mary Wray, granddaughter of Jeremy Taylor and wife of Sir Cecil Wray?] and published by Sir Richard Steele in three volumes, 1714. The set was not in Yale at that time. Possibly one of Edwards' sisters who had been "sent . . . to Boston to finish their education" (Dwight, Edwards, p. 17) brought it home.

had read Halifax's Advice to a Daughter.[1] Of biography, Richard Baxter's Life, Plutarch's Lives, Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers, Matthew Henry's Life of the Reverend Philip Henry are all entered and crossed; possibly he had read them all. On page twelve he makes this comment: "The Adventures of Telemachus written by the Late arch-Bp. of Cambray [Fénelon]. which Chambers says is a work never enough to be applauded under the word *Romance*." The entry does not suggest that he had read Telemachus, though it very clearly shows his indulgent attitude toward "romance." According to Dwight, Edwards had read Sir Charles Grandison with warm approval.[2] In the Monthly Review Edwards saw advertisements of Pamela and Amelia wherein the latter is praised "as recommending virtue and conjugal Love"; and it is quite apparent that he regarded Richardson and Fielding favorably, although this is contrary to the general impression that he despised novels.[3]

Interesting indeed is the fact that he read no small amount of poetry. Paradise Lost, Watts' poems and hymns, Nicholas Brady's translation of Virgil, Blackmore, Quarles, Pomfret, Prior, the brothers Wesley — these are all listed and crossed off. Elizabeth Singer Rowe is quoted by Mrs. Edwards in her Narrative,[4] and mentioned three times in the Catalogue. Pope's Homer and Miscellanies are also crossed off; unquestionably he had read them. Young's Night Thoughts is included, though only to be praised from an advertiser's quotation, for he evidently had not, at that time at least, read the poem. No other poets are mentioned; he seemed to have no interest in Dryden, Gay, the Philipses, Parnell, Winchelsea, Tickell, Broome, or Hughes. But they are the poets who would appeal to him least, and the striking thing is that he knew so many. It is hardly to be expected that dramatists should appear in the list.[5] He nowhere

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[1] From which he quotes in the Catalogue, p. 35.

[2] Edwards, p. 601 and note.

[3] For a full discussion of the matter, see my article "Jonathan Edwards and the 'Young Folks' Bible,'" New England Quarterly, v. 37–54.

[4] Dwight, Edwards, p. 185.

[5] F. B. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries in New England," in Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, n.s., XVIII. 145, quotes Mellen Chamberlain as saying that "before 1700 there was not in Massachusetts, so far as is known, a copy of Shakespeare's or of Milton's poems." See, however, Albert Matthews' views on this subject in the Nation (N. Y.) LXXXVII. 624–625, 650. He points out

mentions the literary figures in this country whose works had in their time achieved fame or attracted notice: Anne Bradstreet, Michael Wigglesworth; nor his own contemporaries, the wealthy and brilliant Joseph Green, and the "American Pope," Mather Byles, though of the two latter he might have read something, for their work appeared occasionally in the London Magazine.

What, then, are the conclusions we may draw from Edwards' reading: its extent and significance? His life spanned roughly the first sixty years of the eighteenth century — years which show a growth in colonial culture that was notably rapid. John Dunton noticed that in 1686 Boston supported eight bookstores,[1] but the number of those stores does not represent necessarily a demand for general literature. Ford says that in a shipment of eight hundred and seventy-four books to the bookseller Usher in Boston in 1685, more than seven hundred and fifty were school texts and religious works, while but six represented the fields of history, biography, and travel;[2] and private libraries were so rare that there were scarcely above half a dozen owners of libraries of importance in any of the colonies before 1730.[3] One such was the library of Cotton Mather, who, in his Diary for October 16, 1700, speaks of acquiring new volumes, "which were now added unto my Library, that has already between two and three thousand in it."[4] J. T. Adams is not optimistic of the culture attained by the people as a whole in the years near the turn of the seventeenth century, and remarks that "in the early years of the eighteenth century the people of New England touched their lowest point intellectually and spiritually."[5]

But as the eighteenth century progressed, the cultural life in the

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that Paradise Lost was quoted three times by Cotton Mather in the Magnalia in or before 1700.

[1] Letters from New England (Prince Society), pp. 68, 78.

[2] W. C. Ford, The Boston Book Market, p. 44. For invoices of books sent to booksellers in Boston, 1682–1685, see T. G. Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England, pp. 218–237. He also lists (pp. 115–117) nearly twenty-five booksellers in Boston between 1672 and 1700, so there were plenty of channels to buy books.

[3] Elizabeth C. Cook, Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, pp. 13–14.

[4] 7 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII. 368. This was an amazingly large library. See also J. H. Tuttle, "The Library of the Mathers," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, n. s. XX. Wright says (p. 126) that it was the best.

[5] Revolutionary New England, p. 35.

older settlements grew more varied and became more closely allied to the intellectual life in England than it had been in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[1] During the decade 1730–1740

> Young ladies were vehement novel-readers. . . . Boston booksellers were advertising Aphra Behn and Restoration comedies; Thomas Fleet sold collections with such alluring titles as *The Amours of Count Pulviana and Elionera,* and *The Loves of Osmin and Duraxa.* . . . Libraries were being founded; in 1739 three were started in Connecticut for "law,[2] physick, philosophy, history, divinity, poetry, etc." [3]

That books were difficult to secure in the frontier towns is evident from the letters that passed between Edwards and neighboring ministers, in which they discuss borrowing and swapping them; and from the statement of Parkes that "ministers in country villages would lend out books among their parishioners." [4] Even in the larger centers, the knowledge of the world of affairs did not circulate by means of local newspapers till the advent of the Boston News-Letter (1704), and this was the only paper published in the country for fifteen years.[5] The material that the early newspapers used was limited to the briefest discussions of current affairs, mainly borrowed from other newspapers here and abroad. Public opinion and discussion were furthered instead by town meetings, assembly sessions, tavern talks, and controversial pamphlets. Even when newspapers reprinted from English journals, they gave little of cultural value.[6] The native output of literature, whether it saw light in the newspapers or by separate publication, was limited to sermons, elegiac or commendatory poems, sporadic and still-born heroic couplets, light verse, narratives of Indian captivities, and a few histories, biogra-

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[1] J. T. Adams, Revolutionary New England, p. 31.

[2] This is peculiarly interesting in view of the fact that "in Connecticut in 1698, [lawyers] were legislated against in company with drunkards, keepers of disorderly houses and other people of ill fame." Adams, Revolutionary New England, p. 39.

[3] H. B. Parkes, "New England in the Seventeen Thirties," New England Quarterly, III. 401. He quotes from the News-Letter of March 30, 1739.

[4] Id., p. 401.

[5] The Boston Gazette appeared in 1719. James Franklin maintained in his Courant office a library for the use of writers. How great the circulation was is not recorded. Wright, Literary Culture, p. 187.

[6] Cook, Literary Influences, p. 13.

phies, sketches, and memoirs.[1] The opinion of America abroad, even a century later, is well known. Timothy Dwight quotes from the review of Ashe's Travels in America in the Edinburgh Review:[2]

In short, Federal America has done nothing either to extend, diversify, or embellish, the sphere of human knowledge. Though all she has written were obliterated from the records of learning, there would (if we except the works of Franklin,) be no positive diminution either of the useful or the agreeable.

Reading by the general public was not common in the colonies; in the frontier sections, Adams says, "education and thought declined,"[3] and private libraries were the exception, even among ministers.[4] A comparison of Edwards' reading, as indicated by his Catalogue, letters, and quotations, with the private libraries of the time,[5] and with bookstore items,[6] shows that he had neglected few authors of

[1] Wright, Literary Culture, pp. 82–95. See the early volumes of Evans for chronological lists of early Americana.

[2] Travels in New England and New York, IV. 323.

[3] Adams, Revolutionary New England, p. 32. Public libraries did not appear for a century. The Redwood Library was established in Newport in 1747 and the New York Society Library in 1754. But these of course were in the nature of literary society libraries, as was the Philadelphia library founded by Franklin and others in 1731. There were parochial libraries formed between 1698 and 1730 through the efforts particularly of the Reverend Thomas Bray, of London, founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Thirty of these were established in Maryland, and others in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. But these were intended for ministers and not for the layman. See "Public Libraries in the U. S. A.," Report of the Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Pt. I. (1876), 32 n. For the Boston "Town Library" (1653), see Wright, Literary Culture, p. 43; and Publications of this Society, XII. 116–135.

[4] The library of the Reverend John Williams, of Deerfield, is the only one mentioned by Sheldon (History of Deerfield, I. 465) as existing in the town, and it was inventoried in 1729 at the time of Williams' death. Its contents of 190 volumes often parallel the items of Edwards' Catalogue.

The library of Edwards' grandfather Stoddard (see Trumbull, Northampton, II. 65–66), inventoried in 1728, has been already mentioned. Col. John Stoddard, Anthony's younger brother and a man of wealth, wide influence, and fine intelligence, died in 1748, and, although his estate was valued at more than £35,000 Trumbull (Northampton, II. 177), makes no mention of any books among the items of interest in the inventory.

[5] See F. B. Dexter, in Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, n. s., XVIII. 135–147. Some of the libraries discussed are, however, of the seventeenth century.

[6] The inventory of the estate of Michael Perry, Boston bookseller (1700) is given in the appendix of Dunton's Letters and similarly in W. C. Ford's Boston Book Market.

repute that he could have read, although, to be sure, Bacon, Browne, Burton, Fuller, Hooker, and Taylor are names Edwards did not mention; Hakluyt's Voyages are missing, and of course all drama — except Cato.[1]

The seven hundred books sent to Yale College in 1714 by Jeremiah Dummer [2] included many items that are noted by Edwards in his Catalogue: Locke's Essay, von Helmont's Works, Newton's Principia and Optics, Whiston's Astronomical Lectures and Theory of the Earth, Gassendi's Metaphisica, Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton, Raleigh's History, Steele's Tatler and Spectator, and Blackmore's Poems. In the field of pure literature, however, Dummer's contributions were rich in items that Edwards never mentioned as having examined: Cowley's Works, Chaucer's Works and Life, Milton's Complete Works, Jonson's Works, Spenser's Works;[3] and the collections of books that Berkeley [4] and Yale [5] sent included the best of English literature from Shakespeare to Pope.[6] But the difficulties encountered by Wethersfield and New Haven students who wished to get books from the Yale library (at Saybrook before 1719) must have been tedious. The Berkeley and Yale collections arrived after Edwards had graduated. These facts, together with the knowledge that Edwards' interest in pure literature was of secondary importance to him, must account for the lack of his reading background in the Renaissance classics.

Therefore what literary background Edwards as a provincial minister could have, he must get, not by casually following the taste

[1] Catalogue, p. A. I assume that this refers to Addison's drama, although it might refer to Cato's Letters, which appeared in the London and later in the British Journal by Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard, reprinted in four volumes in 1724.

[2] One fifth were from him; the rest were contributed by Steele, Newton, Kennett, Andros, Nicholson, Blackmore, Woodwood, Bentley, Whiston, Halley, and Yale. See Wright, Literary Culture, p. 184, whose information is taken from President Clap's MS Catalogue of early accessions to the Yale library.

[3] Wright, Literary Culture, p. 184.

[4] Over a thousand volumes.

[5] Four hundred volumes.

[6] Wright, Literary Culture, pp. 186–187. But six English authors of note had been republished from the American press before 1730 (although there were, between 1639 and 1729, 132 printers located in 22 places throughout the colonies, of whom 69 were in Boston): one work each from Wither, Bacon, Steele, Swift, and Defoe; four from Bunyan. Evans, I.

of the community, or by reading the easily circulated books of the time, but rather only by an eager, patient, persistent effort of inquiry and intermittent reading; and that is exactly what we have observed that he did. His wide literary acquaintance would have been unusual for any colonial minister; it was phenomenal for a provincial one.

Surveying the whole range of letters, we observe that Edwards' reading was wide, and considering the size of his library, we may conclude that his reading was undoubtedly much more extensive than the evidence in the Catalogue and the references and notes in his treatises, miscellanies, and letters would suggest. Yet, broadly speaking, Edwards never became a scholar, though his tastes and instincts were definitely scholarly. His frequent attendance at commencements at Yale and Princeton, his journeys to Boston and New York, his interest in ministers' conventions, were all instigated by the desire for an exchange of ideas and by a wide-awake search for news of the learned world. Like Franklin, he had a genuine thirst for knowledge, and his tireless quest for a new interpretation of half-understood phenomena was fully as intense and original. The imaginative genius of Edwards and Franklin differs in that Franklin turned all his myriad-faceted interests to utilitarian use, whereas Edwards discarded all elements of knowledge that could not be applied directly to the spiritualizing forces in man. Or to shift the figure, he tried to adjust the spokes of his knowledge so that they should radiate from one hub — the human soul. In his magnificent and single-purposed plan to war upon hypocrisy and moral sloth, to exalt man's infinite capacity for greatness by contrasting it with man's spiritual failures, he seems more akin to Swift than to Franklin; and in his effort to stir and enrich the soil around the spiritual roots of America, he was indeed, as has been recently so ably pointed out,[1] far more radical than we had imagined. Yet the brighter light that we throw on him serves also to mark in bold relief his heavier features. One of the greatest of the many tragedies in Edwards' life is strikingly seen in his refusal or failure to use with any breadth of application the full power of a mind that had the rarely coupled talent for keen observation and philosophical synthesis. Of all the Americans of his

[1] F. I. Carpenter, "The Radicalism of Jonathan Edwards," New England Quarterly, IV. 629 ff.

day — perhaps of any day — none had more notable natural endowments for pure scholarship or a more original metaphysical mind, yet none has left monuments so crumbled and overgrown. One cannot refrain, in conclusion, from pondering what this intellectual arm might have accomplished of permanent value in other feats had it not been so tightly bound by theological dogma.

Mr. ALLYN B. FORBES communicated a note on

WILLIAM BRATTLE AND JOHN LEVERETT, F. R. S.

Commentators on the development of scientific thought in this country in the colonial period point with justifiable satisfaction to the group of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Americans who were honored with membership in the Royal Society. At the same time it is occasionally intimated that the Society in some instances showed a possibly unwarranted enthusiasm in the choice of its American members. The latest writer on this subject, Mr. Frederick E. Brasch, is particularly troubled about the cases of William Brattle and John Leverett.[1]

Mr. Brasch's difficulty with Brattle arises from the fact that he considers Thomas Brattle the one of that family to whom the honor would have come more deservedly. William Brattle, he says, "had no claim or contribution to offer in return for the honor which posterity has ascribed to him," unless it were that he was "the founder of the modern philosophical school, established in Harvard in 1690." Indeed, before he gets through with the subject, Mr. Brasch appears to doubt whether the younger Brattle was ever a Fellow of the Royal Society at all. To be sure, the election is mentioned in the Society's records, but it is suggested that in a time of "uncertain printers or proofreaders, or, possibly, secretaries" this may have been a misprint for Thomas Brattle, for whom he tries to build up a case for an election to the Society between 1689 and 1692. Mr. Brasch ends by referring to "the period in which *the Brattles*[2] are reputed to have been elected fellows of the Society . . . ."

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[1] "The Royal Society of London and Its Influence upon Scientific Thought in the American Colonies," Scientific Monthly, XXIII. 336–355, 448–469.

[2] Italics mine.

He does not get himself so badly entangled when he considers the case of President Leverett. He merely says: "What reason the Royal Society had for conferring in 1713 a fellowship on Leverett is not known, except possibly for his high standard both as a leader at the bar and in scholarship and administrative power. This seems somewhat unusual at that time, since Leverett had made no particular contribution to science in the colonies."

Whatever legitimate mystery there may be as to why these two men should have received such recognition is cleared away by a letter from Henry Newman (H. C. 1687) to John Chamberlayne, F. R. S., with whom Newman, himself a man with active scientific interests,[1] had been thrown into close contact from the time he had first come to London to live.[2]

WHITEH[ALL] 23^{d} Novr 1713.

Mr CHAMBERLAYNE

SIR

In obedience to y^{r} Commands I shall heartily recommend it to Mr Thos. Brattle's Executors in N. Engl^{d} to bestow his mss. relating to Astronomy, Musick and other parts of ye Mathematicks on the Royal Society but I have been thinking that the Request will go with the better Grace if the Society be pleas'd to choose his Learned Brother Willm Brattle the Min^{r} of Cambridge in N. Engl^{d} to be a fellow of their Illustrious Body, he being I believe chief if not ye only Executor y^{t} Mr Brattle has left. And because he may not be alone in such a complem^{t} I would humbly propose that the Learned Presid^{t} of Harvard College at Cambridge John Leverett Esqr who is his Cotemporary may be also admitted to that Honour. Both these Gent. are ye 2. Great Luminaries for Learning in that Country, and will I am sure in that Capacity reflect honour upon the Society because to my Knowledge they have many years since perus'd with delight their Transactions & recommended 'em to their Pupils as the best standards of Natural Philosophy now extant. I submit it to you whether you will mention this to the Honble Society & am wth great respect

S^{r}

[HENRY NEWMAN]

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[1] See page 100, above.

[2] The text given here is from a copy in one of Newman's letter-books in the archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London.

While it is impossible to prove that these suggestions were original with Newman, it is a significant fact that the elections followed on March 11, 1713/4. Newman may thus well have felt that he had repaid these two men some small measure of his obligations to them, of which he was keenly conscious as long as he lived.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1932

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. James M. Hunnewell, at No. 14 Chestnut Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 25, 1932, at three o'clock, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death of Percival Hall Lombard, a Resident Member, on January 22, 1932.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Mr. Frederick Ives Carpenter, Mr. Robert Ephraim Peabody, Mr. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., Dr. Harold Bowditch, and Mr. William Emerson, accepting Resident Membership; from Mr. Leonard Woods Labaree, accepting Corresponding Membership; and from Dr. Timothy Leary, accepting Associate Membership.

Mr. Clifford Kenyon Shipton, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Mr. Walter Goodwin Davis, of Portland, Maine, and Mr. Max Farrand, of Santa Monica, California, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. Francis Parkman read the following paper:

FRENCH POLICY IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1697–1712

In studying the story of Anglo-French rivalry in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and watching the development of French activity along the great interior waterways, one is tempted

to draw the conclusion that the French government was following a well-conceived policy of encirclement, designed to restrict the English colonies to the Atlantic seaboard. To be effective, such a policy must clearly rest on control of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi Valley. One sees the French reaching farther and farther back from their Canadian settlements, establishing posts on the Great Lakes and in the Illinois country; then, not long after La Salle's journey made the course of the Mississippi River clear, comes his expedition by sea to settle the mouth of the river. That effort having failed, there is a lull in French activity in this region as the war clouds gather over Europe and eventually break in the War of the League of Augsburg; but almost immediately after the conclusion of peace, a new expedition sets out from France, and a settlement is made near the Mississippi's mouth. Surely, one thinks, Louis XIV and his colonial ministers were alive to the opportunity of securing the interior of the continent before the English should expand westward across the mountains.

The conclusion is too obvious, and the temptation to draw it must be resisted. This paper will try to show, by following in some detail the attitude of the French government toward the lower Mississippi Valley from the time of La Salle's discovery, and more particularly from 1697 to 1712, that French policy during that period was both faltering and hazy, and lacked any clear perception of the possibilities inherent in the situation.

It is necessary first to say a few words about certain aspects of French policy in America in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Louis XIV's attitude toward the American West was the result of a perpetual conflict. On the one hand he desired Canada to grow into a compact and prosperous agricultural settlement; on the other, he desired it to win in the competition with the English for the control of the western fur-trade; and either prospect seemed to exclude the other. If the French were to draw to themselves the furs of the West, it would be necessary for their traders to go west themselves with their goods. Otherwise, either the Indians would trade with the nearer English, or the Iroquois, acting as middlemen, would divert the precious beaver skins to the traders of the Hudson Valley.[1]

[1] See C. H. McIlwain's introduction to Wraxall's Abridgment of the Indian Affairs.

Yet the profits in the fur-trade were so large that, if it were unrestricted, a large portion of the male population of Canada would be drawn into the life of the woods. In 1680, for example, probably one third of all the grown men of Canada were *coureurs de bois*[1] and were thus not only failing to contribute to Canada's orderly development, but, by their lawless behavior, were hindering the work of the missionaries in converting the Indians to Christianity.

Louis's passion for religion and order conquered in this conflict; and, after a series of futile attempts to regulate a class of men who refused to be regulated, he issued in 1696 an edict putting a complete ban on all western journeys for furs.[2] Such restrictions and prohibitions made it difficult for forward-looking officials like Talon and Frontenac to carry out their plans for extending French prestige in the West. Explorers were at a discount and found it hard to get royal permission for their journeys. Louis let La Salle go, but very possibly it was because he hoped a way would be found to attack Spanish power through Mexico.[3] After the news of the successful voyage down the Mississippi reached the king's ears, he actually wrote to Governor La Barre of Canada that the discovery was "altogether useless," and ordered such enterprises prevented in the future.[4]

Why, then, did he later let La Salle go back again to start a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi? A study of dates reveals the answer. France declared war on Spain in October, 1683. La Salle's reports emphasized the advantages of a post on the Gulf of Mexico as a base for an attack on New Biscay and the undefended mines of New Spain.[5] The explorer appeared in France to plead his cause in person, and early in 1684 plans for such an attack were developed and received the government's approval.[6] La Salle was so unfortunate as to set sail two weeks before peace was declared in August, 1684; and if further evidence were needed that Louis was interested in his efforts

[1] E. Salone, La Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France, p. 256.

[2] Order of May 21, 1696: Archives des Colonies (hereafter abbreviated AC.), B19:118vo. (All archives cited in footnotes are in Paris.)

[3] Letters Patent of May 12, 1678. Pierre Margry, Editor, Découvertes et Établissements des Français, I. 337. (Hereafter referred to as "Margry.")

[4] King to La Barre, August 5, 1683, Margry, II. 310.

[5] La Salle's memoirs, in Margry, II. 359; III. 17.

[6] Minister of Marine to De Cussy, March 4, 1684, Margry, II. 377; La Salle's commission, April 14, 1684, Margry, II. 382; orders to La Barre, same date, AC., B11:40.

only because of the chance to attack New Spain, it could be found in the heartless manner in which he left the expedition to its fate after the peace came.

During the last part of the decade of the 1680's and the first part of the 1690's, occasional reports reached the French court to the effect that the English were working westward into the Mississippi Valley, and there were warnings of the danger to the French if their rivals should master it, as seemed to be their intention.[1] Yet not a flicker of interest was aroused at Versailles, either by these warnings or by plans which were offered for carrying La Salle's scheme through to completion. Those who were opposed to all westward movement from Canada had the king's ear, and in 1696, when he issued the ban on the fur-trade, he also ordered all Frenchmen out of the interior.[2] It was only by strenuous effort that Frontenac succeeded in getting the order modified to permit the maintenance of three small posts on the Great Lakes.[3]

Up to 1697, then, far from making active efforts to develop French power in the Mississippi Valley, Louis XIV was quite definitely opposed to it, except when he had in mind the possibility of striking at Spanish power. Yet in May, 1697, he instructed his plenipotentiaries at the conference which was to end the War of the League of Augsburg on no account to give up any of the lands lying to the south of French possessions in North America. At the same time he told them in confidence that ships would soon be sent to occupy the mouth of the Mississippi River.[4]

Coming so soon after the order of 1696, this decision could hardly have been based on a determination to master the interior waterways for the purpose of holding them against the English. The clue to French motives lies, I believe, in another direction. In April, 1697, a few weeks before the instructions to the plenipotentiaries, Pont-

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[1] See Henri Lorin, Le Comte de Frontenac, p. 303; Margry, v. 14; Denonville to Minister of Marine, August 25, 1687, AC., C11A:9:61; Denonville's memoir of 1688, AC., C11A:10:100.

[2] See note 2 on page 227.

[3] Frontenac and Champigny to Minister of Marine, October 26, 1696, AC., C11A:14:119; royal memoir to Frontenac and Champigny, April 27, 1697, AC., B19:234vo.

[4] Letters of king and of minister, May, 1697, quoted in Margry, IV, introduction, p. iv.

chartrain, the Minister of Marine, wrote Frontenac that Pierre Le Sueur was to have permission to go west from Canada to make an establishment among the Sioux on the upper waters of the Mississippi in order to develop certain mines which he alleged to have discovered.[1] Le Sueur was one of the ablest of the *coureurs de bois*, had spent much time among the Sioux, and had been used by Frontenac to promote French influence among the Indians of the interior.[2] Shortly after the order of 1696, which cut off his means of livelihood, Le Sueur appeared in France and presented a memoir asking for a trade monopoly among the Sioux and for permission to establish a post of forty men there.[3] He proposed to develop the products of the region, including copper and lead, furs and lumber. There was little that was new in this list of products; but Le Sueur apparently backed up his memoir with more interesting suggestions, for Pontchartrain told Frontenac that Le Sueur's post would be at a spot where there were "very rich copper and lead mines, with the hope of finding gold and silver."[4] Obviously the product of mines could best be got out by way of the Mississippi River, and it seems logical to conclude that Louis's decision to occupy the Mississippi mouth was based on the desire to secure the outlet for this prospective wealth. It would take time to get Le Sueur's report, however, and action was delayed.

Further evidence that the French government was not immediately concerned about the English can be found in the answer made when a French capitalist proposed the formation of a company for the vigorous colonization of the Mississippi Valley and the development of its resources.[5] The reply set forth a sternly mercantilist attitude toward the departure of French citizens from France and the establishment of new colonies; and stated that only the necessity of forestalling the English could excite the king to plant a colony in the Mississippi Valley. Further investigation was needed, so the memoir

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[1] Minister of Marine to Frontenac and Champigny, April 27, 1697, AC., B19:234vo.

[2] Louise P. Kellogg, The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest, pp. 251–252; Margry, VI. 55–58.

[3] Le Sueur's memoir, 1697(?), is in Margry, VI. 59–61.

[4] See note 1, above. See also abstract of a second memoir by Le Sueur, of which the original is not in the archives, AC., C11A:120: no page number.

[5] Letter of Argoud to Minister of Marine, December 10, 1697, Margry, IV. 19–21, and accompanying memoir, id., pp. 21–43.

went on, before a decision could be taken, and the application was accordingly denied.[1]

Soon, however, it became clear that, whether or not English expansion from the seacoast was taken seriously, the Mississippi mouth would soon pass to English hands if the French did not move. Stirred on by Hennepin's writings, Daniel Coxe, holder of the old Heath patent for all the lands in America between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth parallels, was preparing an expedition to take English colonists and French Protestant refugees to the Mississippi Valley.[2] Evidence of the imminent departure of the English ships finally roused the French to action. On May 21, 1698, Le Sueur's permit for the West, giving him the right to take fifty men with him, was renewed[3]—amusingly enough, on the same day that Frontenac was scolded for letting five men get away from Montreal for the West![4] In the same month Iberville, one of the noted Le Moyne family of Canada, who had just won fame by his Hudson Bay exploits, was put in command of an expedition to locate and settle the mouth of the Mississippi.[5]

This was not part of any well-rounded strategical plan, but simply a hurried decision forced by news of English activity, and based partly on the hope that precious metals would be found on the upper reaches of the river. The tentative nature of the expedition is confirmed by Iberville's instructions, which called for him simply to reconnoitre, locate the mouth, leave a garrison, and return with a report.[6]

We need not dwell on Iberville's voyage, his discovery of the Spanish in possession at Pensacola, the only good harbor on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico, his exploration of the coast and final discovery of the Mississippi mouth, his long and arduous journey up the river to the first Indian settlements, and, since poor conditions and lack of time made a site on the Mississippi impossible, his final choice of Biloxi as the location for the new garrison.[7] The commander's re-

[1] Minister of Marine to Argoud, December 14, 1697, Archives de la Marine (hereafter abbreviated AM.) B2; 122:430.

[2] Verner W. Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732, pp. 48–60.

[3] AC., C11A; 125: piece no. 78 (printed in Margry, VI. 66).

[4] Memoir to Frontenac and Champigny, AC., B20:71vo.

[5] Minister of Marine to Iberville, June 4, 1698, Margry, IV. 49. The last sentence indicates that the selection had been made in May.

[6] Mémoire pour servir d'instruction au Sieur d'Iberville, July 23, 1698, AC., B20:111vo (printed in Margry, IV. 72).

[7] The documents are for the most part printed in Margry, IV.

port, on his return late in the spring of 1699, had a very Spanish tinge, since he dwelt at length on the possibilities of a raid on the mines of Mexico. He did speak, however, of the fine prospects and of the necessity of peopling the valley in order to restrain the English of the seacoast, who otherwise would within a century drive every other nation from America. But he did not yet have enough evidence to support his warning.[1]

Though Iberville was practical enough about the lack of quick profits to be obtained from the valley, the government decided to proceed cautiously further. Strict care was enjoined on him not to offend the Spanish in any way; he was told that the possibilities of all products should be investigated, but that the most important matter was the discovery of mines.[2] Preparations went on without any provision for colonists.[3]

It was not until his return from his second voyage that the new venture emerged from its tentative character and won a place for itself as a definite part of French policy in America. Three factors contributed to this result. In the first place, although it was unfortunately clear that the Indians of the region were few in number and poor in resources, Iberville had found in his journeys, wherever he went, definite evidence of the penetration and influence of the English of South Carolina.[4] The need of immediate activity to check their advance was finally placed beyond all question. In the second place, a new prospect of gold was opened up, just before Iberville's return, by a Canadian named Mathieu Sagean, who successfully supported, against questioning by Iberville, his story of a fabulously rich Indian tribe west of the Mississippi.[5] Finally, just after Iber-

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[1] Mémoire de la Coste de la Floride et d'une partie du Mexique, AC., C13A:1: 155 (printed in Margry, IV. 308); Iberville to Minister of Marine, June 29, 1699, Margry, IV. 116; Iberville to Minister of Marine, August 11, 1699, AC., C13A: 1:101 (printed in Margry, IV. 328).

[2] Orders to Iberville for second voyage, September 22, 1699, AC., B20:259vo (printed in Margry, IV. 348).

[3] Minister of Marine to Iberville, August 12, 1699, AM., B2: 137:78.

[4] Journal of Iberville's second voyage, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions 9296:7 (printed in Margry, IV. 395–431).

[5] Relation of Sagean, Archives du Service Hydrographique (hereafter abbreviated ASH.), 67^2: cahier 3 (printed in Margry, VI. 95–162); Minister of Marine to Desclouzeaux, April 7, 1700, AM., B2:147:8vo; and ASH., 67^2: cahier 4 (printed in Margry, VI. 162–166).

ville's return, the King of Spain died, and his great possessions, left to Louis's grandson, were accepted by Louis, thus apparently removing the danger of offending the Spanish by planting a French colony on the Gulf of Mexico.

All doubts disappeared, and, for better or worse, the French government embarked definitely on a new colonial venture. But once embarked, it seemed anxious to cut to the bare minimum the effort involved, instead of going forward in a large way with colonization. In a disastrous moment the government adopted the idea of supplying the new colony with settlers by enticing the *coureurs de bois* to come and settle down.[1] Since those who knew them warned that instead of settling down they would take their furs to the English, it seemed necessary to block up the Ohio River route to Carolina. But instead of placing a strong post at the mouth of the Ohio, the government thought to accomplish its purpose more cheaply by accepting the offer of a relative of Iberville to plant a small commercial tannery there.[2] The question of colonization, however, was probably the most important. Iberville, in his reports, urged that emigration to Louisiana be encouraged by the grant of free passage, food for a year, grain for planting, tools for tilling the soil, a gun, and ammunition.[3] Very similar aid had been given to emigrants to Canada, but all that Louis would promise was passage for the wives, daughters, and other relatives of the men already in the colony.[4]

Thus the best type of colonist, the French peasant family, received no encouragement to go to Louisiana; and sole reliance was placed on the *coureurs de bois*, who certainly gave little indication of a desire to settle down as peaceful, hard-working farmers. The difficulty was increased by the choice of the site for the colony. When an effort to secure Pensacola from Spain failed, a location on the Mobile River north of Mobile Bay was selected.[5] This site had some advantages

[1] Memoir of Iberville, undated, ASH., 67^2 : cahier 4, piece 2.

[2] Juchereau de Saint-Denys, Mémoire pour l'établissement d'une Colonie au Mississippy, AC., C13B: 1: no page number; concession to Juchereau, June 4, 1701, AC., B22:264vo (printed in Margry, v. 351); Minister of Marine to Iberville, July 20, 1701, AM., B2:155:105 (printed in part in Margry, iv. 487).

[3] Memoir of Iberville, ASH., 67^2: cahier 4, piece 2.

[4] Salone, Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France, pp. 174–176; Minister of Marine to Bégon, July 20, 1701, AM., B2:155:105.

[5] Documents on negotiations to secure the cession of Pensacola by Spain are in Margry, iv. 541–574; discussion in William E. Dunn, Spanish and French Rivalry

for dealing with the Indians but none at all for agriculture. From these two fundamental errors, in the policy as to colonization and in the location of the settlement, the colony was long to suffer. Though they might have been sooner corrected in normal times, the War of the Spanish Succession came shortly to absorb all French thought and energy.

Iberville, on his return from establishing Mobile, admitted frankly that the new colony would be of little profit as it stood,[1] but he set to work, as the result of a very plain hint from the Minister of Marine, to satisfy him that profits were possible. The central feature of his plan was an elaborate scheme to rearrange the Indian tribes of the valley, settle twenty-four thousand Indian families at strategic and accessible points on the rivers, and engage them as collectors and tanners of hides, with the production of furs, metals, cotton, and silk as side-lines. This was probably a desperate attempt to arouse the king's interest, for he accompanied it by less visionary suggestions about the urgent need of sending farmers and their families from France.[2]

But the times in Europe were not propitious for large schemes. The War of the Spanish Succession overshadowed Louisiana and caused all non-military expenses to be cut to the bone. From 1703 to 1706, the only help sent to the new colony was in 1704, when one small ship went out with a few new soldiers and a few girls.[3] The *coureurs de bois* were still relied on to stay out of the woods and settle down. Many of them were being carried on the payroll of the garrison, and the plan was to discharge them so that they would marry and start their own establishments.[4] The plea was at once made, however, that, if they were discharged, they would have no way to support their new wives, and accordingly they were continued in the king's pay, which certainly did not tend to turn them into ideal colonists.[5] The little colony was filled with disputes between Iber-

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in the Gulf Region, 1678–1702, pp. 205–215. Selection of the Mobile River site was indicated in instructions to Iberville, August 27, 1701, AM., B2:152:156.

[1] Memoir of Iberville, undated, abstracted in AC., C13C:2:54.

[2] Memoir of Iberville, June 20, 1702, AC., C13C:2:43 (printed in Margry, IV. 593).

[3] Minister of Marine to Duguay, April 30, 1704, AM., B2:175:277.

[4] Minister of Marine to Iberville, January 30, 1704, AM., B2:174:254vo.

[5] Minister of Marine to Bienville and La Salle, February 13, 1704, AC., B25: 10vo; and to Iberville, same date, AM., B2: 174:374.

ville's brother Bienville, its commander, and the churchmen, and between Bienville and the commissary La Salle. Under such conditions growth was impossible; worse still, the lack of traders and of merchandise soon brought a distinct decline in French influence among the Indians.[1]

The war had the equally unfortunate effect of diverting the attention of the new colony's commander-in-chief. Seeing that Louisiana would provide a poor field for his advancement or enrichment as long as the government felt so parsimonious, Iberville turned his mind in the direction of warlike exploits, and offered his services for attacks on the English colonies of South Carolina and Virginia.[2] This sort of thing had more appeal to the government, especially since the cost could be shifted to the purses of private adventurers. Such an expedition might have helped Louisiana by lessening English trading activities in the Mississippi Valley, but there was so much confusion in France that, though more than once ships were being prepared, there was no action until 1706. When Iberville finally sailed with a fleet in that year, the need for making the expedition pay profits changed it into a slave-raid on English islands of the West Indies; and on this rather uninspiring note Iberville's career ended with his death in Havana on July 9.[3]

Iberville's death at last forced the government to give some thought to the new colony. A new governor was appointed,[4] and the orders given him showed a little more conception of the need to promote agriculture and real colonization. Unfortunately, such promises as

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[1] No detailed history of the infancy of the colony has been published. Peter J. Hamilton's Colonial Mobile, Pierre Heinrich's La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717–1731, and N. M. Surrey's The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime, 1699–1763, all contain material on the early years. An unpublished doctoral thesis by the writer of this paper, entitled The French in Louisiana, 1699–1712, covers in considerable detail the period indicated.

[2] Projet sur la Caroline, 1702 or early 1703, AC., C11A:20:224; plan of March 17, 1703, AM., B4:25:362; projet, undated, AC., C13A:1:445; Iberville to Minister of Marine, June 26, 1704, AM., B4:26:482; memoir of 1705, AM., B4:29:213.

[3] Conditions sous lesquelles le Roy a accordé à M. D'Yberville ses vaisseaux, August 29, 1705, AM., B4:29:217; instructions to Iberville, November 3, 1705, AM., B4:29:219. The accounts of Iberville's raid on the island of Nevis are in AM., B4:31.

[4] Order appointing De Muy governor, May 1, 1707, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Clairambault, 951:119.

were made were not followed up, and the attitude of the government shone clearly through the orders: the colony must somehow be made to pay its own way. Strategic considerations were ignored. The new governor was told that if the colony could produce no advantages, i.e., no profits, the king would abandon it.[1] Pontchartrain was in 1707 trying to find private citizens who would take over the cost of maintaining the garrison in return for trading privileges.[2] By this time, too, the Illinois and Ohio River posts had been abandoned, and there was talk of giving up Detroit and Mobile. Thus since the exploratory stages some years earlier little progress had been made in realizing the potential advantages of the valley with relation to the English.

The next few years were troublous ones for the colony. The aid which came to it from France amounted to next to nothing. English traders, well fortified with supplies, made it increasingly difficult and sometimes impossible for Bienville, who had only small amounts of the munitions of Indian trade, to keep the Indians of the lower Mississippi Valley from active hostility toward the French.[3] The interminable petty disputes within the garrison dragged on.[4] The *coureurs de bois,* except for a few who had married, were discharged from the king's pay and promptly left the colony for the woods.[5] Those who remained, shrewdly judging by the small amount of support from home that the existence of the colony was precarious, refused to spend their labor on the unprofitable soil of the settlement.[6]

In spite of the efforts of a new commissary to promote agriculture, misery, famine, and fear were the lot of the colony; and when a few enterprising men discovered a chance for profit through acting as intermediaries in a small illegal trade with Spanish America, an English raid on the island at the mouth of the bay where the goods were

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[1] Instructions to De Muy, June 30, 1707, AC., B29:248vo; Minister of Marine to De Muy, id., 258vo.

[2] Correspondence of Minister of Marine with Bégon, May and June, 1707, AM., B2:197:756, 1010, 1424; with Rémonville, June, 1707, id., 1113, 1272, 1541.

[3] See note 1, on page 234.

[4] Artaguiette to Minister of Marine, May 25 and August 18, 1708, AC., C13A: 2:317 and 327; letters of N. LaSalle to Minister of Marine, September 12, 1708, id., 193; May 12, 1709, id., 395; June 20, 1710, id., 519, etc.

[5] Census of August 12, 1708, AC., C13A:2:225.

[6] Artaguiette to Minister of Marine, August 18, 1708, AC., C13A:2:327.

stored wiped out the venture.[1] Furthermore, ships from home were too rare and the labor supply of the colony too small to make possible any profitable export of the country's products to France.

A vicious circle was thus developing. The colony could not grow and prosper without help from home in the form of colonists and supplies; and the French government would not spend any money in sending colonists and supplies without being sure of a return. The finances of France were in a terrible state in the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1708, Pontchartrain was sounding merchants of La Rochelle and St. Malo, offering exclusive commerce in Louisiana for a term of years if they would agree to pay all expenses for the same period.[2] Failing in that, he turned his attention in 1709 to getting someone to pay the expenses of one voyage to Louisiana, on condition that the king's supplies be carried.[3] He finally secured a victim for this plan, but more time was wasted in persuading contractors to sell food for the voyage in return for the paper which was the government's only means of payment;[4] and the ship, the only one to carry out supplies between 1707 and 1712, did not leave till the end of 1710. There was, indeed, so much fumbling, hesitation, and confusion in the handling of the details of the colony's business that those in Louisiana had every reason to be discouraged at the prospect.

The fact was that Pontchartrain, balked in his first attempts to find a capitalist to take over the expense of Louisiana, was now marking time, intending to push the matter through when peace came.[5] Before 1712 was half over, peace was pretty clearly in sight. Officials returning from the colony brought sound advice, emphasizing the need for steady colonization on a large scale, the advisability of

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[1] Artaguiette's letter cited in note 6, p. 235; letter to Minister of Marine, August 6, 1709, AC., C13A:2:53, and June 20, 1710, id., 541; also letter of January 10, 1711, id., 633.

[2] Minister of Marine to Bégon, October 17, 1708, AC., B30:49; to Lempereur, October 24, 1708, id., 51; and to Duché, November 9, 1708, id., 61.

[3] Minister of Marine to Bégon, September 4, 1709, AC., B30: 199; and February 19, 1710, AM., B2:220:614.

[4] Correspondence of Minister of Marine with Bégon, May and June, 1710, AM., B2:221:663, 896, 1023, 1233, 1332.

[5] Marginal comments on abstracts of letters from N. La Salle, May 12, 1709, AC., C13A:2:439; and from Bienville, August 20 and September 1, 1709, id., 415.

strong posts on the Ohio River and at Mobile to stop the English advance, and the need for a gradual building-up process.[1]

The advice fell on deaf ears. The end of the war might well have given the signal for new energy in the treatment of Louisiana. The pressure of military expense was now removed, and plans for extensive colonization could have gone ahead. To the government, however, peace, so far as the lower Mississippi Valley was concerned, only meant a better chance to unload the region on someone else. Pontchartrain was soon deep in negotiations with Antoine Crozat, a man of experience in other overseas commercial ventures, and was using La Mothe Cadillac, who had been selected as the next governor, to lure on the "sucker" with tales of precious metals to be found in the Sioux, Wabash, and Illinois regions.[2] Crozat was soon preparing to risk 700,000 or 800,000 *livres* in the venture. That the talk of rich metals had had its effect is proved by the fact that Crozat very nearly withdrew when he found that the limits of his concession might not include the mines so glibly advertised by the government.[3] Finally the deal was closed, and Crozat received a monopoly of Louisiana's commerce for fifteen years, including the right to develop its mines and agriculture, to carry on its trade in furs and skins, and to supply it with one shipload of slaves a year. In return he agreed to pay the king a proportion of all the metals extracted, pay the officers and garrison for the last six of the fifteen years, send two ships a year, and transport ten boys or girls each year as colonists.[4] Latest reports from the colony had shown twenty-seven families in the country, of which only four were engaged in agriculture.[5]

This contract may have looked to Pontchartrain like a fine piece of business, but Louisiana needed more than the monopolistic ministrations of a single capitalist, more than a handful of colonists a year. At the end of the year, the orders for Cadillac contained no mention

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[1] Memoir of Artaguiette, May 12, 1712, AC., C13A:2:803; Tivas de Gourville to Minister of Marine, June, 1712, AC., C13A:2:737. These two documents are printed in translation in Mississippi Provincial Archives, II. 60 and 67.

[2] Minister of Marine to Crozat, June 5, 1712, AC., B34:C122^{vo}; Cadillac to Minister of Marine, June 29, 1712, AC., C13A:2:675.

[3] Id.; and Cadillac to Minister of Marine, August 14, 1712, AC., C13A:2:687.

[4] Letters Patent of September 14, 1712, AC., A22:1 (printed, among other places, in Publications of Louisiana Historical Society, IV. 13–20).

[5] See note 1 above.

of the English.[1] Earlier in 1712, Pontchartrain had suggested to the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the possibility of a deal by which the French should cede the whole of Louisiana for the Spanish part of the island of Santo Domingo. Nothing else, he wrote, was so important as the procuring of this bit of land.[2]

The deal with Crozat, the orders to Cadillac, the suggestion to the plenipotentiaries, all illustrate the poverty of imagination as to the future of Louisiana to which the French government had been reduced. In spite of greatly increased geographical knowledge, closer contact with English activity in the lower Mississippi Valley, and plenty of good advice from able men, the French were no nearer a policy of encirclement in 1712 than in 1682, when Louis XIV had written that La Salle's discoveries were altogether useless.

Mr. JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE presented a communication entitled:

GOVERNOR BURNET IN THE DIARY OF BENJAMIN WALKER, JR.

Benjamin Walker, Jr., a shopkeeper in Boston, kept a Journal, mainly of the weather, but with marginal notes which were sometimes extended across the page, crowded in between the paragraphs of the weather reports. His first record was on November 2, 1726, and he continued to make his entries until 1749, completing three bound volumes which were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Joshua Green on July 29, 1794, as the "Journal of a Gentleman in Boston."

What he wrote about Governor William Burnet, whose commission as Governor of Massachusetts Bay was signed by George II on March 7, 1728, furnishes a description by a personal observer of the ceremonial respect paid to the representative of the Crown by the General Court and the people, and gives a few new facts about Burnet's life. With this in view, several extracts are given below to add

[1] Memoir of king to Cadillac, December 18, 1712, AC., F3:68:65.

[2] Memoir of January 2, 1712, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 24:13.

to the material on Burnet communicated by Mr. Matthews at the March meetings of the Society, 1913 and 1914.[1]

Fryday 19 [July, 1728] Will: Burnet Esqr our Govr abo^{tt} 2 Clo In afternoon Went Into our Town house at ye West door between L^{tt} Gou^{r} Dummer and L^{tt} Gou^{r} In^{o} Wentworth of Newhampshire Councilar' & many Gentlemen after him, ye Town regiment In arms four Troops horse, he din'd at Homes'[2] and ye Council (a Very great Concourse of people, Went to meet him horse & foot, and In ye Town Streets & houses full people, after dinner ye Company of Cadets [3] Went befor him from Homses to Doctor Elisha Cooks [4] house Ware he lodg^{d} untill his house is fitted, Cadets fir'd 3 Volleys handsomely

[1] Our Publications, XVII. 70–71, 221.

[2] The Bunch of Grapes Tavern, kept by Rebecca, widow of Francis Holmes.

[3] The Independent Corps of Cadets, or, as it has been more popularly known, the First Corps of Cadets, dates back to 1741, when Governor Shirley commissioned Benjamin Pollard to be "Captain of a Company of 64 young Gentlemen," to be enlisted by him in the Province. Samuel K. Lothrop, Monstrat Viam (1841), pp. 10–11.

The New-England Weekly Journal, however, twice makes mention of these earlier cadets referred to by Walker, once on this same occasion of Governor Burnet's inauguration. In the issue of July 22, 1728, it says: "the Company of Young Gentlemen Cadets in their Order and Gaiety" escorted the Governor to Dr. Cooke's, and after firing three volleys "exercis'd their Arms with their wonted beauty and exactness before they were dismiss'd." Again, in the issue of October 14, 1728, in describing the celebration of the anniversary of George II's coronation it says: "the Company of Cadets being in Arms waited on His Excellency, our Governour, attended by several of the Gentlemen of the Council, &c. and conducted them to the House of Mrs. *Holme's* . . . ."

Neither of these quotations makes clear the exact nature of this military organization. Possibly it, like the group of similar name in the Shirley administration, was intended primarily to serve as a military escort or bodyguard to the governor. In this connection it is an interesting fact that the Pollard who is named later on in this diary as the captain of these Cadets is the same person who was commissioned by Shirley in 1741 to organize the company. Furthermore, Walker states, on a later occasion when the Cadets appeared, that the picture of Governor Burnet was painted on their ensign. I find, however, no further reference to the Cadets by that name in the newspapers before Shirley's time.

[4] Having the governor stay temporarily at Cooke's — on the west side of Cooke's Court, now Chapman Place — was regarded by some impartial observers as a politically unwise arrangement. Dr. William Douglass, the Boston physician, wrote on April 22, 1728, to Cadwallader Colden, of New York: "The committee appointed to provide lodgings for the governor in the interim, until the Province House be refitted, have ordered Dr. Cook's house for that end. Dr. Cook is my good friend; but pardon me if I express to you as my very good friend, the opinion of the gentlemen here who are of no party. I wrote you formerly that the two noted parties here are the Dudleys and Dr. Cook's, and so inveterate the one

Saturd. 20 I heard y^tt^ This morn mess^rs^ Henry Harris wth 32 more went to wait on Colo[1] Burnet I hear wth an address. & I hear Ratt'd Themselues ye Principal men of ye Kings Chappel in Boston [1]

against the other, that the being with either may give a jealousy of bad consequence; but if used with the same respect, or kept at the same distance, will make everything easy, and they will bid upon one another for the governor's interest and advantage. It is my opinion, (pardon my forwardness of duty to his Excellency) that if Mr. Burnet did write to the lieutenant governor to have a few rooms in the Province House fitted up for his reception (the family perhaps not coming so soon) would answer the end of giving umbrage to no party." 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 183–184. Cooke was paid £60 from the Province treasury for the use of his house. Acts and Resolves, XI. 370.

[1] This entry is an echo of the feuds long current in King's Chapel, which are related at length in H. W. Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, I. The Reverend Henry Harris had since 1709 been the assistant to the rector, the Reverend Samuel Myles. As the leader of the anti-Checkley faction in denunciation of High-Church and Jacobite principles, he had by his aggressiveness gained the hostility of a large portion of the parish, as well as of the rector. Appointed, however, by the Bishop of London and drawing his salary as "lecturer" from a royal bounty established by William III, he had in a sense occupied an independent position. As soon as Myles's death became imminent early in 1728, Harris began pulling wires to get the prospective vacancy for himself. In a letter which he wrote to the Bishop of London, who, though not claiming the right of presentation, did claim the right to license the incumbent, Harris described his supporters as "the most considerable Gentlemen" and "persons of the greatest wealth and honor in our church." Historical Collections Relating to the American Church, III. 246, 248. (There is irony in Walker's comment on the Harris faction since he himself was a member of the Checkley group, and was one of the Checkley majority elected to the Vestry in March, 1728.) At the same time the High-Church party in the chapel, "being but a few though very noisy," unwilling to await Burnet's arrival before acting — "having a prejudice to the name Bishop Burnet" — had taken steps to secure a curate, who should succeed to the prospective vacancy. At a subsequent meeting of the congregation on March 13, 1727/28, after Myles's death, they put through a vote that General Nicholson and Thomas Sandford, a London merchant, be empowered to present a clergyman for institution. They also took control of the church stock, to be used, so the opposition stated, "to defray all charges in compassing their designs." Harris and his group, besides proposing to send remonstrances to England, suggested an immediate appeal to Burnet, but this was abandoned for the moment on the ground that he would refuse to meddle in any local affairs until he had officially assumed the governorship. Apparently they wasted no time in presenting their grievances to him once he had taken office.

The following entries from Walker's diary dealing with the disputes in King's Chapel, supplement, and at the same time are in the main verified by, the official records published by Dr. Foote:

" [Feb. 6, 1727/8] In ye afternoon at ye Kings Chappell ye Reuerend Mr Saml Myles, ye minister (he being very much Indispos'd wth a Cancerous humor In his breast its Thought by ye phisicians he Can't Subsist here long in y^er^ opinion)

Monday 22 D D Cutlair [1] and Church Wardens & most Vestry waited

desir'd ye Congregation to meet, to send for a Curate ye Clerk by his desire mention'd it, on Sunday last, ye Congregation met & as some say ye most In Number y^tt^ Euer appear'd at a Church meetting (m^r^ Henry Harris thare, ye warning was read, m^r^ Autchmuty paraphars'd on it much Talk on't & division about itt, ye meetin divided m^r^ Harris' party was for adjourning it ye major [party] was not for, so those for, Harris Church Warden Thomas Phillips went away out off ye church. [*Marginal note:* After Harris Church Warden Philips, ye churchwarden, w[h]o took Book, & most off Harris' party went out of ye church abrubtly from ass-[embly] The major part staying ware much supris'd & sundry off ye went out] Those y^tt^ Remain'd being a great majority staid & proceded to act Choosing a moderator m^r^ In^o^ Jekill, m^r^ Gibbins Clerke, and Voted to send for a Curate, according to m^r^ Myles desire (Voted to send to his Excellency Gener^l^ Nickolson & m^r^ Thomas Sandford merch^tt^ In London or in ye absence of one to ye oth^r^ To seek out or gett a man well affected to the present Establishment In State & Church of a good life & Conversation, & voted 100^l^ year sterlin for his Salery, & 20£ Sterlin for his passage, & In Case of m^r^ Myles decese, they likeing him he might Succeed him Choose a Comitte to write to ye all Gentlemen to get one Mess^r^ Jekill, Craddock, Eastwick, Chickley Barns. . .

"Monday [March] 11 a Vestry & very dirty at noon m^r^ Harris & m^r^ Jekyll had high words In ye Kings Chappel Harris Toucht Jekyl^s^ nose & Told him he did not Take him by ye nose, (If he shou'd strike him it was 20^l^ fine & his Ears Cutt Harris wanted the Parochal Library d[elivere]d to him y^tt^ was at m^rs^ Myles) I hear In^o^ Checkley said it want a Vestry & had protest against it (Philips, Church warden & sundry others went out. . .

"Wednesda 13 The Congregation of ye Kings Chappel mett here at 3 Clock In ye afternoon A great assembly or number Thare. m^r^ Harris Thare he read his licence In Latin, & mentioned his being an assistant to Carry on ye Servis wth m^r^ Myles, Harris urg'd he was ye minister now m^r^ Myles was deceas'd & m^r^ Gifford as register of ye Church affairs, Write & read to ye Congre^tn^ Wether m^r^ Harris ye minister of ye Kings Chappel here shou'd not vote with ye Congrega^tn^ to go on busines, it was not allowed a proper & fair proposall by a great majority. When m^r^ Harris Cou'd not obtain y^tt^ he Went out of ye Church with many others (ye Congrega Ware of ye Opinion he was but assistant & not ye minister & Expects he'd continu so & Officiate still ye Servis of that Congregation (mr Autchmuty made a long discourse for m^r^ Harris, saying y^tt^ if any man Shou'd Come into ye Church & Cut down a pillar or other mischeif in ye Church none man but m^r^ Harris Cou'd prosecute him butt m^r^ Harris, according to ye law, so he wou'd insinuate by y^tt^ saying he was ye only minister, however y^tt^ had no Effect, y^n^ was Wrote & rote & read to ye Congregat^n^ ye Reuer m^r^ H. Harris ye minister of Kings Chapel, here might with ye Congrega: vote, y^tt^ was rejected, then m^r^ Harris & many others went out of ye Church after y^tt^ Philips Church Warden propos'd y^t^ We stay till Gouer^r^ Burnet Came y^tt^ was rejected or weth^r^ ye Congregat^n^ wou'd refer it to ye Bishop of London y^tt^ refus'd too, y^n^ we proceeded to go on & read 10, paragraph & Voted 9 of them Viz. 1 was to send to" [*entry not completed*]

[1] The Reverend Timothy Cutler, rector of Christ Church, Boston, and from the first a strong opponent of Harris.

on Colo[l] Burnet at Doct[r] Cooks house In School Street, Doct[r] made a speech to him In behalf of y[m]

Tuesday 23 Col[o] Burnet din'd wth Col[l] Wentworth Doct[r] Cook y[e] Gov[rs] family at Castle Wm

Wednesd 24 Assembly setts Gov[r] Burnet came to Town house at 11 Clo: y[e] Company of Cadets before him y[e] Concil & Gentlemen after him

Thursd 25 Col[l] Burnet went to Lecture Dum[r] Col[o] Wentworth wth him & Council[rs] wth him

Thursday 1 [August] Gov[r] at Sam[l] Dummer [1] at diner

Saturda 31 I heard Govern[r] Burnet Got Into y[e] Province house Govern[r] W[m] Burnet has kep our assembly Setting frō the 24 July last upon his 23: Instruction, about fixing a salary to this day yet [2]

Fryday 11 [October] King George y[e] 2[d] Coronation day y[e] line Guard and Cade[t]s mustered I heard ye Cade[t]s Invited y[e] Gouern[r] & Council to dinner at Mother Holmes. In y[e] Cade[t]s Insign Gou[r] Burnet Coat of arms handsomely painted (I heard done by young Gibbs y[e] painter [3])

Wednesd 30 Gouern[r] W[m] Burnet In his Chaise m[r] Willard Seceretary w[th] m[r] Jere: Allin our Trearsure Sheriff Edward Winslow, before y[e] Chaise. his steward & black foot man behind Went by our door either Just at 10: Clock in morn or Just after bound to Salem to meet our assembly thare [4]

Thursda 31 y[e] Lanthorn Town house Illuminated last night Councillars Justices merch[t] Selectmen and I and others Thare King George Queen Caroline y[e] Royal family and Gov[r] Burnets healths drank [5]

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[1] The older brother of William Dummer, the Lieutenant Governor, and of Jeremiah, the agent.

[2] The renewal of the controversy between governor and legislature over the matter of the governor's salary continued throughout Burnet's administration. Burnet communicated the text of this instruction to the House of Representatives on July 24. Its terms aroused stubborn opposition, but Burnet consistently refused the repeated requests from the House that it be allowed to adjourn without complying. He informed them on September 4, 1728: "I can only again assure you, that unless His Majesties Pleasure has its due Weight with you, your Desires have very little with Me." Journals of the House of Representatives, VIII. 311.

[3] John Gibbs, son of the John Gibbs, painter and stainer, who died in 1725.

[4] To get the General Court away from the prejudice of Boston, where a mass meeting had adopted and ordered published a "unanimous declaration" against fixing a salary upon the governor, Burnet, on October 24, adjourned the Court to Salem "where," as he said, "prejudice had not taken root." Hutchinson (II. 316–317) relates that Burnet jokingly remarked that the name of a place might work a charm, and that for that reason "he was at a loss whether to carry them there [Salem] or to Concord."

[5] In celebration of George II's birthday.

Saturda 23 [November] I heard Col° Burnet and Secre^{ty} Willard In Burnets Shay at Cambridge ye tide ouer ye Causway to ye great Bridge mist ye little bridge ouerset wet y^{m} both

Saturday 30 ye Gouernour Keeps ye Court Sitting at Salem I think an arbitrary way and breaking into our laws which he seems not to Value at all nor any thing or person In ye province but his own Interest a self Will'd Man,

March 1 [1728/9] Saturday Our Queen Carolinas Birthday Gou^{r} Burnet and Gentlemen In ye afternoon In ye Town house drinking King & Queens & Royall familys health & ye Lanthorn Illuminated in ye Euening

Saturday 17 [May, 1729] Burnet came to Town in night from Piscat.

Mond 26 The Cade[t]s muster'd B. Pollor[d] Captn J. Green ensign Phillips Liue^{tt} its s^{d} Gouer Wm Burnet. L^{tt} Govr Dummer Councillars N. Byfield. Cushing Dauvenport T: Hutchinson Dows. Secretary Willard, Came out of ye Town house ye Cade[t]s 24 of y^{m} Came up Kings Street before ye Gentlemen to Guard y^{m} To Captn Pollords House to an Entertai[n]ment, and y^{tt} Pollord Green & Phillips recd from. Colo[1] Burnet gaue y^{m} in Kings Street Their Staues & Ensign

Wednesd 28 Our Assembly meets at Salem Call'd Thare by Govern^{r} Wm Burnet To Elect our Councilars garthered 70 or 80£ The compa[n]y had a dinner at Vardys [1] upon The Top of Bacon Hill In Boston ware hoisted four Flags (ye Standard of Great Brittain 2 English ensigns blew silk ye union & a phenix motto Illa Ego Quam Quaeeris [*sic*] [2]) Two pendant all flyer at onece a great number people Thare, I saw Them Thare from ye Top of my house a little aft^{r} 12 Clock att noon & I hear great guns or six field peaces thare, & ware fir'd Thare or lett off I belieue more Than one hundred guns all pointted Northward, a little after sun set ye Company Came down ye adrum before, Two & Two Thro: ye Common down School Strett Thro Cornhil & to ye Exchang Tavern to spend ye Euening

Monda 2 June Artillery Election Company Mustered Col° Saml Thaxter Captn Ntt^{n} Balston L^{tt} ye Company went & Guarded Govr Wm Burnet to ye Town house. ye Gouer^{r} went up to ye Council staid some Time Came down some of our Councillars wth him went to ye brick meetin house To hear m^{r} Wm Wellsteed preach a sermon

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[1] The Royal Exchange Tavern, kept by Luke Vardy.

[2] This is in all probability the flag of some local infantry company or regiment. Howard M. Chapin, Esq., the authority on such matters, informs me that it is the only description of a colonial infantry flag in use in the first half of the eighteenth century that has come to his notice.

Wednesd 11 Cade[t]s mustard King George 2^{d} accession Colo^{l} Burnet L^{tt} Govr Dumer sundry Gentlemen at ye Town house drinkin King & Queen Prince & Royal familys healths

Saturday 6 [September] Gouern^{r} Burnet Very Ill I hear of an Intermittin feavor

Lords day 7 Gouern^{r} Very Ill In the day about 10: Clock In ye Euening at The Provinces house In Boston In N.E. Col^{o} Wm Burnet Esqr our Gouernour Dyed off a Coma.[1] I hear delireious at times some days lay sick. 7. or 8 days In 42 year of age, a Very lusty good lookt man & a learn'd wise one. by what I haue heard from Judiscious men Doct^{r} Douglas was his Phisithian and told me he Imbowl'd him This day bound & well his inwards

Tuesday 9 L^{tt} Gouern^{r} Wm Dummer Came to Town In ye Euening sent for by an Express Messenger

Thursda 11 In ye Evening I heard The Corps of Wm Burnet y^{t} was our Governor are bro^{t} In ye Town house and in ye Council Chamber

Fryday. 7er 12[2] ab^{tt} 4 Clocke in ye afternoon ye Crops [*sic*] bro^{tt} down Carried out of ye East door Carried down King Street thare laid on stools ye bearers L^{tt} Govr Dumer Col^{o} Taylor Col Winslow. T. Hutchinson Col Brown Col T: Fitch Then ye mournners. his Eldest son Gilbert, y^{n} 2 Children son & daught^{r} y^{n} his last wifes Sisters Vanhorns, led by J. Wendal & P Mascarein y^{n} Sterward Burnet[3] & wife & servants of his family Then ye Councillars of This Province & y^{n} the assembly, y^{n} ye Justices ministers Gentlemens merchants of ye Town (ye Gouer Coach & led horse (led by Richd Hubart) before ye Corps) Then ye Town Regiment (ab^{tt} 600 or 700 men under arms, drums Colours & lead in Staues halberts in mourning y^{m} all In King street. y^{n} ye Regiment. marcht Wheel'd Came up King street on ye North side Town house went Thro. Cornhil & School Street, ye Crops Carried Into ye Church Reuerend m^{r} Roger Price Preacht funeral sermon out Eccle. ye Guns at Castle W^{m} man Warr and other Vessel let in off till ye Corps was interr'd & y^{n} ye Town Regiment let off 3 Volleys (thare was a Very great Concourse of people to se[e] it, ye Charge of ye funeral at ye Expence of ye Province ye whole solemnity decently perform'd In my opinion. ye body inter'd In ye Kings Chapel (Reverend. m^{r} Roger Price Rector preacht a funeral sermon fro. Ecle: Vanity of Vanitys.

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[1] Walker originally wrote "feuer & flux" instead of "coma."

[2] Cf. our Publications, XIV. 221, for another account of Burnet's funeral in which there is a slight difference in detail. The cost of the funeral, which was borne by the Province, amounted to £1097 11*s* 3*d*. Acts and Resolves III. 431.

[3] George Burnet, the Governor's steward.

Mr. George Pomeroy Anderson read a note on

GOVERNOR BURNET AS A GOLFER

Golf as a sport and athletic diversion in America is a comparatively recent development, and it may be a surprise to learn that the first association of golfers into a club was as recent as 1885. In that year a club was formed near New York, and at about the same time a similar organization was formed in Florida. When and where the first American golfer laid out a links and started to play the game, substantially as it is now played, is not known, but the formation of the first association less than fifty years ago suggests that the game had not been played to any extent before that period.

Golf at first was regarded as a gentleman's diversion, and its popularity among all classes was not attained without some ridicule and suppressed class feeling. But the game finally was accepted by residents of urban districts as a welcome relief from the tedium and stress of business affairs. In England golf has been known for a long time, and yet there its popular adoption came not much earlier than in this country. The game was played in Scotland almost five centuries ago, and at an earlier period seems to have been played in Holland upon ice. Always, whether played on ice or on turf, the test was the knocking of a ball into a hole. Essentially, therefore, golf has not much changed in five hundred years.

In view of this sport's recent climb to popularity, it is interesting to note that it was not wholly unknown in Massachusetts Bay a little over two centuries ago, and that a provincial governor of that period had the equipment for playing it. William Burnet, who was Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1720 to 1728, and who came to Massachusetts in July of the latter year to become governor of this province and New Hampshire, was something of a sportsman. He had been sent to America after he had lost practically all his fortune in the South Sea Bubble. At the time of his death in 1729 he was only forty-one, just the right age to be a devotee of golf.

Unfortunately there is no direct evidence that he ever played, either while here or in New York. But included in the inventory of his estate, along with his expensive wines and liquors, his card table, "Backgammun Table with Men," five cases of foils

for fencing, chessboard and men, and fishing rod, are these two items:[1]

		£	s
Nine Gouff[2] Clubs & 1 Iron D°	4/	2	
Seven Doz Balls	1/	4	4

Thus he had the necessary outfit, and it can hardly be doubted that he knew how to play the game. He was young and active, and since he was a gentleman and since golf was a gentleman's game, the conjecture that he indulged in the sport seems justified. The fact that the governor was born at The Hague, in the land where golf is said to have originated, may give added weight to the assumption that he was a golfer, and had his life been spared, he might have introduced golf into the list of sports in this province.

There is not much information in these entries as to the quality of the equipment. There was only one iron club, the others doubtless being of wood, of various lengths and weights and thus adapted to golfing conditions. It will be noted that the value of the clubs was less than that of the balls. The presence of seven dozen balls suggests either that there was an excess supply or that the lasting quality of the balls was so doubtful that it was necessary to provide a large number. It was, of course, before the era of rubber or gutta percha, and it is no surprise to learn that the balls were made of feathers with a covering of light leather. The weight, therefore, was small, and it was difficult to direct such a ball with any certainty. When the player hit his feather ball, he must have hoped for the best and not have been greatly shocked to find it bunkered in a gooseberry bush. The uncertainty then, as now, lent interest to the game.

While it is necessary to employ conjectures about Burnet's equipment for the sport, it is possible to get a picture of golf as played in Scotland at a not much later time. In 1771 was published Tobias Smollett's The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. Speaking of his experiences in Scotland, the writer of one of the letters says:[3]

I never saw such a concourse of genteel company at any races in England, as appeared on the course of Leith. Hard by, in the fields called the

[1] Suffolk Probate Records, Book 27 (1728–1730), pp. 337–348.

[2] The spelling "gouff" follows an old Scottish form, perhaps indicating the pronunciation at the time. The word is said to be derived from the Dutch "kolf," a club, another sidelight upon the probable origin of the game in Holland.

[3] The Expedition of Humphry Clinker (Edition of 1836), pp. 267–268.

Links, the citizens of Edinburgh divert themselves at a game called golf, in which they use a curious kind of bats tipped with horn, and small elastic balls of leather, stuffed with feathers, rather less than tennis-balls, but of much harder consistence. This they strike with such force and dexterity from one hole to another, that they will fly to an incredible distance. Of this diversion the Scots are so fond, that when the weather will permit, you may see a multitude of all ranks, from the senator of justice to the lowest tradesman, mingled together, in their shirts, and following the balls with the utmost eagerness. Among others, I was shown one particular set of golfers, the youngest of whom was turned of four-score. They were all gentlemen of independent fortunes, who had amused themselves with this pastime for the best part of a century, without having ever felt the least alarm from sickness or disgust; and they never went to bed without having each the best part of a gallon of claret in his belly.

Thus it will be seen that golf playing and golf players in some respects have not changed much during the century and a half that has intervened.

MEMOIR

OF

MICHAEL JOSEPH CANAVAN

BY

CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

MICHAEL JOSEPH CANAVAN was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, September 5, 1848. His father, bearing the same name of Michael, was of New Hampshire birth, and his mother, Maria Peduzzi, came in her young girlhood with her sister Francesca from Como in Italy. The girls were well educated, and their volume of Dante is still in the family. In Mr. Canavan's voluminous notes something may be found relating to his ancestry. From kings of course he came, as O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees will bear witness. Peter Canavan, the miller in Lady Gregory's play, The Canavans, came from Waterford in Queen Elizabeth's time, and he might have said of Michael as he said of another:

> You are of our blood, a Canavan.

In the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland the name does not appear until Volume VIII, and not once among the graduates of Dublin University. It cannot, then, be frequently found in Ireland. Little is known of Michael Joseph's early years, nor is the significance clear of the first incident which left an impress on his mind. He used to recall that as a child of four in a plaid dress he stood at the gate of his father's cottage and saw the approach of a terrifying flood. It may have been at the seashore of a summer, or, less understandably, in Somerville.

From the Somerville High School Michael Joseph passed on to Harvard College (A.B. 1871) and to the Harvard Law School (LL.B. 1875), being admitted to the Bar in February, 1877. He was not conspicuous in college athletics, but in the eighties was a good tennis

player. He spent two college summers abroad, one in walking through England and Wales, one in study in Paris. Two years of world adventure followed graduation, a winter at Göttingen, and sight-seeing in the eastern Mediterranean. He fell from a roof at Bethsaida, and for several weeks suffered from the unusual and wholly unexpected experience.

Mr. Canavan married Charlotte Adelaide Pearson, of Dorchester, October 5, 1882, and soon moved to Lexington, where their daughter Ruth was born. Mrs. Canavan was a pianist, the head of the music department at Wheaton Seminary, and with her daughter frequented the Boston Athenæum all the later years of her life, interested in literature and music to an unusual degree. Mrs. Canavan died July 15, 1930.

For a dozen years Canavan practised law, and then drifted into business. Meanwhile his modest fortune, invested in copper and railroads by a leading banking house, shrank to inadequate dimensions. He kept in touch with college classmates and had business relations with some who like himself were more acquainted with dreams than with realities. Finally, in 1918, he gave up the pursuit of the world, and retired to his favorite chair in the Barton-Ticknor room of the Boston Public Library where he had worked in leisure hours since 1895. There he wrote Ben Comee, a Tale of Rogers's Rangers, 1758–59, telling for boys the romance of the French and Indian Wars; it was published by Macmillan in 1899. He made investigations of local places. In his crabbed, illegible hand facts of primary importance were written down in red ink, the lesser statements parading in black. He was much interested in Washington Street. This street was his Main Street. It summed up for him all the life of New England, and along that famous way the people of every race and of all the pursuits and passions of the world seemed to pass. If the great philosophers and musicians of world history did not appear in the flesh, they were kin with those who did, and he gathered them all within his sympathetic vision.

But he was also the final resort to whom every searcher came in time for various facts of history and his interpretation of them. His spectacles would slide down his nose, his blue eyes with their kindly twinkle would come into view, and he would talk. Knowledge was a passion with him. His philosophy and humor bubbled over, but

they were never riotous. Nothing about him disturbed his equanimity, unless it was an undated Boston view. Then he pronounced anathema on the photographer who did not record the year it was taken. He was always, says Miss Harriet Swift of the Library, "even-tempered but never Pollyannaish." He enjoyed telling a clever joke and repeated it with gusto.

Fox and Burke, Pitt and Lord North were "just folks" to him. They were passers-by on Washington Street, and he knew them more intimately than anyone else could know them. When he was a boy of eleven, he had talked with a soldier of Bunker Hill, and he had known the grandson of a man killed in the redoubt there. People and events were very real to him all his life. He had no illusions about them any more than he had about his own place in the community and the value of his work; he merely sat in the sun with his notebooks before him and enjoyed the days that were allotted to him. The urge of the antiquary was strong in him. He wrote down the folk songs that his grandmother, a Trefethen of some Cornish seacoast village, used to sing; and he frequented burial grounds to study the inscriptions. So great a lure was the cemetery that his little daughter, before setting forth with him for a walk, would often stipulate that the entire afternoon should not be passed in a survey of gravestones.

Even in the days when he hunted and fished, topography was his especial delight, and he had wandered over every hill and marsh, examined every tree and spring, and followed the shore line of the Boston peninsula before he reached middle life. Mr. Canavan prepared two papers based on these exhaustive pilgrimages. This Society published one of them, Mr. Blackstone's "Excellent Spring," in the Transactions for April, 1907 (XI. 295–328). The Bostonian Society included in its Proceedings the other under the title, Where Were the Quakers Hanged? (1911, pp. 37–49) a controversial but convincing survey, based on an exhaustive investigation.[1] Two other papers by him which were included in the Transactions of this Society bore the titles The Old Boston Public Library, 1656–1747 (XII. 116–132), and Isaac Johnson, Esquire, The Founder of Boston (XXVII. 272–285). In these papers he rarely ventures a personal opinion, but he does

[1] Mr. M. A. DeW. Howe, in his Boston Common (page 8), has discussed Mr. Canavan's argument.

express his preference for Anne Hutchinson over the Reverend John Wilson, the nemesis that pursued her.

A group of papers contributed to the Somerville Journal indicates an interest in his birthplace. Their nature is shown by the titles: First Settler's Homestead (December 1, 1922); Gibbons of Gibbons's Field (March 30, 1923); How the British Advanced (June 1, 1923); On the Night of April 18 (April 3, 1925); March through Somerville (April 10, 1925); Retreat from Lexington (April 17, 1925). The last paper tells how the British soldiers were harried as they passed through Somerville, and some of the claims for damages.

Membership in the Colonial Society delighted him. He was too transparent and too honest to dissemble his gratitude for this recognition of his scholarship, and he did not hesitate to refer to it. After an enthusiastic description of one of the Colonial Society meetings which he attended he remarked to a friend ruefully: "I am afraid I talked too much, much too much." This was a sure sign of his keen, happy enjoyment, for Mr. Canavan, although he liked to talk, was not an indiscriminate talker.

Mr. Zoltán Haraszti, in the Boston Public Library publication More Books (VI. 21), says of him: "His mental vigor remained undiminished to the last. His short stature was becoming smaller and smaller with the years, but his blue eyes under the broad skull kept their keenness and zest."

Mr. Canavan died in Boston, January 21, 1931, aged 82, after a short illness. Services were conducted by the Reverend Frank Holmes, of Jamaica Plain, and his ashes were buried at Forest Hills.

APRIL MEETING, 1932

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. JAMES P. BAXTER, 3rd, at Apthorp House, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 28, 1932, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death of WILLIAM WALLACE FENN, a Resident Member, on March 6, 1932; of FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, a Corresponding Member, formerly a Resident Member and President of the Society, on March 14, 1932; and of EDWARD PERCIVAL MERRITT, a Resident Member, on April 16, 1932.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the receipt of letters from Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, accepting Resident Membership, and from Mr. WALTER GOODWIN DAVIS and Mr. MAX FARRAND, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd, and FRANK BREWER BEMIS.

To examine the Treasurer's account,—Messrs. NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, MATT BUSHNELL JONES, and RICHARD AMMI CUTTER.

The Council recommended for adoption by the Society the following amendments to the By-laws:

Chapter II, Article I, paragraph 1, to be amended to read as follows: The number of Resident Members of the Society shall not exceed

One Hundred. They shall be elected from among residents of Massachusetts, i.e., those who have a usual place of residence or business in the State. The number of Corresponding Members shall not exceed Fifty. They shall be elected from among non-residents of Massachusetts. The number of Associate Members shall not exceed Ten. They may be elected from residents or non-residents of Massachusetts.

A Resident Member shall be transferred by the Council to Corresponding Membership, if he ceases to have a place of residence or business in Massachusetts; and a Corresponding Member may be transferred by the Council to Resident Membership if he acquires a place of residence or business in Massachusetts.

Chapter II, Article 7, to be expunged.

These amendments were unanimously adopted by the Society.

Mr. Charles Eliot Goodspeed communicated the following paper:

THE WICKED PRIMER

The following letter is printed in the Boston Gazette, and Country Journal of Monday, September 24, 1759:

To the Publishers of the *Boston-Gazette, &c.*
Messi'rs *Edes* and *Gill,*

It being my lot to be plac'd in a small parish within this province, where the poverty of the people prevents their hiring persons to teach the children any other Books than those which is chiefly the business of a School-Mistress: I have to my great surprize, discovered lately several things which may have a bad tendency, that has crept into the *New-England* Primer. And altho' it may be look'd upon by many at first view, a trifling affair, yet, with reference to the little tender ones who are to receive the first information of their duty to God and man from that little book; in my humble opinion, cannot be tho't so by those, who have a due regard for their offspring. — What I principally intend to take notice of, are the little Pictures, beginning with *Adam's Fall,* and ending at Zaccheus *climbing the Tree:* Which I suppose were at first put in for some good purpose, to make children more intent on their book, it being a good means for that end: If this was not the Design, it would be difficult to give a good reason why they are inserted. These little Pictures go thro' with the alphabet, and against each letter there is a

representation, with two lines of verse to interpret them: But I remember a few years ago the late Rev. Mr. *Prince* of *Boston*, thinking some of them too trifling, had many of the lines with pictures alter'd to something of more importance, which was tho't to be for the best; for instance, — instead of the *Cat doth play, and after slay* against the letter *C*, it was a representation of the crucifixion of Christ, with these words, *Christ crucify'd, for Sinners dy'd:* But to my great surprize, these new pictures have now the old verses against them; and thus the representation of our blessed Saviour's going to the cross, when darkness was over the whole earth, has for its meaning the destruction of mice by a cat: What! Are the children to be told that the death of their Redeemer is of no more importance than the death of a mouse! Which is the consequence if there be any thing in the representations — This is certainly the worst of them, for which reason, it being so shocking, that I am obliged to disfigure the picture with my pen, as much as if it was a Graven Image. Some other representations are very ridiculous, which if you have room you may insert, to shew their folly. I shall put them as they stand alter'd in the alphabetical order — omitting those letters, which are agreable to the old primers — Letter *D*, is the representation of the deluge, with these words, a *Dog will bite a Thief at Night. E* represents Elijah in a cave, fed by the ravens; and has for its interpretation, *The Eagle's Flight is out of Sight. F* represents Felix trembling at St. Paul's preaching; with this interpretation, *The idle Fool is whip'd at School.* When we come to *K*, it represents the rebellious Korah and his company swallowed by the opening of the earth, and this has for meaning, *Our King the Good, no Man of Blood:* As for the King, I cannot tell who it must mean; but certainly it does not deserve to be in a Book, which is to be taught the children of the Loyal New-England People. — *L* represents Lot running from the destruction of Sodom; with this interpretation, *The Lyon bold, the Lamb doth hold. M* represents Moses leading the children of Israel thro' the Red-Sea; and has against it, *The Moon gives Light, in Time of Night. N* represents Noah viewing the new world after the deluge, and has against it, *Nightingale's sing, in Time of Spring. — O* represents three young pious men, as Obadias, &c. and has against it, *The Royal Oak it was the Tree, &c. R* represents pious Ruth following Naomi, and has against it, *Rachel doth mourn for her First-born. S* represents Samuel at Prayer, against it, *Samuel anoints whom God appoints. T* represents a young man running away from — what I cannot tell, but was design'd for sin, and has the looks of it, being without body, and an odd figure to be sure it makes; against it is, *Time cuts down all, both Great and Small. — V* represents Vashti for her pride being set aside; — the inter-

pretation is, *Uriah's beauteous Wife, made David seek his Life.* The other alterations are immaterial: — I would now ask, What parent would chuse to let their children be instructed in things so erroneous, as some of the above, and neglect troubling themselves, with what is taught them? — Surely it is of great concern, if they prize a good education: — As for the occasion of this imposition, I am ignorant; whatever it be, it ought to be inquired into, and a stop put to it; or perhaps we may still be further imposed on; and soon have fixed over, The Picture of the Man with Spears, The Pope or Man of God,[1] and so many Virtues pointed to, as there are Spokes: Nay, they may still go further, if this is allowed in, and give us the title page of the Spelling-Book and Psalter, and the same book contain part of the mass-book, with prayers to the virgin Mary and other saints. But I hope, by your publishing this, it will be a means of preventing any farther designs, and put a stop to those that have gone so far already. I send it to you, as I have not found any erroneous Primers with your name thereto, and hope for the Benefit of the rising generation, you will not omit publishing this, however your business may be incommoded by giving offence, to any of your brother Printers, or book-sellers. — A parent of one of my pupils, informed me, That altho' Mr. *S. Kneeland's* Name was in the title page of these erroneous Primers; yet he knew from the character that *good Gentleman* sustained in Boston, he could not be guilty of such a base method to get off his books; but that some young men of that *Name* in his office, whom he understood the fraternity of book-sellers had set to work, must have done it; whether thro' ignorance or design he could not tell; but however it be, should be glad you would advertise where the Good Primers are to be sold, and whenever the other is published, to advertise that by the name of, The Wicked Primer.

Your's, &c.

A Child's Instructor.

Sept. 11. 1759.

[1] "In the 'New English Tutor' a print is given of 'The Pope or Man of Sin' which was originally beyond question a cut used to illustrate the signs of the zodiac in an almanac, for it is exactly like them with the exception of the addition of a tiara to the otherwise naked figure. To utilize the zodiacal lines and letters radiating from the body, [Benjamin] Harris added a key or explanation which replaced Aries, Taurus, Cancer, Scorpion, etc., with Heresy, Disorder, Malice, Murder and Treachery, etc., and which called on the 'Child' to 'behold that Man of Sin, the Pope, worthy thy utmost Hatred.' This print was reproduced in the Primer of 1737, but no key was added, so that the 'Child' must have been not a little puzzled to know what the rays and letters meant." Paul Leicester Ford, The New-England Primer (1897), p. 50.

This letter discloses two facts in the history of the New England Primer. The first concerns the major changes in its best-known feature, the alphabetical rhymes. In the earliest edition known to exist, printed in Boston in 1727 by S. Kneeland and T. Green, thirteen of the verses are of a secular nature:

The *Cat* doth play
And after slay.

A *Dog* will bite
A Thief at night.

An *Eagles* flight
Is out of sight.

The Idle *Fool*
Is whipt at School.

As runs the *Glass*
Mans life doth pass.

Our *KING* the good
No man of blood.

The *Lion* bold
The *Lamb* doth hold.

The *Moon* gives light
In time of night.

Nightingales sing
In Time of Spring.

The *Royal Oak* it was the Tree
That sav'd His Royal Majestie.

Time cuts down all
Both great and small.

Xerxes the great did die,
And so must you & I.

Youth forward slips
Death soonest nips.

Paul Leicester Ford, after mentioning some "haphazard" changes in these verses made at various times, writes:[1]

. . . but a more sweeping alteration was made between 1740 and 1760. As originally written, many of the verses had a decidedly mundane quality, and so some New England writer or printer undertook within that period, to evangelize those lines which had an earthly tendency.

It may be added that some of the verses originally of Biblical character were also altered, and, at least in the edition of 1761, which is the issue of the nearest date to 1759 to which I have access, the text of some lines which correspond in subject with those in the edition of 1727 has been changed. From the letter which I have read, the author of the changes to which Ford refers is shown to have been the Reverend Thomas Prince, and the date of the alterations not later

[1] Ford, The New-England Primer, p. 29.

than 1759. They were probably made after 1750, as in two issues of the latter date the secular lines are found.[1]

The second bit of information which "A Child's Instructor" gives is that an issue of the Primer had appeared in which some of the old cuts were used with the new verses. We can scarcely agree with the suggestion, quoted by the writer from the parent of one of her pupils, that this freakish combination was made in the printing office by design, as no motive appears. The disclaimer of any suspicion of Samuel Kneeland as the responsible party is followed by the suggestion that the work must have been done by "some young men of that *Name* in his office . . . whether through ignorance or design" she could not tell. It seems probable that the young men here referred to were Daniel and John, two of Kneeland's sons, who were at that time employed in their father's office. It is a matter of some interest in this connection that for several years they had been employed in pirating Ames's Almanacs at the instigation of competitors of the rightful printers. Thomas says that about 1759 John Draper, the printer of Ames's Almanac, formed a connection with Green and Russell and T. and J. Fleet for its publication and that they "were not disposed to supply booksellers as formerly." He adds: [2]

> The booksellers, immediately on the publication of the Almanack, had it reprinted; and soon after a number of the principal of them set up a printing house for themselves and engaged Daniel Kneeland and John, his brother, to conduct it for them, under the firm of D. & J. Kneeland. The Kneelands continued to print for these booksellers several years, in part of the building occupied by their father as a printing house; after which some difficulty arising, the booksellers put a stop to their press, and divided among them the printing materials.

From the foregoing, it seems a plausible conjecture that the reference in the letter to Kneeland's sons may have been made at the instigation of other printers who, for the reasons just given, were ill-affected towards them.[3] This surmise finds a slight confirmation in

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[1] The imprint on one of these is "Boston: Printed for the Booksellers, 1750," and on the other, "Boston: Printed by John Green, for the booksellers. 1750."

[2] Isaiah Thomas, The History of Printing in America (1874), I. 149 (Archæologica Americana, Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, VI).

[3] See Green and Russell's Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser for December 10 and 17, 1759, for warnings against spurious editions of Ames's Almanac.

a mention of "wicked Primers and erroneous Almanacks" made at the close of a letter from another correspondent to the Boston Gazette, and Country Journal, over date of October 28, 1759, but printed in the issue for December 17 of that year. This communication is reprinted in full, for although its matter is largely extraneous to our subject, it is interesting in illustration of the untrammeled thought of the time on matters both orthoëpical and theological:

Sirs,

I am a plain honest Countryman. — I can read my Bible and other good Books; and when I fall in company with any of my own Townsmen, I am able to bear a Part in the Conversation. But there have lately come to live among us several polite Gentlemen from Boston; with whom if I ever chance to be present, I can scarcely understand them. I think by endeavouring to embellish our Language, they spoil it by their new-fangled Words, and by altering the Pronunciation of other Words. And our Minister who is very desirous of appearing to the best Advantage, forsooth must take it in his Head to adopt some of their pretty Words of the new Pronunciation. In a Sermon not long since, he told us, That "by the Light of *Naichur* only we might form a compleat *Susetem* of Morality; and that tho' some of the ancient Philosophers were involved in *Skepticism*, yet" *&c.* After Service I took the Freedom to ask one of our polite New-Comers, and was not a little surprised when he made me understand the Meaning. According to this Way of pronouncing, Why not *Sumepathy, Sumptom, Sunod,* for Sympathy, Symptom, Synod? Why not *deskend* instead of descend? Why not *Skepter* instead of *Sceptre?*

I was reading an old Gazette of yours the other Day, where mention was made of an *Aid de Camp* of General Forbes's being dispatched with Orders to an Officer to proceed with his Detachment towards Fort *Du Quesne:* and because I read like an Englishman, I was laughed at by one of these Boston Gentlemen who was sitting by; and he mended the Matter, as he tho't, by calling the first-mentioned Officer's Title an *Aidecong,* and the Name of the Fort *Du Cain.* He might be right for ought I know, — but what I was going to observe from this was, that if I deserv'd to be blamed for calling these outlandish Words wrong; What do they deserve, who while they are so solicitous that the French Language may be preserved pure, are spoiling plain English?

In a Letter you printed lately, the Writer tells his Friend, "We hear that General Amherst was to set off from Crown Point *as* last Thursday." What Need of the Word *as?* I mention this, because that many People

affect to talk as well as write in this quaint Way. But the Speech of *Ashdod*[1] prevails in too many Instances to be here mentioned.

But this is not the worst as to our Town. — Our Minister, as I told you before, is fond of appearing fashionable. In his Preachments therefore, instead of the Word *Holiness* we have *Virtue;* for *Affliction, Misfortune;* and instead of such holy Language as the Apostle uses — *if the Lord will* I shall do thus and so, a heathenish *perhaps* is substituted. In the Description of a converted Man we used to hear of his heavenly Temper, of his Love to Acts of Devotion, of the Joys of Religion arising from the Witness of the Spirit — Now he describes the converted Man (tho' by the Way he seems in a great Measure to have left off using that Term) as one that is fair and honest in his Dealings, and is kind and generous to the Poor — and this partial Account of him is all we have — Not a Word of being being [*sic*] pious towards God, or temperate, sober and chaste with Regard to himself. — Benevolence seems to be a darling Word with him. He told us last Sabbath, that "an honest, benevolent, charitable, or in a Word, a *downright upright* Man, need not be afraid of Death." For my Part I believe he is turned a *downright* Arminian. I greatly suspect he is the Author of the little Piece intitled *A Winter Evening's Conversation,*[2] and some other bad Books. I am the more confirm'd in this, because as I have Reason to think, his Bible is not like other Ministers Bibles. He has lately bought a new Quarto Bible, a beautiful London Impression, as he told me, with the Apocraphy and several other Things in it, which I think might as well have been left out. I took it up the other Day at his House, and by Chance opened [at] the CXLIXth Psalm; where the Contents immediately before it are in these Words — *The Prophet exhorteth to praise God for his Love to the Church, and for that Power which he hath given to the Church* (underlined in italics) TO RULE THE CONSCIENCES OF MEN. I immediately shut it up, not daring to look any further, fearing it was all of a Piece. I went directly home, and on looking over my own, (an Edinburgh Impression,) I found no such Popish Doctrine. — Strange that there should such Words be suffered to be in a Bible! But our Minister did not seem to

[1] "In those days also saw I the Jews that had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab: and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people. And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, or for yourselves." Nehemiah, xiii: 23–25.

[2] Samuel Webster, A Winter Evening's Conversation upon the Doctrine of Original Sin (Boston, 1757).

like it the worse for it. I have been told by Men of Reading, that formerly when the Arminian Doctrines were amost universally preached in England, the Nation never was in so much Danger from the Increase of Popery; and that Arminianism and Popery always went Hand in Hand. Heaven preserve our Parish from Popery! You were so good as publickly to warn People against purchasing *wicked Primers* and *erroneous Almanacks* — Pray desire all that go to buy a Bible, to turn to the CXLIXth Psalm before they purchase it. Now we are in so good a Measure delivered from the Fears of our antichristian Enemies, if Popery should be bro't in by our pretended Friends, it would be shocking.

I had almost forgot to tell you, when speaking of our Minister's public Performances, that he has not said a Word about the *Devil*, or so much as mentioned his Name for these two Years. — What can be the Meaning of this Silence? We used frequently to hear of his Wiles and Stratagems. — But, Sirs, I fear this Omission is owing to Design, and that we are in more Danger of the *Devil* than ever, tho' we are not so often warned of our Danger. I have a thousand other Things that lay with Weight on my Mind, but have not Time now to mention them. You see I have written freely to you, you may freely publish what I have written to the World.

Your's

Z. A. Y. B.

October 28, 1759.

Having already suggested that an animus towards Daniel and John Kneeland might have been in the minds of the writers of both of these letters, I take one more step in the dubious field of conjecture. In the last letter quoted, the writer desires "all that go to buy a Bible, to turn to the CXLIXth Psalm before they purchase it." It is at least a matter of curious coincidence that Samuel Kneeland (in partnership with Timothy Green) should have pirated a quarto edition of the Bible under a London imprint less than ten years before.[1] If, as is probable, there were unsold copies of this Bible in 1759, is there a possibility that it was his edition against which buyers were warned? May this be evidence of another attack on the Kneelands from the source previously mentioned? I offer these queries as matter for consideration.

[1] Charles L. Nichols, "The Boston Edition of the Baskett Bible," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, n.s., XXXVII. 24–42.

Mr. Morison presented a note on

THE EDUCATION OF THOMAS PARKER, OF NEWBURY

The starting-point of this paper[1] is an attempt to identify a two-page leaflet, here reproduced in facsimile, which is among the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library. The text of the leaflet reproduces a public act of the University of Franeker in Friesland in the year 1617, conferring upon Thomas Parker (1595–1677), who subsequently became the first pastor of Newbury in Massachusetts, the degree of Master in Philosophy and of Liberal Arts. This degree was equivalent to the English Master of Arts; for in Continental and Scottish universities the Faculty of Philosophy corresponded to the Faculty of Arts at Oxford and Cambridge; the Ph.M. was simply the M.A. writ large, and the Ph.D. writ small.[2]

Thomas Parker, a Puritan worthy who passed the last forty-three years of his life in the frontier settlement of Newbury, enjoyed the most varied academic education among the 130 or more university alumni who came to New England in the Great Emigration.[3] Alumnus of no less than four universities, he precipitated a controversy which agitated theological circles in the Netherlands and Germany. He was the only son of that famous Puritan divine Robert Parker, who is regarded as one of the founders of Congregationalism.[4] Born on June 8, 1595, at Newbury, Berkshire, whither his father had retired after giving up a fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford, his

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[1] I wish to acknowledge assistance and advice received from the Reverend Dr. A. F. Nolte, of Harlingen, from Professor J. A. C. F. Auer, of the Harvard Divinity School, and from Dr. P. C. Molhuysen, of the Royal Library at the Hague.

[2] Hastings Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, I. 21–22. As "Master" and "Doctor" were interchangeable terms in medieval universities, the Ph.D. was equivalent to the M.A. in England and usually required no more study and training than the English B.A. Cf. the diploma of Jeremy Dummer (A.B. Harvard 1699) for the Ph.D. at the University of Utrecht, which was copied into the Harvard College Records, and is printed in our Publications, XV. 305–308.

[3] Cf. J. Gardner Bartlett's list in our Publications, XXV. 14–23; and S. E. Morison, English University Men Who Emigrated to New England before 1646 (1932).

[4] See Dictionary of National Biography; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses; Henry Martyn Dexter, Congregationalism As Seen in Its Literature.

education probably began in his father's study. Cotton Mather writes:[1]

He had been admitted into *Magdalen* Colledge, in *Oxford;* but after the Exile of his Father, he removed unto *Dublin*, in *Ireland;* where he found from Dr. *Usher* the same favourable Aspect, which that eminent Person did use to cast upon young Students that were ingenious: And from thence he went after his Father into *Holland*, where Dr. *Ames* favoured him with his Encouragements and Assistances, in the Prosecution of his honest Studies now at *Leyden*.

Mather confused the order of events. Robert Parker crossed to Holland in 1607 in order to avoid prosecution before the Court of High Commission for his Separatist activities, and settled at Leyden. Thomas, who was then twelve years old, probably accompanied or shortly followed his father to the Low Countries, and had a part of his grammar-school education there. The first record of his matriculation in any university is at Trinity College, Dublin, in Michaelmas term, 1610.[2] At that time Dr. James Ussher, the future Primate of Ireland, was fellow and professor of divinity at Trinity College. Thomas Parker may well have been placed under his tutelage, as Cotton Mather suggests. Instead of taking a degree at Dublin, Parker proceeded to the University of Oxford, where he matriculated on April 23, 1613.[3] Lacking other evidence, we may accept Cotton Mather's statement that Parker's college was Magdalen, where his father had taken his degrees and held a fellowship.[4]

Thomas took no degree at Oxford. Robert Parker died at Duesbert in the Netherlands in 1614. Presumably Thomas was recalled to Holland by his mother, for on July 15 of that year "Thomas Perkerus Anglus," aged 20, registered as a student of theology in the University of Leyden.[5] Cotton Mather states that he was there encouraged and

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[1] Magnalia (1702 ed.), Book III. 143.

[2] Burtchaell and Sadleir, Alumni Dublinenses, p. 653.

[3] Andrew Clark, Register of the University of Oxford, II (ii) (Oxford Historical Society Publications, XI), p. 330.

[4] As Clark explains (p. 329), the matriculation records of the university are wanting for over two years, 1613–1614, and the name of Thomas Parker is found in the Subscription Book, "which does not mention the College from which the Subscribers matriculated." Subscription followed matriculation, and on the same day.

[5] Album Studiosorum Academiæ Lugduno Batavæ (1875), p. 117.

A Copy of the Inſtrument, whereby the late Reverend Mr. Thomas Parker *(being two and twenty Years of Age) was made a Maſter of Arts at* FRANEKER, April, 1. *Anno Domini* 1617.

RECTOR MAGNIFICUS ET PROFESSORES ACADEMIÆ

Franekeranæ, Omnibus et ſingulis has Literas lecturis, cognituriſve, Salutem in Domino ſempiternam D. Rationi omnino conſonum exiſtere, ut qui vitam traduxere laudabiliter, et ſtudijs literarum non minus gnaviter quam feliciter operam dedere, cohoneſtentur dignitatum honorumque Academicorum Inſignibus, nemo eſt qui ambigat; quippe cum hoc quaſi ſtimulo (honores enim artes alere notum eſt) magis magiſque excitari videmus quamplurimos, ad bonarum literarum ſtudia majori cum fervore perſequenda. Itaque venerabilis Vir D. THOMAS PARKERUS *Anglus*, ob morum gravitatem, honeſtatemque vitæ, nobis plurimum commendatus, cum in liberalium artium Magiſtrum promoveri petierit, unicequé deſideraverit gradum Magiſterij in Philoſophia eidem impartiri ut dignaremur, honeſtiſſimæ æquiſſimæque ejus petitioni benigne annuentes, dictum T. PARKERUM examine ſatis rigido tentavimus, et ejuſdem Philoſophiæ Artiumque liberalium cognitionem, plus ſatis exploravimus; ita ut illum exactiſſime reſpondentem, diverſas quæſtiones philoſophicas propoſitas aptiſſime reſolventem, nec non Theſes ex univerſa Philoſophia decerptas, publiceque ad diſputandum propoſitas, ſtrenue defendentem, non ſine magna admiratione audiverimus: In quibus omnibus, cum non tantum nobis abunde ſatisfecerit, ſed præter expectationem multum præſtiterit, atque adeo ſe Philoſophiæ Artiumque liberalium peritiſſimum declaraverit, Uno omnes ore, et concordibus Votis illum judicavimus cenſuimus, et cognovimus omnibus

modis

modis dignum et idoneum ut gradum Magisterij in Philosophia teneret, Magisterque liberalium Artium crearetur, renunciareturque.

Quapropter, ut pro meritis honorem, decus, authoritatemque majorem nanciscatur, uberioremque fructum laborum suorum, ex promotione aliqua consequatur, quod felix, salutare, faustumque sit Ecclesiæ, et Reipublicæ Christianæ: Ex authoritate et potestate illustrium Ordinum *Frisiæ*, decreto consensu nutu et approbatione omnium Professorum unanimi per doctissimum, celeberrimum, clarissimumque Virum D. JOACHIMUM ANDREÆ J. U. Doctorem, et juridicæ facultatis, nec non Philosophiæ practicæ Professorem ordinarium, et hujus Academiæ Rectorem Magnificum, post præstitum, quod hoc in negotio exigi solet, juramentum legitimum, omnibus usitatis ritibus cæremonijsque præmissis, dicto T. PARKERO dedimus, tribuimus, et contulimus Insignia, honorem, gradum, nomenque Magistri in Philosophia, eundemque declaravimus et renunciavimus, declaramus et renunciamus Magistrum Artium liberalium; ut ita isthoc titulo Magistri in Philosophia ornatus, plenam habeat potestatem legendi, docendi, interpretandi, publice disputandi in Philosophia, et dictis in Artibus; aliaque omnia et singula faciendi, dicendi et gerendi; item fruendi omnibus honoribus, privilegijs, prærogativis et præeminentijs, hic, et ubique terrarum, quæ ad verum hujusmodi Magistrum noscuntur quomodolibet pertinere. In quorum omnium argumentum, fidem ac firmitatem, hoc Instrumentum in membrana scriptum, dicti Domini Rectoris Magnifici in hoc actu promotoris, et Domini JOANNIS MAKOWSKY *Poloni*, S. S. Theologiæ Doctoris, ejusdemque facultatis, ut et Philosophiæ Theoreticæ, Professoris ordinarij; item Domini ADRIANI METII, in alma hac Academia nostra, Mathesios Professoris ordinarij; et denique Domini BROORII *ab* HANNYA *Frisij* J. U. Doctoris, hujus Academiæ Secretarij, subscriptionibus, et Academiæ nostræ Sigillo publico, et in gravioribus tantum causis usitato, confirmari atque muniri, ac dicto Domino T. PARKERO dari jussimus ac mandavimus. *Franekeræ*, ipsis Calendis *Aprilis*, MDCXVII.

Ex Decreto et Mandato Magnifici Rectoris, et DD. Professorum, scripsi et subscripsi *Franekeranæ* Academiæ Secretarius

Broorius ab Hamya.

Joachimus Andreæ Acad. p. t. Rector.

Johannes Makowsky.

assisted by Dr. William Ames, his father's friend and companion in exile, who at that time was regent of the Staten-College for theological students in the University of Leyden.[1]

Once more the young Englishman changed universities before taking a degree. Possibly some difficulty arose, because in all his academic wanderings Thomas had received no arts degree, a prerequisite for proceeding to the baccalaureate or doctorate in theology at most European universities. Perhaps it was easier to obtain this prerequisite at Franeker. In any case, the next trace we have of Parker is the record, on this unique imprint, of having taken the degree of Master in Philosophy at the University of Franeker on April 1, 1617. Cotton Mather must have seen a copy of this imprint, or the original diploma; for he quotes from it in the Magnalia.[2]

It will be noted that the first academic dignitary, after the Rector, who attests Parker's degree, is Johannes Makowsky, *Polonus*, S.T.D., Professor of Theology and of Theoretic Philosophy. Jan Makowsky (1588–1644) or Maccovius, as he is generally called, was a Polish Protestant of noble family, who professed theology in the University of Franeker from 1615 to 1644.[3] He was active, quarrelsome, and given to overindulgence in drink, which appears to have been a prevailing distraction at Franeker. A contemporary reports the students there as "Sacrificing to Bacchus, fighting, and . . . provoking one another to duels. . . . To Franeker I shall go, where the beer is praiseworthy as the wine is cheap, and the company so delightful that I shall spend all my money on conviviality.[4]

If Parker participated in these student revels, we know naught of it. His recorded distinctions at Franeker are of a more strictly aca-

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[1] For William Ames, see our Publications, XIII. 64–68; XXV. 70–83; and G.D. J. Schotel, De Academie te Leiden (1875), chapters iv, v.

[2] Ed. 1702, Book III. 144.

[3] See our Publications, XXV. 62, 75 *n* ff; and Abraham Kuyper, Jr., Johannes Maccovius (Leyden, 1899).

[4] Fur Prædestinatus (London, 1651), pp. 2–3. Quoted and wrongly attributed to Archbishop William Sancroft in the Dictionary of National Biography, the Cambridge History of English Literature, and J. B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, III. 426 *n*. It was merely a translation, possibly by Sancroft, of a satirical anti-Calvinist tract in three parts, by Hendrik D. Slatius, entitled Den Ghepredestineesden Dieff (The Hague and Antwerp, 1619–1622). There is an English translation called The Predestinated Thief; or a Dialogue between a Calvinistic Preacher and a Thief condemned to the Gallows, etc. (London, 1814).

demic nature. About the time of taking his degree, he published seventy theological propositions or theses which aroused tremendous excitement.[1] Supralapsarian in character, they were considered of a highly dangerous tendency. Sibrandus Lubbertus, colleague and rival of Maccovius, made Parker's theses the occasion of a violent attack on the learned Pole, who had been Parker's particular teacher, and had moderated the disputation in which he defended the theses. Hostility between these colleagues had long been smouldering; and there now broke forth an academic altercation which took on the nature of a public dispute. Lubbertus, in a letter to the classis of Franeker, declared that Parker's theses contained no less than fifty errors, which were worse than the heresies of Arminius; he compared them with certain theses defended by Maccovius on former occasions, and with students' notes of Maccovius' lectures. Before long the Provincial Deputation (the executive council of the Estates of Friesland) received a letter from the Faculty of Theology of the University of Heidelberg, bitterly complaining of Parker's theses as filled with errors, novelties, and ambiguous propositions. They demanded that the government investigate the University of Franeker and see to it that all such false doctrines be eradicated and their teaching forbidden. The Provincial Deputation took this charge seriously, and appointed a committee to look into the matter. The committee issued a report acquitting Maccovius of heterodoxy, especially of Socinianism, Gentilism, and Pelagianism.

The alarmed theologians were not satisfied, and the next year Parker's theses were taken up by the famous Synod of Dort. The initiative came from David Pareus, the eminent theologian of Heidelberg. Diodatus of Geneva regarded the question as a domestic one

[1] They were printed as Theses Theologicæ de traductione hominis peccatoris ad vitam, quas ad disputandum proponit Thomas Parkerus, Anglus. Fran. 1617. I take this title from W. B. S. Boeles, Frieslands Hoogeschool (Leeuwarden, 1878), I. 45. They are also printed in Ames's Disceptatio de Circulo Pontifico (Amsterdam, 1658), pp. 74–93 (copy in M. H. S.), and in Guilielmi Amesii Opera (Nethenus ed., Amsterdam, 1658), V; and the Synod's report on the theses is found in Nethenus' introduction to Volume I. A complete account of the controversy by J. Heringa is printed in Kist and Royaards' Archief voor Kerkel. Gesch. (Leyden, 1831), III. 503-664, a reference which I obtained from Hugo Visscher, Guilielmus Amesius (Haarlem, 1894), p. 49. My own account is largely obtained from Abraham Kuyper's life of Maccovius (Leyden, 1899), pp. 26–30, 54, 86–89, 92, 135–137.

that should be dealt with by the Dutch alone; but the Synod appointed a committee, including two Dutch and two foreign theologians, and two ministers not members of the Synod. The now famous Theses of the young Englishman were bitterly attacked by Lubbertus and stoutly defended by William Ames. This was not merely out of friendship for the young man, but because Ames was of the same Neo-Scholastic school of thought as Maccovius; the other Dutch theologians, it appears, had got beyond Scholasticism, and considered that way of thinking outmoded and papistical.[1] Ames declared that there was only one theological error in the theses; the rest were grammatical and rhetorical, and the Synod should not stoop to condemn mere mistakes in grammar.

On April 20, 1618, the Committee of the Synod handed in its report on what they called the "causa Maccoviana." Again Maccovius was acquitted of Socinianism and divers other heresies; but they deplored his usage in the theses of "certain ambiguous and obscure Scholastic phrases, which Scholastic method of teaching he presumes to introduce into the Belgian Universities, and he must be warned to speak with the Holy Spirit, and not with Bellarmine and Suarez." [2] The Synod accepted this report, and the matter was officially settled; but it was many years before theologians ceased to bandy words over young Thomas Parker's Theses Theologicæ de Traductione Hominis Peccatoris ad Vitam.[3]

Parker in the meantime had been almost forgotten. According to Cotton Mather, he intended to be ordained in Holland, but was put off through the hostility of Lubbertus; and although Maccovius obtained an order from the Estates that the ordination should proceed, Parker decided to return to his native place as schoolmaster. He also assisted Dr. William Twisse, the then minister of Newbury. For a

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[1] Kuyper (Maccovius, pp. 89, 135 *n*) points out that both Ames and Maccovius were Scholastic in their training and point of view; Ames being a disciple of William Perkins, and Maccovius of Keckermann. Hugo Visscher, on the other hand, asserts that Ames's defense was purely out of personal friendship. Since Parker's Theses are printed as Ames's in Volume v of his works, edited by his disciple Nethenus, it can hardly be doubted that Ames approved them.

[2] Kuyper, Maccovius, pp. 92–93.

[3] See the titles printed under Parker's name in the Catalogue of the British Museum.

time Parker studied Scholastic theology, but gave it up as spiritually unprofitable, although intellectually gratifying.

In 1633/34, Parker emigrated to New England in the Mary and John with a number of families who settled at Ipswich, where for a year he assisted Nathaniel Ward, the "simple cobler of Agawam." In 1635, with his cousin James Noyes and his nephew John Woodbridge, he founded the adjoining settlement of Newbury, Parker becoming pastor and Noyes teacher of the church. Despite his early training, Parker leaned toward Presbyterianism, which was not agreeable to his flock, who were nevertheless devoted to him personally.

Parker never married, but lived with his colleague. "There was the greatest Amity, Intimacy, Unanimity, yea, Unity imaginable between Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Noyes*," wrote Nicholas Noyes, a nephew to both.[1]

So unshaken was their Friendship, nothing but Death was able to part them. They taught in *one School;* came over in *one Ship;* were Pastor and Teacher of *one Church;* and Mr. *Parker* continuing always in Celibacy, they lived in *one House*, till Death separated them for a Time; but they are now both together in *one Heaven*, as they that best knew them have all possible Reason to be perswaded.

Noyes draws a charming picture of Parker in his old age, as a grave and kindly old bachelor who loved to sing psalms, who prepared boys for Harvard, putting them through Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammar without the use of the rod "unless for *Lying* and *Fighting*, which were unpardonable Crimes in our School"; who spent his spare time in writing interpretations of Bible prophecies;[2] and in the end "scarcely called anything his own but his books and his cloaths." He was much disturbed by his sister in England becoming unorthodox, and in a letter to her which was printed at London in 1650, with an introduction by Benjamin Woodbridge, he declares: "Your printing of a Book, beyond the custom of your Sex, doth rankly smell; but the exaltation of your self in the way of your Opinions, is above all."[3]

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[1] Magnalia (1702 ed.), Book III. 146.

[2] The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel Expounded. . . . By Thomas Parker, sometime of Newbery in Berk-shire, and now Pastor to the Church at Newbery in New-England. London, 1646, 156 pp. Copy in Boston Public Library.

[3] The Copy of a Letter Written by Mr. Thomas Parker, Pastor of the Church of Newbury in New-England, to His Sister, Mrs Elizabeth Avery, Sometimes of

Thomas Parker died at Newbury on April 24, 1677. Presumably the Franeker diploma, "in membrana scriptum," was found among his effects, and was printed in Boston by someone who was especially interested in the patriarch of Newbury. It has been suggested that the text might have been printed in the Netherlands in 1617, and the heading added after Parker's death on some surviving copies. But Dr. P. C. Molhuysen, Librarian of the Royal Library at the Hague, writes me that it was not customary for recipients of degrees in Dutch universities to have their diplomas printed, at least not before the nineteenth century; that he has never seen a printed copy such as this, and that the typography proves that this was not printed in the Netherlands. Our one surviving copy got into the hands of that indefatigable collector of New England items, Thomas Prince; and by him was preserved in order that posterity might know the academic distinctions of Thomas Parker.

Mr. Albert Matthews read a paper entitled, "Benjamin Franklin's Alleged Daughters."

Newbury in the County of Berks, Touching sundry Opinions by her Professed and Maintained (London, 1650), p. 13. Copy in Boston Public Library.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1932

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, November 21, 1932, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, in the chair.

The Records of the last stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death of FREDERIC WINTHROP, a Resident Member, on May 6, 1932, and of EZRA HENRY BAKER, a Resident Member, on September 22, 1932.

Mr. ALLSTON BURR, of Boston, Mr. PERRY GILBERT MILLER, of Cambridge, Mr. HENRY LEE SHATTUCK, of Boston, and Mr. KENNETH GRANT TREMAYNE WEBSTER, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ROBERT WALCOTT.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

During the past year, the Society has held three meetings. On December 17, 1931, at Mr. Morison's house, Mr. Matt B. Jones presented "Bibliographical Notes on Cotton Mather's 'Accomplished Singer,'" and the President communicated a paper by Thomas H. Johnson on "Jonathan Edwards and the 'Young Folks' Bible.'"

On February 25, 1932, at our Treasurer's house, Mr. Francis Parkman, continuing his family tradition, read a paper on "French Policy in the Mississippi Valley, 1697–1712." Mr. Tuttle read extracts from a contemporary diary dealing with the "Last Pomps of Governor Burnet," and Mr. Anderson read a note on "Governor Burnet as a Golfer," which provoked several members to give their views on the origin of golf and the merits of Governor Burnet. Pro-

fessor Hart concluded this meeting by an informal talk on the Washington Bicentennial.

On the evening of April 28, we were the guests of our Recording Secretary in the historic Apthorp House at Cambridge. In this eighteenth-century atmosphere, Mr. Matthews read a paper on "Certain Alleged Daughters of Benjamin Franklin"; Mr. Goodspeed contributed notes on "The Wicked Primer"; and the President spoke on "The Education of Thomas Parker, of Newbury." Our meetings have been well attended the last year, interest has been keen, and discussion brisk.

In the matter of publications, we are proud this year to be able to report completed performance, as well as notable progress. Volume XXVII of the Publications, covering the Transactions of the Society from January, 1927, to November, 1930, has been distributed. This volume contains a reprint from the original manuscript of Thomas Shepard's autobiography, with a bibliography of Shepard's writings by our present Editor, reprint and bibliography being a contribution of the Society towards the Tercentenary of Massachusetts Bay. After prolonged pains of parturition, in which three successive editors have served as midwives, and numerous members and others have rendered advice and assistance, the Society has given birth to the Index to Volumes I-XXV of its Publications. The first serial of Volume XXVIII, including Transactions for December, 1930, to April, 1931, has been printed and distributed to the authors of communications.

During the past summer and the present fall, your President and Editor and Mr. Chafee have spent much time and effort on Volumes XXIX and XXX, containing the Records of the Suffolk County Court from 1671 to 1680. The text, some 1100 pages, is all in page proof; Mr. Chafee is at work on the Introduction; and Mr. Waldo Palmer, who prepared the Index volume for the press, is indexing these two volumes. They should be distributed early in the new year. These forthcoming volumes are in the nature of an extra-curricular activity of Mr. Chafee and of your President, who wish therefore to warn the members that in spite of the Editor's professional efforts to cover up their deficiencies, these volumes must fall short of that high standard for accuracy, annotation, and consistency established for the Society's publications by Mr. Matthews and continued by his successors in the editorial office. The excuse of

Messrs. Chafee and Morison is that if they had not done it, the work would not yet have been even begun; that the money for printing these records was in the treasury; and that they felt that we should spend that money now, thus providing employment for expert printers, rather than hoard it up for later and we hope better times.

In addition to its work of direct publication, under its own name, your Society has become the principal supporter of the New England Quarterly, an historical review of New England life and letters founded by members of the Society in 1928, and now about to enter its sixth year. The New England Quarterly, both for its articles and its book reviews, has acquired a place that is filled by no other publication, and one that long needed filling. Although neither the editors nor the contributors are paid, the costs of printing are such that a quarterly of this sort cannot exist without a subsidy. For three years it was supported by contributions, in which members of the Society took a leading part; when the three years elapsed, the magazine must have succumbed to the depression, had not the Society come to its rescue with a subsidy.

Although this publishing programme has been expensive and your Society will have spent this year far more than its annual income, these unusual outlays had been anticipated by the Treasurer and Council by saving out of the income; hence we are still living within our means, and are not in debt. The Society is very fortunate in having no building to maintain, and but one small salary to pay; it can therefore devote almost its entire means to publication.

In 1928, Mr. George Nixon Black left your Society by will his splendid family collection of the manuscripts of General David Cobb, together with a bequest of $10,000. The Cobb manuscripts have now been handed over by Mr. Black's executor to the custody of your President. The publication of a volume of Cobb Papers, covering the years 1760–1820, will probably be undertaken by your Editor and Council as soon as sufficient income has accumulated from the Black and other funds.

The Society's usefulness as a publisher of important historical material is limited only by its income. Gifts and bequests to our publication fund will be thankfully received.

It will doubtless be news to many members that the Society possesses a small library, the bequest of our founder, Henry Herbert

Edes. Although Mr. Edes's widow had by his will the use of these books during her lifetime, she kindly turned over the bulk of them to the Society, which, after storing them in more or less inaccessible places, has been allowed to put them in one of the history seminary rooms of the Harvard College Library. The sale of a few duplicates provided for a bookplate and for binding and repairing other books that needed attention. This library is in daily use by Harvard graduate students in colonial history. Additions to it, in the field of New England colonial history, will be gratefully received; in particular we could put to good use a set of Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, many of the Prince Society Publications, a set of the Reports of the Boston Record Commissioners, and a set of the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In 1915, our associate Horace Everett Ware, with a gift of $500, established a fund for a memorial to the Founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. To this he added $2,000 by will, in 1919. By accumulation this fund now amounts to almost $6,000. Your Council thought it best not to expend this sum until the blare of trumpets connected with the Tercentenary had died away. But since other tercentenaries will shortly be upon us, they deemed this year opportune to carry out the purposes of Mr. Ware's bequest. The memorial to the memory of our Founders will take the form of a carved walnut setting for the inscription, the Charter, and the seals and insignia connected with the Founders. It will be placed in the Meeting House of the First Church in Boston, and in such a position that it will balance the Governor Hutchinson Memorial Doorway erected by this Society several years ago. A most beautiful and fitting design has been made by our fellow-member, Mr. Sturgis, and will be carved here from drawings and models made by him in Italy. It will be placed and dedicated early in the new year, when due notice will be given to members.

During the year the following members have been elected:

Resident:

Frederic Ives Carpenter
Robert Ephraim Peabody
Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr.
Harold Bowditch
William Emerson
Clifford Kenyon Shipton

Corresponding:

Leonard Woods Labaree
Walter Goodwin Davis
Max Farrand

Associate:

Timothy Leary

Under our new By-law, which provides for transference of a member from one class of membership to another when his residence is changed, there have been three transfers:

From Resident to Corresponding:

Worthington Chauncey Ford
Arthur Stanwood Pier

From Corresponding to Resident:

John Carroll Perkins

By death we have lost six members:

Ezra Henry Baker, Resident, 1910; died September 22, 1932. By profession a banker, director of many corporations, he devoted much time and energy to public institutions, notably to Radcliffe College. A man of strict integrity and unbounded generosity.

William Wallace Fenn, Resident, 1907; died March 6, 1932. An honor student at Harvard, his life was devoted to the Unitarian ministry, and to the Harvard Divinity School. Friend and guide to several generations of theological students; candid and scholarly investigator into the faith and forms of our Puritan ancestors; eloquent expounder of their ideals, defender of their way of life, which was exemplified in his own life of singular beauty and serenity.

Percival Hall Lombard, Resident, 1928; died January 22, 1932. After several years spent in Pennsylvania and the West, he divided his time between Brookline and Cape Cod, where he founded the Bourne Historical Society and raised the funds to rebuild the Pilgrim Fathers' trading post at Manomet. His last years were a courageous struggle to achieve a contented and useful life in the face of heart weakness so pronounced that he paid for attendance at even a single business or social function by complete exhaustion the following day.

Edward Percival Merritt, Resident, 1910; died at Mentone, April 16, 1932. A frequent contributor to our Publications, and Corresponding Secretary of the Society from 1927 to 1930; a painstaking

researcher in the ecclesiastical history of Boston; a modest gentleman of firm character and independent views.

Frederick Jackson Turner, died at Pasadena, March 14, 1932. Elected a Corresponding Member in 1899, he became a Resident Member in 1910 when he came to Harvard as Professor of American History, and Corresponding Member again when he returned to his native West, the full significance of whose history he was the first to disclose. President of this Society from 1914 to 1916. A delightful companion, a stimulating teacher, a professional scholar with insight and creative imagination, he gave a new turn to historical writing and research in the United States.

Frederic Winthrop, Resident, 1924; died May 6, 1932. A lover of manly sports and country life led to an interest in colonial history through his strong feeling of family loyalty, he attended our meetings regularly, entertained the Society at his Boston residence, and served for three years on the Council. A gentleman, sportsman, and worthy inheritor of a great name.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending November 14, 1932.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS — NOVEMBER 14, 1932

ASSETS

Cash:		
Income Balance	$16,602.96	
Less — Loan to Principal	7,089.61	$9,513.35
Investments at Book Values		
Bonds	$98,778.75	
Stocks	44,928.13	
Mortgages	10,500.00	
Savings Bank Deposits	2,750.77	156,957.65
Total Assets		$166,471.00

FUNDS

Total Funds	$149,868.04	
Income	16,602.96	
Total Funds		$166,471.00

INVESTMENTS AS OF NOVEMBER 14, 1932

Bonds:		*Book Value*	
$5,000	Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General 4's, 1995	$4,237.50	
5,000	Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	4,062.50	
5,000	Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50	
5,000	Cedars Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company First 5's, 1953	4,450.00	
5,000	Central Manufacturing District, Inc., First 6½'s, Series C, 1944	5,100.00	
5,000	Central New England Railway Company First 4's, 1961	3,512.50	
5,000	Central Pacific Railway Company First and Refunding 4's, 1949	3,762.50	
5,000	Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, 1958	3,375.00	
5,000	Chicago & Western Indiana Railway Company Consolidated 4's, 1952	3,640.00	
5,000	Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company Mortgage and Collateral Trust Refunding Gold 5's, 1940	3,762.50	
5,000	Indianapolis Power and Light Company First 5's, 1957	4,593.75	
5,000	Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railway Company First Refunding 6's, Series A, 1946	5,000.00	
5,000	New England Telephone and Telegraph Company First 5's, Series A, 1952	4,875.00	
12,000	New River Company First Mortgage and Collateral Trust 5's, 1934	11,130.00	
5,000	New York Water Service Company First 5's, 1951	3,650.00	
5,000	Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company First and Refunding 4's, Series A, 1961	4,105.00	
5,000	Texas Corporation Convertible Debenture 5's, 1944	5,012.50	
4,000	Union Pacific Railroad Series A, Equipment Trust 7's, 1933/34	4,000.00	
2,500	United States Cold Storage Company First Mortgage 6's, 1946	2,500.00	
4,000	United States Cold Storage Company First Mortgage 6's, 1945	4,000.00	
5,000	Western Union Telegraph Company Gold 5's, 1960	5,137.50	
5,000	Wickwire-Spencer Steel Company Prior Lien Collateral and Refunding 7's, 1935	5,000.00	
	Total Bonds		$98,778.75

Stocks:		
50 shares American Telephone & Telegraph Co. . . .	$8,593.63	
50 shares Consolidated Gas Company of New York, Common	3,077.50	
100 shares Electric Bond and Share Company Cumulative $6.00 Preferred	10,600.00	
50 shares E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Co.	2,683.75	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,565.00	
240 shares General Electric Company, Common . . .	5,719.50	
50 shares Insurance Company of North America . .	1,963.75	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation 7% Preferred "A"	6,750.00	
50 shares United States Cold Storage Corporation, Common		
Total Stocks		$44,928.13
First mortgages on improved property in Greater Boston		10,500.00
Deposit in Warren Institution for Savings	$2,711.43	
Deposit in Provident Institution for Savings	39.34	2,750.77
Total Investments		$156,957.65

COMPOSITION OF FUNDS — NOVEMBER 14, 1932

Publication Fund, established in 1893 by gift of $100 from Quincy Adams Shaw: composed of sundry small gifts and portions of the Income which were added from year to year. Income only to be used for Publications	$10,000.00
General Fund, established in 1893: composed of Admission Fees and Commutations added to Principal. Income only to be used for Current Expenses	33,631.09
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund, established in 1897 and 1898 by subscriptions in his memory. Income only to be used	10,000.00
Edward Wheelwright Fund, established in 1900 under his will without restrictions as to use	20,000.00
Robert Charles Billings Fund, established in 1903 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	10,000.00
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund, established in 1904 by a gift in his memory from his widow. Income only to be used	5,000.00
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., Fund, established in 1905 under his will. Increased by $2,000 in 1924 under the will of Elizabeth Winthrop. Income only to be used	5,000.00

Andrew McFarland Davis Fund, established in 1908 by a gift from him to be added to the permanent publication funds. Income only to be used	$2,000.00
William Watson Fund, established in 1916 under his will without restriction as to use	1,000.00
Horace Everett Ware Fund, established in 1916 by a gift of $500 from him. Increased under his will by sundry installments of cash since 1919. To be accumulated and used for Massachusetts Bay Colony monument or other memorial	6,027.10
George Vasmer Leverett Fund, established in 1920 under his will. Income only to be used for Publications	30,000.00
Henry H. Edes Bequest, established in 1923 under his will. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $3,000, when it shall be called the Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund. Income only to be used for special purposes	2,711.43
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund, established by sundry subscriptions from 1923 to 1925. To accumulate until it reaches the sum of $10,000. Income only to be used for Publications	4,498.42
George Nixon Black Fund, established in 1929 under his will without restriction as to use	10,000.00
Total Funds	$149,868.04

CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL OF FUNDS

Total Funds, November 14, 1931		$148,114.19
Add — Additions to General Fund:		
Profits on Sales of Securities:		
5 shares Boston Insurance Company	$294.80	
$5,000 New York Edison Company 6½'s, 1941	450.00	
$20,000 Western Telephone and Telegraph Company 5's, 1932	3,040.00	
Commutation — One life membership	100.00	
Savings Bank Interest transferred from Income	1.40	3,886.20
Income added to Principal:		
Horace Everett Ware Fund		341.16
Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund		254.63
Henry H. Edes Bequest		98.86
		$152,695.04
Deduct — Losses on Sales of Securities Charged to General Fund:		
$5,000 Cleveland Union Terminals Company 5½'s, 1972	$1,509.50	
5,000 England, Walton and Company, Inc., 6's, 1942	1,182.50	
2,000 Kingdom of Belgium 6's, 1955	135.00	$2,827.00
Total Funds, November 14, 1932		$149,868.04

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 14, 1931			$24,257.55
Receipts:			
Interest		$6,700.38	
Dividends		2,132.75	
Annual Assessments		680.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications		473.00	
Admission Fees		80.00	
Contributions		155.00	
Total Receipts of Income			10,221.13
			$34,478.68
Disbursements:			
Editor's Salary		$1,000.00	
Publications:			
Volumes 22 and 23	$1.00		
Volume 27	2,449.17		
Volume 28	1,206.43		
Volumes 29 and 30	5,631.48		
Consolidated Index	3,361.49		
Other Publications	4.76	12,654.33	
Annual Dinner		477.50	
New England Quarterly		2,000.00	
Bibliography of American Historical Writings		50.00	
Stewart, Watts and Bollong, accounting services		250.00	
Stenographic Services		100.00	
Stationery and Office Supplies		81.09	
Postage and Express		37.35	
Notices of Meetings		42.50	
Insurance on Stock		21.41	
Storage on Plates and Stock		65.44	
Union Safe Deposit Vaults		22.00	
Bank Collection Charges		1.05	
Bank Check Tax		.28	
Accrued Interest on Securities Purchased		476.98	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to principal		254.63	
Interest on Horace Everett Ware Fund transferred to principal		341.16	
Total Disbursements of Income			17,875.72
Balance of Income Cash, November 14, 1932			$16,602.96

PRINCIPAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, November 14, 1931			$7,423.68
Receipts:			
$2,000	Kingdom of Belgium 6's, 1955, sold	$1,615.00	
5,000	England, Walton & Company, Inc., 6's, 1942, sold	3,750.00	
20,000	Western Telephone and Telegraph Company 5's, matured	20,000.00	
5,000	New York Edison Company 6½'s, 1941, sold	5,450.00	
1,000	Union Pacific Railroad Equipment Trust 7's, matured	1,000.00	
5,000	Cleveland Union Terminals Company 5½'s, 1972, sold	3,373.00	
5 shares	Boston Insurance Company, sold	1,689.80	
	Commutation, one life membership	100.00	
	Transferred from Income to Principal:		
	Horace Everett Ware Fund Income	341.16	
	Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund Income	254.63	
	Interest on Warren Institution for Savings Account	98.86	
	Interest on Provident Institution for Savings Account	1.40	
	Total Receipts of Principal		37,673.85
			$45,097.53
Disbursements:			
$5,000	Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company General Mortgage 4's, 1995	$4,237.50	
5,000	Bell Telephone Company of Canada First 5's, Series B, 1957	4,062.50	
5,000	New York Water Service Company First 5's, 1951	3,650.00	
1,000	Cleveland Union Terminals Company First 5½'s, 1972	952.50	
5,000	Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 5's, 1944	3,872.50	
5,000	Central Pacific Railway Company First & Refunding 4's, 1949	3,762.50	
5,000	Indianapolis Power & Light Company First 5's, 1957	4,593.75	
5,000	Chicago & Western Indiana Railway Company Consolidated 4's, 1952	3,640.00	
5,000	Central New England Railway Company First 4's, 1961	3,512.50	
5,000	Chester Water Service Company First 4½'s, 1958	3,375.00	

15 shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company	$1,768.13	
50 shares Consolidated Gas Company of New York, Common	3,077.50	
50 shares E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Company	2,683.75	
50 shares First National Bank of Boston	1,750.00	
1 share First National Bank of the City of New York	1,565.00	
5 shares Travelers Insurance Company	2,225.00	
5 shares Boston Insurance Company	1,395.00	
50 shares Insurance Company of North America	1,963.75	
Interest on Warren Institution for Savings Account, added to principal	98.86	
Interest on Provident Institution for Savings Account, added to principal	1.40	
Total Disbursements of Principal		$52,187.14
Principal Overinvested, Borrowed from Income		$7,089.61

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year which ended November 14, 1932, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 1052-E in the Union Safe Deposit Vaults.

We herewith submit their report which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

NATHANIEL T. KIDDER
MATT B. JONES
R. AMMI CUTTER
Auditing Committee

BOSTON, November 21, 1932

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the following list was pre-

sented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

VICE-PRESIDENTS
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG
JAMES HARDY ROPES

RECORDING SECRETARY
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
ROBERT WALCOTT

TREASURER
JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

REGISTRAR
ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. Albert H. Hall, Mr. Arthur O. Lovejoy, Mr. Robert McElroy, Mr. Perry G. Miller, Mr. Robert E. Moody, Mr. Waldo Palmer, Mr. Philip S. Parker, Mr. Harold R. Shurtleff, Mr. Alexander Souter, Mr. John B. Wheelwright, and Mr. George G. Wolkins.

After the dinner Mr. Charles M. Andrews addressed the Society as follows:

Mr. President, fellow-members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and guests of the evening.

I bring to you the greetings of Connecticut, a Puritan state like your own, blood of your blood, bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh, a veritable rib from the side of your Puritan Adam. Connecticut

even better than Massachusetts represented before 1818 the Puritan ideal of a Heavenly City of God, guarded from contact with the outside world and protected by the hedge which Cotton Mather wished to erect against the wild beasts of the ungodly to save it from contamination and defilement. An isolated, agricultural community in colonial times, Connecticut lay in a kind of backwater, admirably adapted for a religious retreat, with few of the commercial contacts that opened for Massachusetts the doors of worldly ideas and wealth. With no Anglican church in her midst, as Boston had after the coming of Andros, with scarcely any incomers of foreign stock, and with a minimum of relationships with the mother country, she was able to keep herself religiously unspotted from the world. Her position, environment, and connections were all favorable to the retention of the Puritan tradition, unchanged in all essential particulars. In consequence, she became, to a remarkable degree, the home of a simple, unaffected Puritan life, and tenaciously carried the torch of Puritanism long after Massachusetts had begun to descend the slippery path toward Unitarianism and heterodoxy. Connecticut remained persistently orthodox until long after the Revolution, retaining a single church organization, dominated by a single prevailing habit of religious thought, and influenced by a single religious purpose. Throughout the colonial era her people lived quiet and harmonious lives, undisturbed by quarrels within or excitements without. They engaged in pursuits that were neither spectacular nor sensational, steadily establishing a habit of conservative thought and action that has lasted until the present day. Connecticut's history is the story of the most consistently Puritan of all the Puritan communities.

But I did not come here to talk about Connecticut or her history. The direction of my thoughts was determined by your president, who suggested to me, in his letter of invitation, that I talk about the "crimes and vices" of Massachusetts. He added that you would listen to me with patience and a considerable measure of tolerance no matter how provocative I might be. Presumably he selected this topic because he thought it would be congenial to me, as one born in Connecticut and now living there, to indulge in this gentle sport of recrimination. I thank him for his consideration, though I think he is wrong in his premise, and I would like to take a moment to tell you why.

Your president has this evening ventured into the field of genealogy. With so admirable a precedent, I should like to enumerate a few genealogical facts regarding myself, leaving you to judge how far I am qualified to discuss the seamy side of Puritan history. In my ancestry I possess a strange compound of Puritan acquirements. My paternal forbear, William Andrews, came over with the John Davenport company and settled in New Haven, where he lived for many years and brought up a family. On my maternal side I trace back in two directions: one to Robert Williams, of Roxbury, who came to Massachusetts about 1638; and the other through that sturdy patriot of eastern Connecticut, Eliphalet Dyer, famed for his connection with the Susquehanna Company and the militant frogs of Windham, and on up the line to William Bradford of Plymouth. These pillars of Puritan and Pilgrim descent are buttressed by two collateral members of the same family, William Williams, of Lebanon, the signer, my great-grandfather's brother, and his uncle Israel Williams, of Hatfield, the friend of Thomas Hutchinson, of whom my aunt, the genealogist of the family, wrote that "unlike most of the name he was a Tory in Revolutionary days, but not the less a patriot," for such was her fine sense of the fitness of things. Finally, I myself was born in Wethersfield, one of the three oldest towns of Connecticut, of a father who had lived for many years in the western Connecticut towns of Kent and Cornwall. Lest one should look among these various strains for some outside and corrupting influences, let me add that not one of my ancestors ever lived or married outside of Massachusetts or Connecticut, thus preserving unsullied the Puritan inheritance.

I would seem, therefore, to be pretty well compacted of Puritan stocks, fairly well distributed over different parts of the strictly Puritan area, and so to have in me, by virtue of my inheritance, no special antipathy to the Puritan cause. Had I acquired by descent some of the traits and characteristics of the founders of Rhode Island — Roger Williams and William Harris, William Coddington and John Coggeshall, Samuel Gorton and John Greene — as I have not; or could I go back — as I cannot — to some of the seventeenth-century settlers of Maine — Richard Vines or Edmund Godfrey or Francis Champernowne — the first group of whom were politely but firmly kicked out of Massachusetts, while the second had grievances against

her, I might be admirably equipped to comment with asperity upon the "crimes and vices" of your energetic and somewhat aggressive Puritan past.

But I am a Puritan of the Puritans, with an odd ancestry that for its variety probably few of you will be able to surpass; for New Haven, Plymouth, and Roxbury, not to mention Windham, Lebanon, Kent, Cornwall, and Wethersfield, have made their contribution to my ancestral record, each representative of a different and highly individualized Pilgrim or Puritan center of activity. As nearly all the adult males of my various families went either to Harvard or to Yale, no particularly devastating educational influences entered in to disturb the serenity of my lineage. Therefore there is nothing in the prepossessions inherited from my forefathers and foremothers that qualifies me for the task that your president has assigned me. I am not a student of criminology or penology and so am not qualified by any highly developed professional keenness of scent for ferreting out your assumed delinquencies. And I am still further relieved of the task because as a mere student of history I should only do my profession an injustice were I to take the part of one colony against another, to deal with the claims or counterclaims of precedence or priority, or to balance the respective virtues and vices of this or that group of peoples.

I prefer to speak of another variety of "crimes and vices," if we can use such strong language to indicate what at worst are mere frailties of our historical human nature. I should like to speak on the infirmities of some of the historians who, from one part of the country or another, have written upon the history of New England and the Puritans.

In the first place, far too many works of this kind have been written in the spirit of defense on the one side and offense on the other. Peter Oliver attacks the Puritans, Palfrey and his followers defend them, the unrelated Adamses — Brooks and James Truslow — return to the attack, and present-day writers are digging themselves in, planting countermines, and planning resistance. This literary warfare has been going on for many years, justification and recrimination following each other in cycles, making no progress, until each side loses its historical sense in the recurring effort to make good its arguments. I yield to no one in my respect for Palfrey's thoroughness,

comprehensiveness, and loyalty, but I have no liking for his pious reflections, serious omissions, and strong prejudices, his almost childlike belief in the perfection of his characters, and his uncritical defense of the Puritan system. Just as the Greeks found Aristides too faultless for human nature to endure, so Palfrey's opponents have taken pleasure in finding flaws in the Puritan character and in the system that the Puritans set up, and have gone to great lengths in their eagerness to expose the Puritans for what they think the Puritans were. It is unnecessary to say that history written for such a purpose is neither instructive nor honest.

In the second place, too many writers on the Puritans and on other of the early settlers of our country have made the historical error of reading, consciously or unconsciously, into the minds of men of two or three centuries ago ideas that are the result of very modern achievement; of searching among the writings and events of older days for manifestations of principles and practices of life and government that have had acceptance only in our own time. Inevitably such a method of approach leads to distortion and a loss of proportion. Writers of this type are looking at the scene from the wrong end, and, as a rule, unable to rid themselves of the prejudices, prepossessions, and values of the age in which they live, generally undervalue or enormously overvalue the significance of many things they find. It is dangerous to apply to the past what Mr. Edwin Mead approvingly calls "our higher enlightenment." For instance, this method of approaching American colonial history from the present instead of from the further past, results in ignoring or misunderstanding the place of a colony in the history of English colonization. Far too many writers are interested in the colonies only for their final contribution to the history of the United States and not for what they stand for in that great forward movement which we call the expansion of England. The first duty of the student of Massachusetts history is not to glorify the Puritan for his contribution to our national life and polity, but rather, in order to discover the position the Puritan occupied as part of a growing and enlarging kingdom, to trace without break the connection of Massachusetts with England throughout the entire colonial period. The first duty of the historian is certainly not, by reading backward, to emphasize the importance of the Puritans as forerunners of liberty, independence, and democracy, and so to perpetuate

that version of history which, dominated by the whig tradition, has had so baneful an effect on the writing of history both in England and America.

In the third place, there has been an appreciable absence, among writers on Massachusetts history, of the spirit and methods of the higher criticism in the handling of historical problems and of the evidences for their solution. The historian should be as curious as a cat and as inquisitive as a growing child. There is no good accomplished in repeating the same old tale, salted and savored to taste, year after year, as some college professors repeat their lectures. This is not perhaps a serious defect when one is merely imparting information of the kind found in a book of reference — and some teachers' handling of history does not go much higher — but it attains to the stature of a major delinquency when one is trying to quicken the understanding and to stimulate thought. I have always felt a liking for Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, who would not believe merely on hearsay evidence; and also for the man from Missouri, who will not take on faith but has to be shown. I may add to these twain a third, that member of our own Society who wrote some years ago a paper entitled "Historic Doubts on the Battle at Lexington." [1] I remember wondering at the time how anyone dared to question, in the presence of that great and awe-inspiring body, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the entire truth of this sacred event. It seemed as if such a writer were laying profane hands on the ark of the covenant. But times have changed since that article was written. Doubt is the beginning of wisdom, and this axiom applies equally to life and to history. Inquisitive scepticism is the motor power that makes for progress in the writing of history, and happy is he who possesses it, for he is not likely to be stalled on the road. Too much historical writing goes round and round without getting anywhere and is written as one would write a creed or a confession of faith, never to be questioned or doubted. There is nothing either orthodox or infallible about historical interpretation.

I should like to call my address "Historic Doubts Regarding Early Massachusetts History," and were I to present the subject in full, I should, like Luther, have to nail at least ninety-five theses of

[1] 2 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., XLIX. 361–386; reprinted in Harold Murdock, The Nineteenth of April, 1775, chapter i.

doubt to the door of this assembly room and detain you far beyond the time allotted me as a reasonable test of your patience. If in presenting some of these doubts I seem to be overemphatic, I shall say, as once did an eminent biblical scholar, "Gentlemen, my mind is entirely open in this matter. If I am wrong I shall welcome conviction. But I should like to meet the man who can convince me."

Here are a few of my doubts. I do not believe that the writings of Bradford or Winthrop, or of any other of the Pilgrim or Puritan Fathers, are beyond the reach of legitimate criticism. They are sources of supreme importance, corner-stones of our early Massachusetts historical structure, but they are neither infallible nor sacrosanct nor privileged beyond other works. Their creators were men of intense feeling and strong opinions, acting, as they believed, under the immediate direction of the Most High. These particular men were not unprejudiced, for each was writing to defend a cause, Bradford a kind of apologia for the Pilgrims, Winthrop a defense, whenever the occasion demanded it, of his own peculiar ideas of what should constitute Puritan policy in Church and State. Their works are, therefore, inevitably under a certain amount of suspicion at critical moments. I should not take Winthrop's word as final when he is commenting on affairs in Rhode Island, friendly as he always was to Roger Williams; I should not accept as true Winslow's delineation of the character of Samuel Gorton; I should not follow Bradford's opinion as reliable or his statements as proven when he is commenting on those whom he does not like or on those who were not in accord with Separatist ideals. Scholars criticize the books of the Bible, they raise questions regarding the truth of statements in medieval chronicles, and they lay unfilial hands on the writings even of John Adams the Great. Why then should Bradford, Winthrop, and Winslow be exempt?

I have my doubts regarding some of the motives assigned as inducing the Great Migration of the Puritans to New England. I am far from clear that the Puritan leaders left home because of persecution by either Archbishop Laud or anyone else. I have yet to find any instance where the word "persecution" can be legitimately applied to the treatment of Puritan ministers or laymen. The clergy were deprived of their benefices or silenced because they refused to obey the canons and rubrics of the Church to which they had given

their allegiance. Well, they ought to have been. But "discipline" is not "persecution," and as far as I know no Puritan minister who came to America was hounded and made seriously to suffer. Richard Mather was not molested although, as he himself acknowledged, he had refused for fifteen years to wear a surplice. Furthermore, no Puritan holding office under government was, as far as I know, deprived of his post because of his Puritan predilections. John Winthrop is customarily cited as a case in point, but there is no satisfactory evidence upon which to base such a conclusion, and my own belief to the contrary is upheld, to my satisfaction, by the editor of the second volume of the Winthrop Papers, who is also a doubter and who makes the further point that nothing was done to Emmanuel Downing, Winthrop's brother-in-law, who held a similar post in the Court of Wards and Liveries, and whose Puritanism was as strict as Winthrop's own. These Puritans did not leave England because of persecution, nor did they leave solely because they wanted to found a purer form of church polity and worship in the New World. They left because, in very considerable measure, they were disheartened at the condition of England, as they saw it from the Puritan point of view, and, fearful of the times and unwilling to try to improve them, they fled from England to avoid the impending calamities which they thought were about to descend upon their country.

This idea of seeking a refuge outside of England did not originate with the East Anglian and Lincolnshire Puritans, as has sometimes been said. There were Roman Catholics both in Elizabeth's day and in the early years of the reign of James I who would have been glad to leave England, but were unable to carry their wishes to fruition. The same idea took shape in the mind of the Reverend John White, of Dorchester, who, some years before the Winthrop group thought of going to America, dreamed of a settlement there that should serve the fourfold purpose of a fishing venture, a place of religious instruction for the fishermen along the coast, a center for the spreading of the Gospel among the heathen, and a retreat to which those might go who were both out of sympathy with the High-Church tendencies of the Anglican communion, and also could not tolerate Plymouth, where the Pilgrims had set up an ecclesiastical polity that renounced the Church of England and all its works. Hubbard calls White "one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in New Eng-

land," and it is hardly creditable that an Anglo-American, Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, should have been, and that too very recently, almost the first to give White his legitimate due. Professor Channing in his history does not even mention his name, but Professor Morison has given him his rightful place among the Founders.

Though the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company has been printed and commented on a score of times, no attempt has been made, except very incompletely by Dr. Charles Deane and as to its technique by Mr. Stewart Mitchell, to study it critically and to examine the circumstances under which it was granted. These circumstances are at best obscure and mysterious. I once asked Colonel Banks how he thought the charter was procured, and he replied bluntly: "By bribery." I am far from convinced that this is so. Knowing something of the ways of the English chancery, I think it impossible that a royal letters patent bearing the great seal could have been obtained by deliberately bribing the important officials concerned with its preparation and issue. Other royal favors might be obtained by bribery but not the passage of a charter through the seals. Nor do I believe that any change could have been effected by bribery or otherwise when once the charter was on its way. Much discussion has arisen regarding the so-called "abscinding" of the place of residence of the company, which Winthrop is thought to have said was obtained with great difficulty. His words are: "with difficulty we got this abscinded," the "this" meaning, supposedly, the place of residence. But the fact that Winthrop was not one of the petitioners and was not even a member of the New England Company, or of the Massachusetts Bay Company until eight months after its founding, and the further fact that the petitioners of 1628 had no intention of leaving England with the charter, preclude the possibility of such an interpretation. To have effected any change in a royal letters patent on its way through the seals would have required the connivance of the attorney general and at least three patent clerks — which is hardly conceivable. In fact, that which was abscinded was not anything in the charter itself but the continuance of the company's government in England, the "we" referring to the signers of the Cambridge Agreement, of whom Winthrop was one, and the "with difficulty" to the efforts of the signers after their return from Cambridge to obtain a decision in the courts of the company

favorable to their plan. This rendering of Winthrop's words is the more likely in that the company had not yet committed itself to so drastic a change as the transfer of the company and charter to America. Matthew Cradock's well-known remark means nothing more than that it might be well to increase the governing powers of the plantation at Salem so as to make it practically independent of the company in London and thus to satisfy the demands of those of the members who wished a change in plantation policy. The Massachusetts Bay Company in the summer of 1629 was already beginning to divide into two groups: one wishing to continue the original purpose for which the company was founded; the other expressing more interest in the plantation as a religious refuge and not averse to its Separatist tendencies.

I believe that in obtaining the charter heavy pressure was brought to bear in certain influential quarters and that a great deal of labor was employed and money expended in the accomplishment of the task. Why was it, if in May, 1625, Charles I could issue a proclamation declaring that a trading company was not a suitable agency for promoting colonization, that four years later he should have exactly reversed himself in granting a charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company? The only answer to this is that the thing was done with the utmost secrecy and that the charge later brought against the company of having worked surreptitiously is largely true. Are we to go farther and say that incriminating documents were deliberately destroyed? It is strange that all documentary evidence is gone that would throw light on the securing of the charter. It is of course possible that those concerned were careful to avoid putting their thoughts and actions on paper, and did their business largely by word of mouth. But I am not satisfied with this explanation. Some evidence would certainly have accumulated. Where, for instance, is the original of the patent to the New England Company that is imbedded in the charter of 1629? Other similar patents exist; why not that? We know that the original was taken over to New England, but all trace of it has been lost. The Pilgrims and Puritans were not above doing certain things that we today consider unethical at least. If the Puritans purloined and opened other people's letters, as they did on several occasions, they might well have felt justified, particularly at a time of such danger to their very existence as the threatened

attack on the colony in 1635, in destroying documents that they feared might inculpate them. If the original land grant of 1628 were not the same as the grant embodied in the charter of 1629, then the enemies of the company would have a very strong case against it. The members of the Long Parliament before 1645 are believed to have done away with the great masses of High Commission Records at the time of the trial of Archbishop Laud, and it is not inconceivable that the Puritans who went to New England did something of the same sort when in 1635 they found themselves under indictment in England for their misdemeanors in obtaining the charter and abusing its privileges.

It has always been taken for granted that the bringing of charter and company to America and the setting up there of an independent Puritan commonwealth was entirely legal and proper; and Palfrey consumes considerable space in an effort to demonstrate that the position the colony sought to occupy within the British system was a normal one. However much this thesis can be defended from the standpoint of America's future destiny, it cannot be defended from the standpoint of English law and the normal processes of English colonization. I think that there is no doubt today that the intention of those concerned with the procuring of the charter was that the company should remain in England and conduct its plantation from there as the Virginia Company had done in Virginia, as the London and Bristol Company had done in Newfoundland, and as the Massachusetts Bay Company itself had been doing in the case of Salem. Such procedure was the only normal procedure. Those who wanted to take company and charter to New England were very doubtful of the legality of their course, and in the Cambridge Agreement there is a clause stating that the terms would be binding only if the transfer were found to be legal. But there is nothing to show that the Puritans made any attempt to determine the legality or illegality of the scheme. This was due partly to the fear that inquiry would lead to publicity, the very thing they wished to avoid, and partly to the anxiety they must have felt lest a decision be rendered against them. Inquiry might lead also to a disclosure of the fact that the charter granted away land which for ten years had been the property of another corporate concern, the Council for New England. Probably the Puritan leaders thought it wiser to go ahead, risking

the chance of illegality, rather than to ask the crown lawyers for an opinion. No one except themselves seems to have been aware of the fact that they were taking company and charter to America, and the Great Migration of 1630 might well have been construed, if it aroused public attention at all, as merely a peopling of the colony already at Salem under Endecott. The Puritan leaders were probably wise in their decision, for I doubt very much if their actions would have stood the test of English law.

Older writers, as in Winsor's Memorial History of Boston, have been accustomed to speak of the Andros administration as a "usurpation," as if the Puritan commonwealth were a legal state and the annulment of the charter in 1684 the arbitrary and illegal act of a Stuart king. I think that the assumptions should be reversed and that the Puritan state should be judged a usurpation and the reduction of it to the status of a regular colony but a return to normalcy. The Puritans had settled on land that was the king's and were supposedly on a colony footing, but they took as their definition of powers something that was never designed for a colony at all, a charter granted to a trading and colonizing company in England. The whole situation was highly irregular and anomalous and foreign to the existing idea, or to any idea, of what a colony should be. No settlement that was demanding entire freedom from royal interference of any kind can be considered a normal colony. The stretching of the charter of a trading company into a constitution of a state that claimed for itself something akin to sovereignty can hardly be construed as a legal act. The king had never consented that charter and company should be removed out of the kingdom — this was done without the knowledge of the English authorities; he had never granted the company any such part of his regalia as would make this exercise of local independence a justifiable act in the eyes of the law; and he made manifest his displeasure at this unwarranted assumption of power by instructing his attorney general in 1635 to obtain a writ of quo warranto against the company. To say that the Puritan commonwealth existed as a lawful and normal community and that the king in reducing it to dependence on the crown was acting unjustly is but another illustration of how facts can be wrongly interpreted when viewed from the standpoint of our later struggle for independence and under the influence of ideas that have become integral

in our conception of liberty and the rights of man. To writers of this type any act of resistance to British authority during our colonial period is justified—a curious notion, but one that is entirely in accord with the whig tradition which sees in resistance to an executive authority a manifestation of progress toward liberalism and democracy.

It has been customary in the past to extol the political and social principles of both Pilgrims and Puritans as of great significance, in that they anticipated the doctrines which were destined in time to become the warp and woof of our American system of government. I doubt this. I doubt if in the writings of either Bradford, Winthrop, or Winslow or in the practices of either of the colonies can be found anything to warrant such laudation. The Pilgrims and Puritans were not utopians or dreamers as were Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker. They were hard-headed practical politicians of their own kind, and nowhere in their writings or applications of policy can we find any generalizations foreshadowing the ideals of the later American republic. They were none of them philosophers, theorists, or speculators. They were realists in every sense of the word and at bottom theological realists, in that their every thought and act had a religious end in view. They had convictions but not ideals. None of them would have subscribed to our American doctrines regarding Church and State, popular government, or religious freedom. I cannot imagine any of them saying with Hooker that the choice of public magistrates and the privileges of election belong unto the people by God's own allowance and that those who have the power to appoint officers have the power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them. I cannot imagine any of them agreeing with such utterances of Roger Williams as these: "The world is full of admirable men and women who are not Christians"; "The wisdom of God prefers some women before thousands of men"; "I say liberty and equality both in land and government"; "Kings and magistrates must be considered invested with no more power than the people betrust them with"; "The sovereign power of all civil authority is founded in the consent of the people." The bases of Winthrop's political thought were the overruling sovereignty of God, the natural character of the inequality of man, and the essentially autocratic organization of society, arising out of nature, order, and antiquity. Winthrop condemned democracy, equality, toleration, and

the separation of Church and State, denied free speech in principle as well as in fact, abhorred organized opposition in government, and believed that it was for the good of the people to vest all power in the hands of those most competent to exercise it. He took the ground that true liberty lay in subjection to authority, and that the authority of the magistrates was of divine origin, even though the men themselves might have been elected by the freemen of the colony. Such political dicta find no response in the mind of the modern American. In all Winthrop's writings there is to be found no developed body of thought on political or social subjects such as we find in Williams' Bloudy Tenent and its sequels and in his letters to the towns of Providence and Warwick. No one can defend Winthrop as a great political thinker, however much we may respect his character, or find in the early Massachusetts system a model society for the world of today. As I have said elsewhere, "the preservation of the religious doctrines of the Puritans, as shaped in the seventeenth century, the perpetuation of their ideals of government as worked out in the days of Winthrop and Dudley, and the continuance of a polity based on what these men conceived was God's will in his relations to men, could have been of no value to Massachusetts or the world."

One more point and I am through. There are writers — one quite recently — who have seen in the defiance by Puritan Massachusetts in the seventeenth century of the authority of the king and his executive, judicial, and legislative officials an early exhibition of the spirit of liberty which culminated in the Declaration of Independence of 1776. This attempt to establish a precedent and to find an analogy is but another demonstration of the danger of viewing the past from the present and of carrying back and planting where they do not belong notions and ideas that are foreign to that day and generation. The motives which underlay this early expression of independence of Crown and parliament were entirely unlike those of the later date; they were religious, not political, and touched in no way the question of allegiance or fidelity. Their ultimate purpose was to protect "the right form of church government and discipline" as "a good part of the Kingdom of Christ on earth." Emmanuel Downing and others openly acknowledged allegiance when they said that no colony could be "so foolishly besotted as to resist the protection of their natural prince." But they would not render obedience, however much they

might acknowledge the titular headship of their natural prince, for in the minds of Winthrop and the others — and also of the Connecticut Fathers, but not of those of Plymouth and the Rhode Island towns — the Lord's intention in the work overrode all the claims that England might have to exercise authority over them. They considered themselves free to shape their government according to their religious convictions as to what were the plans of God, revealed in the Old Testament and interpreted by the clergy of the colony. They had gone a long way to find a place where they might build up a church community of just this sort, and they did not propose to allow the plans of God to be overturned by the intervention of men, that is, to allow anyone not of themselves to reverse their judgments or to disallow their acts. There is nothing in all this comparable with the motives that actuated the signers of the Declaration of Independence one hundred and fifty years later.

These are not all the doubts that might be entertained regarding the statements of writers on the early history of Massachusetts, but they will suffice for our purpose. They have been brought to your attention not by a Connecticut man as such, but by a meddling historian. Connecticut is not jealous of Massachusetts, however often she may think that her neighbor and kindred state sometimes takes herself overseriously and is perhaps too closely wedded to a conventional view of the facts of her past. Connecticut accepts Massachusetts as the founder of the Puritan tradition, recognizes her as the powerful and influential leader in New England during the colonial period, and does not deny the fact that for many years she naturally and willingly followed the Bay horse, thinking her own thoughts but trotting along after her leader, in grateful appreciation of the latter's enduring qualities as a helpful and co-operative, if somewhat assertive, Puritan state. Connecticut has a claim to a greatness of her own and, *noblesse oblige*, is more than ready to concede a similar claim to a colony and state which is so intimately bound up, as is Massachusetts, with the destinies of America.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1932

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. Alfred Johnson, at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 50 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, December 15, 1932, at three o'clock, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the receipt of letters from Mr. Allston Burr, Mr. Perry Gilbert Miller, Mr. Henry Lee Shattuck, and Mr. Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. Walter Benjamin Briggs, of Cambridge, and Mr. Robert Earl Moody, of Boston, were elected Resident Members of the Society; and Mr. Samuel Flagg Bemis, of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Harold Robert Shurtleff, of Williamsburg, Virginia, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. George Andrews Moriarty, Jr., presented the following paper:

THE HEIR OF A LANCASHIRE HOUSE

Any antiquary who has carefully studied the town records of our New England coast towns, even the most remote, knows how, sooner or later, among the dreary lists of hog-reeves and fence-viewers, he is bound to come across some item of striking and romantic interest.

The town of New Shoreham, Rhode Island, which is synonymous with the island of Block Island, lies some fifteen miles south of Point Judith, between the entrance of Long Island Sound and that of Narragansett Bay. It was settled in 1660 by persons from Braintree, Dorchester, and Roxbury, and until 1663, when it was included in

the Rhode Island Charter, it was part of the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts. The principal settler, whose descendants long continued as the chief persons on the island, was Simon Ray, the scion of an ancient Suffolk (England) family, who came from Braintree in the first settlement and who died on the island at the ripe age of ninety-nine years. He was the chief town magistrate and Justice of the Rhode Island Court of Common Pleas in the time of Sir Edmund Andros. Two of his granddaughters, Anne and Catherine Ray, became respectively the wives of Samuel Ward and William Greene, both Governors of Rhode Island, while his great-granddaughter, Catherine Littlefield, married General Nathaniel Greene. In 1794, Catherine Greene, then a venerable lady, wrote an account of her family for her little grandson. In this account she states[1] that her aunt Mary Ray, the daughter of the aged patriarch Simon Ray, "married an Englishman and he took her to England and she was the first American lady presented at Court and kissed the King's hand." The New Shoreham records inform us that this Mary Ray married, October 11, 1683, one Roger Kenyon, and the birth of their son Roger was recorded on January 23, 1684/5. After that the island records are silent as regards the couple, and I was inclined to believe that Mrs. Greene's statement was one of those flights of the imagination in which old ladies are apt to indulge when talking of their families' past glories. It was, therefore, with great surprise that in turning over the pages of the town records I came upon a deposition dated October 20, 1707, made by Sarah Dickens, of New Shoreham, in which the deponent states she was present at the marriage of Roger Kenyon and Mary Ray, the parents of the Roger Kenyon for whom the deposition was made, and that the elder Roger was the reputed son of Roger Kenyon, Esq., of Peele Hall near Manchester in Lancashire.

To anyone familiar with local Lancashire history this discovery was very exciting, for not only were the Kenyons one of the most ancient families of the Lancashire gentry, but Roger Kenyon of Peele was a man of considerable note in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was M. P. for Clitheroe, Clerk of the Peace for the County Palatine of Lancashire, and Governor of the Isle of Man under Lord Derby. His wife was Alice, daughter and heiress of George Rigby, Esq., of

[1] The Descent of Comfort Sands (1886), p. 45.

Peele Hall, a member of the famous Lancashire family of Rigby which played an important part in the history of our own Province of Maine. Dugdale, in his Visitation of Lancashire for 1664–5 (p. 166), gives three generations of the ancestors of Roger Kenyon of Peele Hall, but in Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees a full pedigree appears, tracing their descent from Adam de Lauton of Mackenfield in 1154, whose grandson Jordan de Lauton, living in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, assumed the name of Kenyon from the lordship of Kenyon given him by his father. All the pedigree makers agree that the eldest son and heir apparent of Roger Kenyon of Peele Hall was Roger, born at Peele Hall on February 5, 1659/60, and that he was educated at Cambridge.[1] They further state that he died unmarried and without issue. The later Kenyons, including Lloyd Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice of England in 1788, who was raised to the peerage as first Baron Gredlington, descended from Thomas Kenyon, the third son of Roger of Peele. George Kenyon, second son of Roger of Peele, a barrister, was M. P. for Wigan and Clerk of the Peace for the County Palatine. The English antiquaries give a very full account of the descendants of George and Thomas but nothing further regarding the eldest son, who we now know did not die unmarried or without issue.

The Kenyon Family archives, printed in the Fourteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (Appendix, Part IV), reveal a few references to this eldest son, which, although meagre, are of high dramatic interest. The first (p. 92) is in a letter from his grandmother Jane Kenyon to his mother, dated May 4, 1672, in which she urges that "little Roger" shall not be sent back to Mr. Pimlow's school, where he has been unkindly treated. The unfortunate experience at Mr. Pimlow's was but the prelude to a singularly unhappy life. On August 2, 1683, Richard Rigby writes from London (pp. 166–167) to Roger Kenyon of Peele that Captain Shapley will sail on the tenth instant (presumably to Barbados) and hopes to be there in October.

> He tells me [that your son] is extraordinary penitant, and undergoes his slavery as contented as the thing will bear; but he has noe more for his day's work than meat and drink. His work is, every day, to carry

[1] The Cambridge University records show, however, that it was not he but his cousin, Roger Kenyon, afterwards Court Physician at St. Germain, who graduated at that University.

timber from the water side to make fences. It is very happy that he came acquainted with soe honest a man as this captain; for he tells me that cousin Roger works so ill, that his master designed to sell him, where it might have been much wors. He intreated the captain much to have brought him, and had don it, but that his wife persuaded to the contrary, because he undertook such a thing before, and the party run away as soone as he came to shore.

Prior to this letter Roger Kenyon of Peele had had later information as to his unhappy heir, for on July 19, 1683, Edward Tarleton wrote him from Liverpool as follows (p. 162):

My sonne Edward, beinge arrived from Barbados, gives mee account that your sonne tooke occasion to leave Barbados, and is safely arrived at New Yorke, in America, where he teacheth gentlemen's children, and is engaged to continue for two or three yeares, by covenant with a gentleman there.

Evidently covenants had small weight with young Roger, for this same year he was at Block Island, where he married Mary Ray and had a son, Roger III, born the succeeding year. It seems quite likely that Simon Ray had hired him as tutor to his only son, Simon, Jr., then about eleven years of age. Henceforth we find little more concerning Roger, Jr., and his family in the Kenyon papers and nothing in the Block Island records except the deposition above referred to, which was made when Roger III was twenty-one. The latter appears to have been brought up at Block Island by his maternal relatives, and at twenty-one was arming himself with this deposition preliminary to claiming the family estates in Lancashire.

Here my information rested for a long time until Mr. Percy Clapp, of New York, who descended from another of Simon Ray's daughters, in a search for his own ancestors in the New York Archives stumbled upon a series of most interesting depositions made at this same time and evidently part of the proof which Roger III was getting together for his claim. They are so interesting that I have ventured to quote them here at length. The depositions have a covering certificate from the Governor of New York, dated March 16, 1707/8:

By his excellency Edward Viscount Cornbury Capt. Generall and Governor in Chiefe of Her Maties Provinces of New York New Jersey and territories depending thereon in America and Vice Admirall of the

same &c. to all persons to whom these presents shall come or whom they shall or may concerne greeting

Whereas Roger Kenyon by his peticon to me preferred did pray that I would admitt some persons to come before me upon their corporal oath to declare what they did know concerning the said Roger Kenyon . . . his being the son of one Roger Kenyon late of Rhode Island deced who was son to one Roger Kenyon late of Peal Hall near Manchester in the county of Lancaster . . . which reasonable request I being willing to grant do hereby certify and declare that Robt. Orchard, John Sands and Sibil Sands being persons of very good reputation and creditt did severally before me make oath . . . unto the truth of the contents of the deposition unto which each persons severall name is subscribed . . . I have therefore in testimony hereof caused the Broad Seale of this Province of New Yorke to be hereunto affixt att Fort Anne in New Yorke this sixteenth day of March in the seaventh year of the reign of our Soverign Lady Anne . . . anno dom. 1707/8.

The depositions were all dated March 11, 1707/8, and, unnecessary verbiage omitted, read as follows:

Robert Orchard aged 70 or thereabouts . . . saith that in . . . 1683 or thereabouts being occasionally employed by one Standish of Standish in Lancashire . . . and coming to a towne called Armskirke . . . upon busyness was advised to goe to Roger Kenyon Senr: who was then Clarke of the Crown office and comeing to said Kenyons house called Peele Hall . . . he this deponent found there Roger Kenyon Junr son of said Roger Kenyon Senr who had lived some time in New England being the reputed father of Roger Kenyon lately of Block Island now of Westchester in said Province of New York and . . . further saith that he resided some time in the house of the said Roger Kenyon Senior who with his wife did own the said Roger Kenyon Junr to be their son and that Mary the wife of the said Roger Kenyon Junr (who was the reputed daughter of Symon Ray late of Block Island) being then with her said husband at Peel Hall . . . soe farr as this deponent could mark received likewise from . . . Roger Kenyon Senr and his wife kind treatment suitable for a daughter and this deponent further saith that some time after that he . . . came passenger in a ship for Boston of which one Timothy Clarke was Commander and . . . Roger Kenyon Junr and his wife came likewise passengers in the said ship with him that afterwards . . . Roger Kenyon Junr returned to England again and from thence as this deponent was informed went to Ireland and there dyed.

John Sands aged 56 or thereabouts deposeth . . . that at Block Island . . . he . . . came first acquainted with one Roger Kenyon and was informed that he . . . came from England to Barbadoes and that he brought with him a small cargoe which was given him by his Father one Roger Kenyon of Manchester . . . but haveing much sickness in Barbadoes did not only spend what he brought with him but was brought soe much in debt that he was obliged to bind himself out some time to clear himself of the same and this deponent further saith that upon his being more intimately acquainted with . . . Roger Kenyon he told him that he was the son of Roger Kenyon of Manchester . . . who lived at a place called Peele Hall and that notwithstanding his misfortunes if he could gett a letter to his Father he would soon release him and . . . soon after . . . Roger Kenyon marryed with one Mary Ray of Block Island and further saith that he this deponent being Clarke of Block Island and keeping the Records and Register for the same . . . Roger Kenyon came . . . and desired him to enter the date of his marriage which he . . . did accordingly that some time afterwards . . . the said Roger haveing a son born desired this deponent to enter in the Registry the birth of his son which he did . . . and this deponent inquireing of the said Roger what might be the reason of his being soe exact in the registring the birth of his son he replyed he is an heire of a gret estate in England and if I should die and my son should not be entered in the Register he might be defrauded of it. Further this deponent saith that Roger Kenyon who requested this deposition of him being acquainted with him from his childhood to this moment is the very person who was by him so registred . . . and that he was ever since reputed to be the son of the first named Roger Kenyon. Further this deponent saith that said first abovenamed Roger Kenyon told him that his grandmother had left him a considerable estate which was put out to use.

Sybell Sands aged 43 or thereabouts deposeth that [she] was well acquainted with one Roger Kenyon who came from England by the way of Barbados as this deponent was informed and that some time after he was marryed to Mary Ray the daughter of one Simon Ray late of Block Island in the Government of Rhod Island deced . . . that he . . . as it was reputed had issue by his said wife Mary a son which is named Roger at whose birth the said Roger Kenyon much rejoyced and told the company then present that he was glad he had a son born for he was heire to a great estate and this deponent is well assured that Roger Kenyon who requests this deposition of her is the very person soe born . . . being acquainted with him from his childhood to this time.

The Kenyon Family papers show that Roger Kenyon of Peele made a bargain with Captain Shapley to bring Roger, Jr., home "for 20*l.*, that is, 10*l.* to redeem him, 5*l.* his passidge and 5*l.* to bear his [own] charges." The captain further informed the family that it was "very necessary to send him a sute of clothes, being very naked, and a perriwigg." [1] Shapley sailed in August, 1683, and in March, 1683/4, Roger was expected to arrive at Plymouth. William Hayhurst was sent to Plymouth to meet him but could not find him although he searched everywhere, even in the prison. This is quite understandable, as he was evidently at this time with his father-in-law on Block Island. Concerning his subsequent history I know nothing beyond the deposition of Robert Orchard.

As to the boy born at Block Island in 1685, darkness covers his history from the day these depositions were made to the present moment. Whether he died on a voyage to England or was made away with, after his arrival, on account of his undoubted but probably unwelcome claims, I cannot say. The whole story as here told in the matter-of-fact language of the records might well have formed the plot of a Sabatini novel.

The Editor, on behalf of Mr. Robert F. Seybolt, of Urbana, Illinois, communicated by title a note on

STUDENT EXPENSES AT HARVARD, 1772–1776

Through the kindness of George Palmer Morey, Esq., of Lexington, I have been permitted to reproduce the diary kept by his great-great-grandfather, George Morey,[2] while a student at Harvard. This little book, with its abbreviated entries of expenses, affords a glimpse of student life in the late eighteenth century. It adds an interesting document to the collection of source materials relating to the history of Harvard College.

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[1] Fourteenth Report, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix, Part iv. 166.

[2] George Morey, born at Norton, Massachusetts, December 18, 1750, was the son of George and Mary (Hodges) Morey. He matriculated at Harvard College, December 18, 1772, and graduated in 1776. He was ordained a Congregational minister at Walpole, November 19, 1783, and died there, July 26, 1829.

Anno Domini 1771 to money that I George Morey have paid for Boarding Tuition Cloaths and Expences [1]

	£ S D Q
to m[r] Isaac Hodges for Boarding	1= 0= 0=0
to m[r] Ebenezer Titus for Boarding	1= 4= 0–0
to m[r] W. Cobbs for Bg	1= 1= 0–0
to m[r] House for Boardg	4= 4= 0–0
to m[r] Guile & m[r] Newcomb for Tuition [2]	1=10= 6–0
to Books	3= 1– 2–0
Anno Domini 1772	
to m[r] House for B'g	4=17= 0=0
to m[r] Newcomb for Tu	1– 2– 0–0
to m[r] Steward Colledge when I gave Bond	1–10– 0–0
for expences and Cloaths	12– 8– 0–3
for Books	2–14· 7–2
to the Coll[g] Steward	8·19·11·0

This accompt is from January 1771 to September 1773 the whole that it has cost me is

three pounds unpaid	£46–16·11·0
to money to bair my expences from Norton to Cambridge	0– 2– 0–0
for money to pay part of the first Quarter Bill 1773	£ 1:10: 0–0
for money to buy one Load of wood	0– 4–10–0
another Load my part	0– 4– 6–0
for a nother Load of wood my part	0= 4– 0–0
to money that I spent a coming home from Cambridge	0· 2· 0·0
for money to buy a Knife & a pair of Buckels	0– 1: 7·0
for money to buy materials	0– 0– 8·0
for money to bear my expences to Cambridge	0– 1· 6·0
February 1774 for money to pay the Second Quarter Bill to the Steward	2·11· 7·3
For the second Buttery Bill from Sep[t] 11 to Dec[r] 11. 1773	0: 4· 6·½
for money for several things	0· 9· 0·0
2d Sweper's Bill	0· 2· 0·0

[1] The earlier part of the diary, January, 1771, to December 18, 1772, refers to the period during which Morey prepared for college.

[2] Possibly Benjamin Guild (H.C. 1769; tutor 1776–1780) and Daniel Newcomb, of Norton (H.C. 1768).

	£	S	D	Q
For money I paid 28th April 1774				
For the third Quarter Stewd Bill	1:	11·	1·	3
and Buttery Bill	0·	3·	3·	½
and Sweper's Bill	0·	2·	0·	0
for money to bear my expences down to C	0·	1·	8·	0
for money to pay for a pair of Gloves	0·	5·	4·	0
And taping a pair of Shoes	0·	2·	4·	½
for money to buy a pair of Shoes	0·	7·	1·	⅓
for money to buy a Supper	0·	0·	8·	½
May 27 for money to buy Cloath and triming for a Suit of Clothes and for a Summer Gound & two pair of Stockings	£3:	19:	6:	3
For money to buy Burlamaque [1]	0·	10·	0·	0
for money to pay for making a Suit of Cloaths and a gound	0:	14·	5·	0
to money to bare my Expencees Home	0·	4·	0	
to money to bare my Expencees Home	0:	1:	0	
to money to buy Cloth at Isaac Smiths	1:	12:	8	
to money to bear my expencees down to Cambridge		6–	0	
To the Barber one Quarter		6–	8	
To a Book-Shealf August 17.1774		0–	8	
To paying for Botoming a Chair		1:	11	
To money to Fruits	0·	0·	6	
To money to buy rum and Cherys for a Mixture	0:	4:	6	
To Doctor Kneeland [2]	0:	3:	0	
To two Buttery Bills	0:	17·	5	
To the Sweeper two Bills	0:	4:	0	
To a Book i. e. Wollebius [3]	0:	2:	5	
To the first Quart Bill from June 10 to Sept 9.1774 with the Accompt rend.	8·	3·	2·	2
Expences from Home to Cam	0:	2·	0·	0
Nov 30 to money to buy a Gound ready made	1:	13·	0·	0
In January & Febuary for money to bear my Expences Home and back again to Colledge		4:	0·	0
for Cloth for Shurch [4] and making		14	0	0

[1] Jean Jacques Burlamaqui. A commonly used book by him was Principes du Droit Naturel (Geneva, 1748). English editions, in two volumes, with the title The Principles of Natural Law, appeared in 1748–1752 and 1763.

[2] William Kneeland (H.C. 1751; tutor 1754–1763) was a physician in Cambridge at this time.

[3] Joannes Wollebius. His Abridgment of Christian Divinitie (London, 1650) was long in use by Harvard students.

[4] Shirts.

	£ S D Q
for the second Quart Bill Stw^{d}	1:12: 6·0
Also Swepers Bill	0: 2: 0·0
Also a pair of Shoes	0: 7· 7·0
Also taping a pair of Shoes	0: 1· 7·0

From the Vacation of the 12th of April 1775 till I went to Concord to College [1]	£1·15· 0
to more Expences	0·13· 0
to my last Buttler's Bill	1· 3· 0
to my first Bill at Concord	3· 9·11
to other Expences	1· 0· 0
for money to buy a Watch	6· 9· 0

January 10th 1776

All the money that my Board Tuition and Cloths together with my Books and other Expences have cost me from the time I began to learn lattin untill now which I have account of is £92·17–9–

January 25th 1776 for money to buy Cloth for and making a pair of Breaches	£1· 8· 7·0
to other Expences at this time to Providence	0· 8· 0·1
To other Expences	0· 3: 0·0
To money to buy Fergoson [2]	0·12· 8·0
To money to pay the Steward the first Quar Bill from June 9 to Sep. 9. 1775 and Sweper's &c	2·13· 3:2
For money to bear my Expences to Concord and the returning my Horse and Chaise	0·14· 0·0
Febuary 16th to money to pay for the hire of a Bed	0· 6· 0·0
to money to buy a pair of sleave Buttens	0· 9· 0·0
to money to bear my Expences to Cambridge	2· 0·0
for mending Shoes	0· 6·0
to money to buy Wood	0· 2· 3·0
For money to buy a pair of Shoes	0· 8· 0·0

[1] During the concentration at Cambridge after April 19, 1775, and throughout the siege of Boston, the colonial troops used the college buildings as headquarters. The students dispersed late in April. In September, 1775, they were notified that instruction would be resumed in Concord. On June 21, 1776, "the students were again assembled within the College walls, after a dispersal of fourteen months." Quincy, History of Harvard University, II. 169.

[2] Probably a book by either Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), professor of philosophy at Edinburgh, or James Ferguson (1710–1776), British astronomer.

	£	S	D	Q
April 2d 1776 Dr for money paid for Boarding	2	10	8	
for Washing	0	8	8	
for a pair of Boots	0	12	0	
for money to buy Wood	0	1	0	
for three Shirts and the hire of a Bed	0	16	4	
for money to bear my Expences from Concord	0	2	0	
for money to bear my Expences from Home to N° 5.	1	4	0	0
Expences in Enocolation	3	0	0	0
for Horse keeping	0	12	0	0
Expences from N° 5. to Lime	1	1	2	0
Expences from Lime to Concord	0	15	0	0
to Expences to the Barber	0	4	0	0
to Horse keeping		3	8	0
to Washing	0	1	9	0
Expences from Concord to Norton	0	2	8	0
July 16th 1776				
the last Stewds Bill	0	7	0	3
to ye President for a Degree	1	0	0	0
to money to buy a Handkerchief and Necking	0	6	2	3
to Expence money to Cambridge		9	3	0
to a Horse to Cambridge in part		3	8	0

July 18th 1776 I computed the whole Expences I have been att since I began to fit for College, in Clothes, in College affairs, Books, Jurneying, having the Small-Pox, other Expences of what name or nature soever and find it £114·3·1·1
N.B. Not an exact Accompt.

Mr. Perry G. Miller presented a communication, published elsewhere,[1] entitled, "Was the Massachusetts Bay Company Separatist?"

The Editor presented by title, on behalf of Mr. Bartlett Whiting, a note on

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR THOMAS OLIVER IN BRISTOL

In a paper on Thomas Oliver, written by Professor Oliver Elton, and printed earlier in this volume,[2] the following statement appears:

[1] Orthodoxy in Massachusetts (1933), chapters v–vi.
[2] Above, pp. 37–66.

"It is not known when Oliver settled in Bristol, or when the first Mrs. Oliver died." [1]

The date of Oliver's removal to Bristol is to be found in a series of statements in the Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen of Salem. Curwen graduated from Harvard College in the Class of 1735, exiled himself to England in 1775, and returned to America in 1784. His papers afford a mine of valuable information about the doings and sentiments of many of the unfortunate Loyalists who retreated to the mother country.

On June 10, 1776, in a letter to Dr. Charles Russell, he reports the arrival from Halifax of Colonel Oliver with other refugees.[2] His next reference to Oliver is in a letter to John Timmins from Sidmouth, dated July 12, 1778, in which he writes: "at Exeter, fourteen miles off, are Col. Erving's family, Col. Vassall, Mr. Lechmere; and late Lieut. Governor Oliver is soon to be there." [3] On September 28, 1779, Curwen is in Bristol, and notes in his Journal: "Meeting Colonel Oliver, late lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, he informed me of his residence." [4] Next day he is "invited personally by Colonel Oliver to a family dinner, meeting only his daughters and his brother-in-law, John Vassal." [5] On November 26, he "visited Mr. Barnes and Col. Oliver with Peter Frye; dined with them and Benjamin Pickman at Mr. Lechmere's; conversing on American politics and Salem affairs"; [6] and two days later he "dined with Col. Oliver in company with Peter Frye and Benjamin Pickman." [7] Curwen again dined in company with Oliver on March 4, 1780, this time at the home of Jonathan Sewall, Jr., at Bath.[8] In a letter to William Pynchon, of Salem, under date of April 19, 1780, he lists the American colony in Bristol, which included "Col. Oliver and six daughters." [9]

These statements settle the question of Oliver's arrival at Bristol, and indicate that his wife was dead at the time. Her death, as Professor Elton shows,[10] must have occurred after July, 1776.

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[1] Above, p. 61.

[2] The Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen of Salem, G. A. Ward, Ed. (1844), p. 59.

[3] Id., pp. 195–196.

[4] Id., p. 223

[5] Id., p. 223.

[6] Id., p. 225.

[7] Id., p. 225.

[8] Id., p. 235.

[9] Id., p. 237.

[10] Above, p. 61.

Mr. Morison communicated by title a

NOTE ON SYLVANUS WALDERNE

In editing the Elnathan Chauncy commonplace book, Professor Kittredge and I were brought to a standstill by the name Sylvanus Walderne, subject of the elegy with medial acrostic which is printed on page 3 of this volume. When almost persuaded that the name was a classical cognomen for some Nick o' the Woods, I came upon it on the fly-leaf of a book in the Harvard College Library. Our copy of Corona Virtutum Moralium (Frankfort, 1628), a text-book on ethics by Johann Magirus, bears on the inside back cover the printed book-label of Elisha Cooke (A.B. 1697), and on the rear fly-leaf the signature "Siluanus Walderne" here reproduced.

Savage's Genealogical Dictionary states that the eldest son of the well-known Major Richard Waldern,[1] of Dover, New Hampshire, was "Timothy, who is said to have died at Harvard College before graduation." The local historians follow Savage, one of them dating Timothy's birth "about 1646,"[2] but this appears to be mere guess-work. It is not likely that Timothy was born after 1640, or that he died in college, for he signs as witness to an agreement between his father and Philip Cromwell, dated November 26, 1660.[3]

It seems probable, then, that family tradition confused Timothy Walderne with a brother Sylvanus, who died while a student in college, and inspired Elnathan Chauncy's "mourneful elegys." No Walderne is found in Deacon Chesholme's Steward's Book, which covers the classes through 1663; but neither for that matter is Elnathan Chauncy or his two brothers, or Recompense Osborne, all of whom graduated

[1] So he generally spelled his name, although his descendants called it Waldron. The most extended notice of him is in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, VIII. 332–352.

[2] John Scales, History of Dover, N. H. (1923), p. 325.

[3] New Hampshire Province Deeds, II. 94b, 95a ("True coppies" of originals brought into court, June 28, 1664), MSS., N. H. Historical Society, Concord.

with the Class of 1661, and in that order. Possibly this group, with Walderne, lodged and boarded with the President, and paid their tuition to him personally. This would account not only for their absence from the Steward's Book, but for Elnathan's special grief over the death of this long-forgotten scholar.

When this note was already in press, it was pointed out to me that Walderne was mentioned in Steward Chesholme's own accounts with the college, on pages 298 and 299 of his book. Under the date September 5, 1657, he notes having received "by Captaine waldren by 5000 foote of bords 15^{li} his sonnes Comones and other nessesaryes"; and under the date June 5, 1658, there was "payd for m^{r} brodstreet . . . and waldren" 5*s* 6*d*. This seems to prove that a son of Richard Waldern entered college in the summer of 1657 with the Class of 1661, and that he was still there in June, 1658.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1933

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. Augustus P. Loring, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 16, 1933, at three o'clock, the President, Samuel Eliot Morison, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the death of James Hardy Ropes, a Resident Member and Vice-President of the Society, on January 8, 1933; and of Alfred Johnson, a Resident Member, on January 13, 1933.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the receipt of letters from Mr. Walter Benjamin Briggs and Mr. Robert Earl Moody accepting Resident Membership in the Society; and from Mr. Harold Robert Shurtleff and Mr. Samuel Flagg Bemis accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. Robert Ephraim Peabody read the following paper:

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF NEW ENGLAND COMMERCE[1]

It is my understanding that papers read before the Colonial Society should deal with subjects relating to the early history of Massachusetts. Yet, while keeping this requirement well in mind, I propose

[1] The material for this paper has been largely drawn from the original business documents and letters of Elias Hasket Derby in the Essex Institute at Salem. The information regarding the history and politics of the Isle of France has been mainly taken from The History of Mauritius or the Isle of France (London, 1801), by Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux. David McPherson's Annals of Commerce (London, 1805) has been used for references to the commercial history of the East Indies in the eighteenth century.

to take you in thought to a quite distant part of the world, far away to the southern Indian Ocean. Here, about half way between the Cape of Good Hope and India and about four hundred miles east of Madagascar, lies a beautiful tropical island, the very name of which is hardly known in America today. But one hundred and forty years ago this island was of such importance to the merchants and seamen of Salem, Massachusetts, that many of our local fortunes of today were founded on the commerce between Salem and this place. I refer to Mauritius or, as it was then called, the Isle of France. An island only thirty-six miles long and twenty-three wide, its interior rises in ranges of mountains clothed in dense tropical verdure and capped with fleecy clouds deposited by the perpetual easterly trade-winds, while the lowlands near the shore are suitable for the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and other tropical crops, and the coastline is indented with two good harbors.

As far as is known, the first European to sight this verdant island was the Portuguese navigator Mascarenhas, who discovered it while on a voyage from Portugal to India in 1505. He gave it the name of Ilha do Cerné, and so it appears on the maps of the time. He also discovered the neighboring island now known as Réunion, which he named after himself, Mascarenhas. Apparently the Portuguese made no attempt at settlement at either place, and for nearly another hundred years these islands seem to have been forgotten by Europeans.

In 1598, however, the Dutch admiral van Neck, during a voyage from Holland to Java, sighted the Ilha do Cerné. He made a landing, and finding no inhabitants, took possession for Holland and named the island Mauritius after Maurits of Nassau, the Prince of Orange. The Dutch never made very much of their new possession. From 1664 to 1712 they had a small settlement on the island, but this they abandoned in the latter year.

Meantime, the French had appeared in the East Indies. In 1648, they made their first settlement in Madagascar, while a few years later they began founding their various colonies in India. The Madagascar community did not prosper, however, on account of the unhealthful climate as well as the hostility of the natives; and in 1657 a group from this settlement sailed eastward about four hundred miles to the Ilha do Mascarenhas, which had been abandoned years

before by the Portuguese, and took possession of the place for France, naming it the Isle of Bourbon. This small mountainous island proved to be suitable for the cultivation of coffee, which became the principal crop. The commerce of the Isle of Bourbon, however, was hampered by the lack of any harbor. Hence, shortly after the Dutch abandoned the neighboring island of Mauritius, with its two fine harbors, the French took advantage of this circumstance. In 1721, an expedition from the Isle of Bourbon crossed the ninety miles of water to Mauritius, and hoisting the French flag, took possession, giving it the name of Isle of France.

The Compagnie des Indes Orientales, which had a monopoly of French commerce with the East Indies, now found itself with a convenient port at which to water and provision its ships on the voyages between France and India. The French Government, too, soon realized that it had acquired a strategic place at which to base a naval force for the defense of its Indian possessions; as by this time the struggle between France and England for the control of the Indian trade was imminent. Accordingly, in 1734, Louis XV appointed a governor for the Isles of France and Bourbon, with full authority to develop and fortify them.

Mahé de la Bourdonnais, who was selected for the post, had been all his life in the service of the French East India Company, and therefore was well experienced in colonial administration. From the moment he assumed office the two islands entered upon their first real development. The new governor saw that the great advantage of the Isle of France lay in its port. He began the construction of docks, fortifications, and barracks. He started the building of roads connecting the different parts of the island, and endeavored to interest the inhabitants in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and indigo, for which the lowlands were eminently suited.

De la Bourdonnais, furthermore, induced a number of the leading families of St. Malo to emigrate to the islands by promising them good-sized tracts of land for plantations, while at the same time many negro slaves were brought over from Madagascar to furnish the necessary labor. As a result, the islands began to prosper, and Port Louis, the capital of the Isle of France, became the recognized port of call for the French ships trading between France and India as well as the naval base for the French frigates operating in Indian

waters. It was at this period that the French writer, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, was a resident of the Isle of France, and his famous romance Paul et Virginie, as well as his less well known La Chaumière Indienne and Voyage à l'Ile de France, gives excellent descriptions of the island and its life at this time.

De la Bourdonnais continued as governor until 1746 when he returned to France. His successors in office lacked his vigor and enterprise. This absence of strong leadership, together with the tendency of the French East India Company to squeeze all the money possible from its operations without developing anything for the future, hampered the commerce of the colony. Although a settler might own his land, he had to sell all his produce to the company at prices fixed by it and buy all his supplies in the same manner. As a result of this monopolistic policy the planters became discouraged and had little incentive to increase the business of the islands. Moreover, the state of war that existed from 1744 to 1783 made commerce in the Indian Ocean extremely perilous for the French, as the British naval power pretty well controlled the sea routes.

In 1783, however, after a long period of conflict involving many of the nations of the world, peace was restored in Europe. The following year a new French East India Company was formed with a monopoly of the trade of the remaining French possessions in India. But an exception was made to the residents of the Isles of France and Bourbon, who were given the same privilege to trade in India as the company. In addition, private French merchants as well as the merchants of friendly nations were allowed to trade at the Isles of France and Bourbon. As a result, many Frenchmen emigrated to the Isle of France and established themselves in business there. At the same time a host of Parsees, Arabians, Singalese, Chinese, and other Orientals flocked there to trade with the French; and within a couple of years what had been a small agricultural colony was transformed into a thriving entrepôt of Oriental commerce. In other words, Port Louis became a boom town, like the San Francisco of 1849, or the Miami of 1925. Its harbor was crowded with shipping of diverse character, and its docks were piled high with merchandise of every description.

This sudden influx of population was too much for the natural resources of the island, and the prices of foodstuffs and common necessi-

ties began to soar. It was at this opportune moment, when supplies on the island were low, that in 1786 a ship appeared in the offing flying a flag never before seen in those waters. On entering the port she proved to be the American ship Grand Turk, of Salem, Massachusetts, with a cargo consisting of butter, cheese, pork, beef, fish, tobacco, iron, beer, candles, and soap — the very things most needed by the islanders. Her cargo met with a ready sale; and thus there began a commerce between the little town of Salem in New England and this distant French outpost in the Indian Ocean which was one of the principal means of establishing Salem's early preëminence in the trade to the Orient. But to appreciate this development, it is necessary to observe the conditions which brought the Salem ship to the Isle of France in 1786.

Previous to the American Revolution, the shipping of the American colonists had steadily increased, but, owing to the British Navigation Acts, the scope of their trading had been restricted to certain areas. The principal cruising grounds of the New England merchant ships had been the British West Indies, the Spanish Peninsula, the Azores, and the Canary Islands. The eastern seas had been practically unknown to the colonists. The monopoly of trade in the East Indies held by the British East India Company had excluded private American colonial merchants as well as English merchants from this area. When, however, the Revolution made the United States a free and independent nation, American merchants, being no longer British subjects, were free to trade wherever they liked, subject only to the regulations of the particular place with which they traded. Within a short time after the close of the war, American merchant ships were displaying the Stars and Stripes in distant parts of the world where their owners, when British colonists, had never been able to penetrate. On these voyages the only commodities the Americans had to offer in exchange for the merchandise of these remote lands were the simple products of their farms or fisheries, supplemented by rum from the West Indies.

One of the pioneers in this expansion of American commerce was Elias Hasket Derby, of Salem. In colonial times his father had built up a good business between Salem and the West Indies, but after the Revolution Mr. Derby began to look farther afield. Taking advantage of the French government's decree giving Americans the

privilege of disposing of cargoes of American produce at the Isles of France and Bourbon and of loading the commodities of those islands or the East Indies in return, Derby decided to try his luck there. Accordingly, he loaded his ship Grand Turk with a cargo of New England provisions and despatched her on December 5, 1785, for the Isle of France, where she arrived April 22, 1786 — the first American ship, so far as I can find, that ever touched at that island. The Isle of France, as has been seen, was just then entering on its boom period as a result of the free trading privileges allowed it by the mother country, and the rapidly increasing population of the island provided a ready market for the provisions on board the newcomer.

As soon as this cargo was disposed of, the captain accepted a charter from a French merchant of the island to carry a load of ebony wood to Canton, China, and the Grand Turk proceeded thence, being the third American ship to reach China. She returned to Salem in May, 1787, with a cargo of teas and chinaware from Canton, to find her owner already well embarked in trade to the East.

In July, 1786, Derby had finally received word of the Grand Turk's arrival at the Isle of France in the previous April, and encouraged by the prospects of trade at the island, he began accumulating two more cargoes to despatch to this newly found market. In December, 1786, his brig Three Sisters sailed from Salem for the Isle of France, followed a month later by his ship Light Horse, both vessels loaded with homely cargoes of New England beef, pork, potatoes, cheese, flour, and fish. On arrival at the Isle of France in March, 1787, their cargoes met with an even better sale than the Grand Turk's, as by this time the mercantile population of the island had grown still greater, and the demand for provisions had increased proportionately. Both vessels obtained return cargoes of native-grown sugar and coffee, as well as East India goods.

The results of these voyages stimulated Derby to greater ventures in this trade, and accordingly he decided to send his son, Elias Hasket Derby, Jr., out to the Isle of France to represent the family business at this new entrepôt. Young Derby, a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1786, sailed from Salem for the Isle of France in December, 1787, as master of the Grand Turk, when twenty-one years of age. The cargo consisted of provisions valued at $28,000 and met with an immediate sale on the ship's arrival at its eastern port in February,

1788. In the meantime young Derby was approached by a French merchant of the island who offered him $13,000 for the Grand Turk. As this was almost twice the amount at which his father valued the ship, he accepted the offer, and with the proceeds he bought two smaller vessels, the ship Peggy and the brig Sultana.

It so happened that just at this time Lord Cornwallis, now the Governor-General of British India, had issued a decree that American vessels should be treated at the British East India Company's settlements on the basis of the most-favored foreigners; for he had found that the French, Dutch, and Portuguese had thrown open some of their eastern ports to the Americans, and he feared that unless he did the same the English settlements would lose the American trade to their rivals. Learning of Cornwallis's decree, young Derby loaded his two newly purchased craft with miscellaneous goods for Bombay, and on arrival there sold his cargoes and despatched the Peggy to Salem with the first load of Indian cotton ever sent to America. He himself returned to the Isle of France in the Sultana with a cargo of blackwood.

On young Derby's return thither in December, 1788, he found that his father's ship Light Horse had in the meantime reached the island from Salem. Shortly after, his father's ship Atlantic arrived. In February, 1789, the ship Henry, flying the family colors, also came into port. Thus the young man had four ships and their cargoes to take care of. He managed to sell the provision cargoes of the Light Horse, Atlantic, and Henry at good profit. He then despatched the Light Horse and Atlantic to Bombay, where they loaded cotton for Canton, whence they returned later to Salem with teas. The Sultana was sent to Madras, where she was sold. Young Derby then took passage in the Henry to Calcutta, and there loaded a cargo of Indian goods for Salem. He arrived home in the Henry in December, 1790, after an absence of three years. The profit on his various transactions was over $100,000, a large sum for those days; and through the efforts of this young man the Derbys became one of the leading American mercantile houses trading with the East.

While the Derbys were the pioneers and the principal American house in the trade to the Isle of France, other American merchants soon found that this distant port offered a good market for their products. The Salem ships of the Crowninshields and William Gray

followed those of E. H. Derby; while such names as Phillips, Cleveland, Silsbee, Pickman, West, Russell, Gardner, and Endicott appear as captains or supercargoes of the ships in this trade. After a few voyages most of these men set up as merchants themselves.

Although Salem founded and dominated the trade between America and the Isle of France, other American ports soon followed. I find in the Salem Gazette of August 31, 1790, a notice to the effect that in 1789 twenty-three American ships discharged cargoes at the Isle of France — eleven from Salem, five from Boston, three from Baltimore, two from Philadelphia, one from Providence, and one from Virginia.

But while affairs had been prospering in this remote outpost of the southern seas, the mother country had been suffering from increasing internal unrest. Echoes of the French Revolution had filtered through to the Isle of France, but there had been no similar movement in the islands. Of the total population of the Isles of France and Bourbon, estimated in 1790 at about 110,000, eighty-five per cent were negro slaves, and fifteen per cent were whites. The white population, prospering because of the islands' free trade, consisted of small planters and merchants, many of whom had left France and come there to escape the impending revolution. Other than the governor, there was no nobility or aristocracy in the islands such as the Revolution was aimed against in France. The slaves on the other hand had no Toussaint l'Ouverture to lead them to revolt as in Haiti. But the newly established authorities in France could not be content to let these distant possessions continue their blissful existence. In January, 1790, a French vessel arrived at the Isle of France bringing news of the great power the National Assembly had usurped from the Crown. This aroused some of the younger element in the island to agitate for the overthrow of the governor and for the establishment of a local assembly. The soldiers of the island garrison, learning that their fellows at home had joined the revolutionary cause, seized upon Admiral Macnamara, their commander, and when he tried to escape from his guards, a brawl ensued in which the Admiral was killed. This event seemed to sober the people, for they had no great class struggle against a powerful nobility as in France, and the bulk of the population had no desire to have their island paradise ravaged by revolution. They contented themselves by seizing the governor and

sending him home to France, and after they had set up an assembly of their own, modelled after the National Assembly, everything went on quite peacefully. In April, 1792, a French frigate arrived at the island, bringing a new governor, General Malartic, appointed by the National Assembly, who for the next eleven years, by the exercise of the most remarkable tact, governed the islands during the period of the Revolution in France without any bloodshed or destruction whatsoever. In fact, while lives were being taken by the wholesale in France, Admirable Macnamara's was the only life sacrificed in the Isles of France and Bourbon as a result of the Revolution. Governor Malartic brought with him an Act of the French National Assembly sanctioning the colonial assembly, thus giving that body an official status.

Affairs continued quietly enough in the islands until 1793 when news of the formation of the Jacobin Clubs in France was received. It was not long before the small discordant element in the Isle of France formed a Jacobin Club of their own with the name La Chaumière, and by 1794 their membership had become both so numerous and so powerful that they soon began to rival the constituted authorities. They erected a guillotine in the main square with the intention of using it on those who opposed their views. They arrested M. Vigoureux, the Vice-Governor, who was stationed at the Isle of Bourbon, together with Admiral St. Felix, in command of the naval station, and were planning to seize Governor Malartic and conduct them all to the guillotine when a vessel arrived from France bringing news of the decree of the National Assembly abolishing slavery in all the settlements of the French Republic. This caused an immediate change of opinion in the island, for the events that were at that moment taking place in Haiti showed what would be the miserable lot of the white planter should the black slaves become free and take matters into their own hands. The Jacobins now became as unpopular as they had been popular a short time before; and the news of Robespierre's downfall reaching the islands about this time, the people released Governor Malartic and the other officials, while the leaders of the local Jacobin Club were put on board a vessel and shipped away to France. The government of the islands then continued as before for about a year, no notice being taken of the home government's decree for the abolition of slavery.

In July, 1796, however, a French squadron arrived at the Isle of France, bringing two agents of the Directory sent out to take over the government of the colony. The inhabitants received them coldly, and on learning that one of the first acts of the agents was to be the abolition of slavery, they voted in the colonial assembly to recognize only their old Governor Malartic as representing the French government, disregarding the agents of the Directory. The local garrison supported the assembly, and the two agents, finding that their lives were in danger, willingly allowed themselves to be placed on a vessel and sent back to France.

Again the islands remained undisturbed by contemporary political events in France for a couple of years more. But in 1798 the soldiers of the two regiments which had for so long formed the island garrison conceived the idea of taking matters into their hands, claiming that General Malartic and the colonial assembly were ruling the place without any authority from the home government, which of course was quite true. The civil population, learning of this, assembled and armed themselves, as they feared that if the soldiers gained control of the government they might adopt the decree for abolition of slavery. For a time civil war seemed imminent; but at this point Governor Malartic suggested to the ringleaders of the soldiers that he would provide a ship and send the entire garrison back to France if they would abandon their ideas. As most of the soldiers had been long away from home, this proposition looked better to them than fighting a civil war with the inhabitants; and they all went aboard the frigate and sailed away, leaving the Isle of France once more to continue its peaceful existence under the tropic skies.

For four more years the islands continued more or less like an independent country, ruled by General Malartic and the locally appointed assembly without authority from the home government, yet at the same time professing to be a French colony. As a matter of fact, conditions in France had been so upset that little thought, evidently, was given by the authorities to this distant outpost.

In 1803, this condition came to an end. The strong government which had become established in France under Napoleon's leadership now began to consider the overseas possessions of France, and in September, 1803, General Decaen arrived at the islands as the representative of the new régime. He brought with him a strong garrison, and

immediately removed Governor Malartic and dissolved the colonial assembly. The abolition of slavery seems to have been quite forgotten, and since the new administration did not press this point, it received the support of the people. General Decaen now set about restoring and developing the naval station, with the idea of making the Isle of France an important naval base for French operations against the English in India. But these very operations caused the English to cast a jealous eye on the place. In 1806, the English had captured the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch, which left the Isle of France as the only enemy naval station on the sea routes to India. Finally, in 1810, while the French fleet stationed at the Isle of France was away in India, an English squadron appeared off the island and captured the place with little difficulty; and from then to the present day it has remained a British colony under its old name of Mauritius.

The neighboring Isle of Bourbon, or Réunion, as it was named after the Revolution, was not considered of sufficient importance to the British to capture, and it therefore still remains a French colony.

While all these political events were taking place in the Isle of France, the merchant ships of the United States still carried on an active trade with the island, although during this period their trade was subject to many ups and downs. The homely cargoes of New England provisions seemed always to meet a ready market; yet some most unexpected profits were made in other articles. One of Elias Hasket Derby's vessels arrived there with a shipment of plain glass tumblers which cost $1,000 in Salem. There happened to be a shortage of glassware in the island at the time, and the entire consignment was quickly sold for $12,000. Another Derby vessel arrived at the island with a cargo largely composed of common wine from Madeira when there was a shortage of wine at the island, and the cargo was sold for a sum sufficient to load two vessels with cargoes of coffee for Salem, where coffee was then in good demand.

At the same time the trade with the Isle of France was not all so profitable as this. The activities of the Jacobin Club during its short reign of power did much to upset trade, and frequent embargoes were placed upon shipping. In 1793, when most of Europe became embroiled in war, American ships as neutrals enjoyed a certain advantage over their competitors; but on the other hand they suffered from this

very fact. The French issued a decree authorizing French men-of-war to capture neutral vessels trading with England or her possessions; the British retaliated by authorizing English men-of-war to seize neutral ships trading with French territories. Thus American ships were constantly subject to capture from one side or the other. Nevertheless, all through this disturbed time American ships continued to trade at the Isle of France, sometimes reaping amazing profits and sometimes losing everything through embargo or seizure. In spite of all these dangers, many American ships carried on quite an active commerce between Bordeaux or Havre and the Isle of France; for evidently the French merchants felt that there was less chance of capture if they shipped their goods in neutral American bottoms.

An excellent account of a voyage to the Isle of France in those days is found in the Biographical Notes of Captain Nathaniel Silsbee.[1] He sailed from Salem in 1793 as master of Derby's ship Benjamin, when he was only nineteen years old. His mate and supercargo were of the same age. On arrival at the Isle of France he found that the Jacobins had just got control of the place and had imposed an embargo on all American shipping in port until it was ascertained whether the United States would side with England or France in the war just declared. For six months the Benjamin was detained. But in the meantime, as a result of the embargo, the price of foodstuffs began to rise, so that Captain Silsbee was able to dispose of his cargo of provisions at a good profit. He took Spanish dollars in payment and awaited the outcome. As the embargo continued, the price of island products fell until finally his dollars could purchase twice as much coffee as when he first received them. At last the news reached the island that America would remain neutral, and the embargo being raised, Captain Silsbee sailed for home with a full lading but with still plenty of dollars left from the proceeds of his outward cargo.

Putting in at the Cape of Good Hope, he met the Salem ship Hope and decided to transfer his homeward cargo to her, and himself return in the Benjamin to the Isle of France. He then invested the rest of his dollars in wine at the Cape of Good Hope, with which he returned to the Isle of France, and after selling his wine, bought another full homeward cargo of coffee and indigo. When nearly ready to sail he learned that the Jacobins expected to seize his ship, since they sus-

[1] Essex Institute Historical Collections, xxxv. 1–79.

pected, without foundation, that the French admiral, St. Felix, whom they contemplated conducting to the guillotine, was going to escape on the Benjamin. Consequently Captain Silsbee slipped out of port during the night, leaving behind a small amount of cargo. The Benjamin arrived back in Salem after an absence of nineteen months, and Captain Silsbee was able to return Derby about five times the amount of the original capital invested in the voyage.

This prosperous trade between Salem and the Isle of France continued during the first part of the Napoleonic Wars, as long, in fact, as the island remained French. But after 1810, when the British flag was hoisted and the Isle of France became Mauritius, its character changed from a commercial entrepôt to a small agricultural colony. After all, its commercial prosperity had been of an artificial character, on account of its being the only French possession in the eastern seas open to private traders. But with the decline of the French power in India, the trade of the Isle of France declined also, and when the British took possession of the island they did not encourage its transit commerce. They bent their efforts more towards the development of their possessions in India and the direct trade with the Orient. There being no longer any basis for an entrepôt at Mauritius, the island fell back on its own commerce, namely, the export of a small amount of sugar, coffee, and indigo, and the importation of the limited requirements of a small agricultural island. The trading population drifted away, and there was no longer the great demand for New England provisions to support the excess population. Thus, although the American ships still sailed the Indian Ocean, they no longer stopped at Mauritius, but continued on to the direct markets of the Orient.

In the early years of our national history we had nothing to export to China or India which those countries especially lacked. We had not begun to manufacture goods for export, and the products of our farms and fisheries were not of interest to the East Indians or the Chinese. But the overpopulated Isle of France gave us a market for our farm products, and the proceeds of our sales at the Isle of France gave us the means to make purchases in the bazaars of Calcutta or the godowns of Canton. Thus the trade between Salem and this little island far away in the Indian Ocean, which lasted only about twenty years — from 1786 to 1806 — was one of the important factors in establishing American commerce with the Orient.

The President communicated by title the following paper written by Mr. Curtis Nettels, of Madison, Wisconsin:

ENGLAND'S TRADE WITH NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK, 1685–1720 [1]

Among the many differences between the American colonies of France and Spain and those of England, not the least striking is the effect that each group had upon the industrial growth of the parent state. The French in Canada and the Spaniards in Spanish America, excluding aliens and Protestants, utilized the labor of resident natives, relying upon it to draw wealth quickly from the land — from the *encomiendas* and the silver mines of New Spain and Peru, and from the fur-trade of North America. This policy meant that the native peoples, living in a primitive economic state, did not create a great demand for the exports of the mother country. Spain's preoccupation with easily exploited sources of wealth led to a rigid commercial system which stifled trade in Spanish America — even that with Spain herself; and her colonies failed to halt her own industrial decline. The interest of France in the fur-trade resulted in the underpeopling of Canada, so that by 1754 her settlers in North America were outnumbered fourteen to one by the inhabitants of the English colonies nearby.

England, on the other hand, by pushing back the Indians and by admitting foreigners of all shades of religious belief into her possessions, peopled them with Britons and Europeans who sought eagerly for the manufactured products of the Old World. Partly as a result of this, her trade with her West Indian and American colonies grew

[1] Material for this article was collected while the writer served as fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation. The manuscripts used in the Public Record Office, London, are the Colonial Office Papers, cited as C.O. Quotations have been modernized. Statements of value are in sterling, unless otherwise noted. The chronology used is that adopted by the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies (cited as Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I.). Three branches of New England's external trade — with the Wine Islands, with Canada, and with Africa — did not, at this period, affect seriously the problem considered in this paper. The trade of New England and New York with the other mainland colonies of North America is discussed in my article, "The Economic Relations of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 1680–1715," Journal of Economic and Business History, III. 185–209.

from about one tenth of her total external trade in 1662–1669 to approximately one third of the total in 1770. Between 1700 and 1770, the trade of England with America and the West Indies increased about fourfold, whereas her total trade, foreign and colonial, increased only twofold.[1]

In a general way, the policy of England before 1720 distinguished three classes of commodities involved in her trade with North America. The first included products which England did not buy from or sell to the colonies. Such were horses, many raw food products (cereals, beef, pork, fish), and crude manufactures like beer, flour, bread, lumber, and rum. Some of these commodities England did not buy from the colonies, in order to protect competing producers at home. She did not export such products either because she did not have a surplus, or because they could be produced more cheaply in America. Because they did not enter into her direct trade with the New World, she did not restrict the production or sale of them in the colonies. Even American manufactures in this group did not arouse the hostility of England. They could be produced advantageously in the colonies because the raw material for them was so abundant there, and because the manufacturing processes were so simple as to require but little capital. Many of these products, however, were of vital importance to England, because without them her plantations in the West Indies could have been supported only with great difficulty.

The second class of commodities were those which England desired to sell to the colonies. Among these were many things that the colonists before 1715 could not readily produce themselves — firearms, gunpowder, medical supplies, instruments, books, glass, paper, and various high-grade articles for personal or household use. Since the colonists did not compete in producing these commodities, they were subject only to the restriction that they should be bought through England. There were other manufactures, however, which England wished to market in the colonies and which they gave evidence of being able to produce themselves. Such were coarse woolens, ironware, leather goods, hats, and ships. Colonial manufactures of this type were frowned upon in England, and — with the exception

[1] G. L. Beer, The Old Colonial System, I. 15; David MacPherson, Annals of Commerce, III. 508.

of ships — various measures were taken to check their production for export sale in America.

The third class of commodities consisted of those which were more profitably produced in the colonies than in England — tobacco, sugar, indigo, rice, fustic, dyewoods, ginger, copper ore, furs, and naval stores. Parliament by 1722 had directed that these products — which were designated as returns — should not be shipped from a colony to a foreign port. In its simplest form the trade of English America was an exchange of English manufactures for colonial returns. But since the northern and middle colonies produced only a small quantity of such returns, the central problem of their trade was that of converting their raw produce and their crude manufactures into some means of paying for European goods.

During eighteen years, 1698–1717, the English custom-house records estimate that New England imported from England goods having an average value, each year, of £103,500.[1] In return the New Englanders exported products valued, on a yearly average, at £37,400, leaving an adverse trade balance of £66,100 annually, or £1,189,800 for the eighteen years. The imports of New York from England during this period had an average yearly value of £34,100, and the annual returns averaged £13,815. The trade balance against the province thus stood at £20,285 on a yearly average, or £365,130 for the whole period.[2]

These figures, however, do not include several important items in the trade. The value assigned to the colonial imports is that estimated

[1] A list of exports from England to New England in 1715 included silk, tin, iron, woolens, linen, earthenware, leather, paper, copper, brass, lead, wood, hair, paint, oil, powder, coal, chalk, pots, kettles, spices, drugs, muslins, calicoes, "cum multis aliis." "The Trade of New England as it Now Stands," C.O. 5:866, no. 52.

[2] Estimates of yearly exports and imports are found in C.O. 390:5. These statistics can be used only to indicate general trends, and must not be taken literally. Commenting on the records of this period, Lipson says: "The statistics of foreign trade are extremely defective. The custom-house ledger, showing the total exports and imports, was not adopted until 1696. Moreover, the returns, even when available, are based on official, not real values, and so do not afford a correct view of the trade in any year at the current market prices. But this defect is an advantage in one respect; it enables comparisons to be made over long periods on the basis of a uniform standard of prices, so that it is possible to measure the rise or fall in the volume of trade without the disturbing factor of changes in the price level." E. Lipson, The Economic History of England, II. 189.

by the English custom-house officials before the goods were exported to America. Consequently, the figures do not take into account the freight charges on the voyage to the colonies, or the profits earned by English exporters engaged in the trade.

During five years, 1710–1714, the vessels sailing from England to New England and New York had each year, on the average, a carrying capacity of 5,534 tons.[1] It also appears that in two years the proportion of English owned shipping engaged in this trade amounted to about 60 per cent.[2] Freight charges from London to Boston were generally £3 a ton; from England to New York the rates in 1708 were: for goods stowed in the "hole" of the ship, £3 10*s*; for goods stowed between decks, £4 a ton.[3] Had the vessels sailing to the northern ports carried full cargoes, the freights earned by English shipowners would not have exceeded £10,000 a year.

The New England trade was extensive enough to engage some sixty London merchants and to support a New England Coffee House, near Cornhill behind the Royal Exchange.[4] Apparently the exporters to New York formed a separate group. There were at least seventeen of them in 1699.[5] In some instances London merchants acted as commission agents for colonial traders who supplied the capital and assumed the risks of shipping and of selling in the colonies. Thus, in 1703, Richard Lechmere, a London merchant, bought goods for Deliverance Parkeman of New England, charging a commission of 2½ per cent.[6] In other cases, the English merchants shipped on

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[1] Report on vessels sailing from England to the colonies, Christmas, 1709, to Christmas, 1714, C.O. 388:18, no. 22.

[2] In ten months of the years 1686 and 1688, of 40 vessels sailing from England to Boston, 27 (1,773 tons) were English owned, and 13 (1,063 tons) were owned in Massachusetts. All the vessels (425 tons) exporting from England to Salem in 21 months of the years 1714–1716 belonged to England. Massachusetts Shipping Returns, C.O. 5:848. In two years after June 24, 1715, 20 vessels (1,110 tons) sailing from New York to England were owned in the province, as against 23 vessels (1,665 tons) owned in England. New York Shipping Returns, C.O. 5:1222.

[3] W. B. Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, I. 369–370; memorial of Nicholson, Perry, and Lodwick, entered June 10, 1708, C.O. 5:1121, p. 162.

[4] For a list of 41 merchants trading to New England in 1714, see C.O. 5:752, no. 7.

[5] For a list of merchants trading to New York, see Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I., 1699, p. 59.

[6] Weeden, I. 370. Samuel Sewall's correspondents in England, 1686–1700, were John Ive and John Love. 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 32–33, 34, 44–45, 77,

their own account to the northern colonies and sold through resident factors.[1] The major part of the New England trade was probably carried on by the independent merchants of Boston who bought in England through agents; whereas the trade of New York seems to have been chiefly in the hands of London exporters operating through factors in the colony.[2] Reports from New England stated that the price of English goods there was between 150 and 225 per cent higher than in England;[3] while at New York it was commonly said that foreign goods at twice their English prices were considered cheap.[4] How much of the excess price went to English merchants for their services as exporters, and how much to colonial merchants as profit, can probably never be known. However, the earnings of English exporters certainly inclined the balance of trade even more heavily against New England and New York.

The native commodities of the two northern areas provided but little in the way of exports to England. Those of New England — in the order of their importance — were whale products,[5] ship

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89, 116, 137, 237. In 1687, Sewall, Eliakim Hutchinson, and Peter Sergeant were buying from John Richardson, a Bristol merchant, on the commission basis. Id., I. 65. John Higginson, of Salem, in 1699 purchased £100 of drapery directly from a London draper. 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII. 211.

[1] Sewall in 1685 sold a parcel of goods in New England for William Sellen, London merchant. The Boston sale price was £48 3*s*, from which Sewall deducted a commission of £2 8*s* — nearly 5 per cent. Sewall was evidently loath to sell on commission for English merchants. 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 30.

[2] Petition of August 28, 1718, C.O. 5:1051, no. 83, signed by C. Lodwick, J. Paice, T. Pitt, R. Jeneway, J. Lloyd, J. Bayeux.

[3] Dudley to Board of Trade, March 1, 1709, C.O. 5:865, no. 22; G. Lee to Sir Stephen Fox, October 30, 1712, C.O. 5:751, no. 83; Banister's Essay on the Trade of New England, 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 67. John Higginson wrote from New England to his brother Nathaniel, October, 1699: "In the last war time, all East India goods were extremely dear. Muslins of the best sort, plain, striped, and flowered, were sold for £10 per piece, and some more." 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII. 209.

[4] Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 17, 1700, C.O. 5:1045, no. 1; James du Pré to Board of Trade, October, 4, 1710, C.O. 5:1050, no. 3. See also C.O. 5:1051, no. 19.

[5] In 1687, Randolph stated that whale oil shipped from Massachusetts to England amounted to 200 tons a year. In 1709, Dudley reported the quantity at 800 tons, and the imports England received in the three years, 1721–1723, averaged about that amount. Dudley's figures make it appear that the Boston price was £6 5*s* a ton. Weeden I. 43; C.O. 5:865, no. 22; list of England's imports from New England, 1721–1723, C.O. 390:5, no. 50.

timber,[1] other naval stores,[2] and furs.[3] New York's returns before 1705 consisted only of whale products[4] and furs.[5] After 1705, naval stores

[1] After 1689, there was generally in force a contract between the Royal Navy and an English merchant for a regular supply of New England masts. The contract of 1689–1696, with Samuel Allen, called for one shipload yearly to the value, in England, of £2,190. Contract of August 9, 1689, C.O. 5:924, no. 1 (ii). Allen sold his rights to Isaac Taylor. In 1700, John Bridger made proposals to save the Navy £11,723 yearly on the contract Taylor held then. Taylor was supplying four shiploads annually. Bellomont to Board of Trade, C.O. 5:931, no. 3. A third contract, 1708–1713, required three shiploads annually, the payment for one year (in England) amounting to £6,060. This contract — with Francis Collins — ran for five years. Godolphin to Bridger, May 31, 1708, C.O. 5:864, no. 230. Between Christmas, 1712, and Christmas, 1717, England imported 145 New England masts, the yearly value of which in England probably did not exceed £6,000. An account of lumber and timber exported from Europe and the colonies to England, C.O. 390:8, H. The sums paid for these masts, however, did not all go to the colonies. English merchants always held the contracts, and employed their own ships in the trade, thereby earning the freights. In 1715, it was estimated that timber worth 50*s* in the colonies cost between £6 and £7 a ton in England, the freight charges on such a quantity amounting to £4. S. Sheaf to Board of Trade, May 18, 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 36. Lumber exports from New England to England, 1712–1717, averaged 171 tons a year. C.O. 390:8, H.

[2] Between 1700 and 1704, New England sent only 67 barrels of pitch and tar to England. After the bounty went into effect, the figures were (in barrels):

	Tar	*Pitch*	*Turpentine*	*Resin*
October, 1706	6,191	647	1,145	90
March, 1708	2,190	2,275	1,924	68
March, 1709	120	1,890	1,333	124
November, 1710	1,410	2,111	1,525	338
February, 1712	712	1,194	1,631	none
January, 1713	none	none	none	none

See letters of John Bridger, October 24, 1706, March 13, 1708, March 27, 1709, November 27, 1710, February 2, 1712, January 10, 1713, C.O. 5:864, nos. 76 (ii), 224, C.O. 5:865, nos. 28, 59, C.O. 5:1091, no. 68, C.O. 5:898, no. 27.

[3] Randolph, in 1687, noted the decline of the New England fur-trade. Weeden, I. 437. Dudley, in 1709, estimated the value of furs exported from New England at £1,000 yearly. C.O. 5:865, no. 22.

[4] Partial statistics indicate the following exports of whale oil from New York: June 8, 1698, to December 23, 1699, 54 barrels; June 25 to September 25, 1700, 18 tons, 228 barrels; June 25, 1715, to June 25, 1716, 344 barrels. Board of Trade to House of Lords, February 5, 1702, C.O. 389:17, p. 327, and C.O. 5:1222. During two years, Christmas, 1720, to Christmas, 1722, whale oil and fins exported from New York to England had an estimated value (at New York) of £1,232. At this time they represented only six per cent of the native products of New York shipped as returns to England. C.O. 390:5, no. 51.

[5] Beaver exports from New York were (number):

1687	14,062
1692–1693 (March to March)	6,240

deserve notice.[1] The native products of the two regions probably did not compose much more than half of the commodity exports which figure in the English estimates of colonial returns.[2]

Beaver exports from New York were (number)—*continued:*

1693–1694	11,180
1694–1695	13,360
1695–1696	9,703
1696–1697	10,830
1697–1698	5,414
1698–1699 (June to June)	14,455
1699–1700	15,352

New York custom-house report, C.O. 5:1048, no. 67 (i). Bellomont stated in 1700 that the beaver trade had "sunk to little or nothing." The London price of beaver had fallen to 5*s* a pound, only 3*s* of which went to the New York merchant, for he had to pay on every skin a provincial export duty of 9*d* and charges of 12*d* in England, in addition to 3*d* for freight. Bellomont to Board of Trade, November 28, 1700, C.O. 5:1045, no. 18. The New York merchants wrote in February, 1705, that the peltry trade was "so diminished as scarce worthy of regarding." Petition to Cornbury, C.O. 5:1048, no. 105 (i). Captain Samuel Vetch wrote to the same effect in his "Canada Survey'd," received July 25, 1708, C.O. 323:6, no. 64. For two years, 1721 and 1722, the New York total value of beaver exported to England is given as £8,878 16*s*; of all other furs and skins, as £4,717 12*s*, the two items representing £13,697 10*s*. Since the total value of the native products of New York shipped as returns during these two years was £18,656, the fur-trade accounted for 73 per cent of such returns. Account of exports and imports to and from New York, from Christmas, 1720, to Christmas, 1723, dated July 18, 1724, C.O. 390:5, no. 51.

[1] From June 8, 1698, to December 23, 1699, exports of naval stores were: turpentine, 20 barrels; from March 25 to December 23, 1699, 2 hogsheads and 164 barrels of turpentine; from June 25, 1700, to 1704, none. C.O. 389:17, p. 327. Pitch and tar were not exported to England during the years 1700–1704. Board of Trade to House of Lords, November 27, 1707, C.O. 389:19, p. 52. During the year June 24, 1715, to June 24, 1716, the exports were: pitch, 1,253 barrels; tar, 318 barrels; turpentine, 1,505 barrels; tar and pitch not differentiated, 1,623 barrels. C.O. 5:1222. During the five years, Christmas, 1712, to Christmas, 1717, New York's yearly average exportation of lumber and timber was: pipe and hogshead staves, 204 hundredweight; barrel staves, 55 hundredweight; heads for hogsheads, 7 hundredweight; large masts, 6½ (number); masts, middle, 11. C.O. 390:8, H. During the two years 1721 and 1722, the New York value of lumber and timber exported was only £226 3*s* in total returns of native products amounting to £18,656. C.O. 390:5, no. 51.

[2] In 1709, Dudley estimated the yearly exports of Massachusetts to England as follows: tar and gums, £5,000; whale oil, £5,000; furs, £1,000, total, £11,000. These estimates do not include New Hampshire ship timber, which probably accounted for £5,000 more. The total returns from New England, as given by the English custom-house records, 1709, were valued at £29,559. C.O. 5:865, no. 22. In 1715, Captain Banister estimated the New England exports as follows: naval

Other means of remittance from the northern colonies to England were drawn from their external trade. Such additional returns may be divided into two groups: foreign commodities that are included in the English estimates of commodity returns from the colonies, and invisible items like money and bills of exchange. Perhaps the principal purpose of the external commerce of the northern ports was that of providing them with the means of paying for European goods.

One branch of this external trade — that with Newfoundland — was practically monopolized by New England prior to 1715. The minor exports thence from Boston were tobacco, sugar, pitch, and tar; the major exports, provisions, lumber, and rum.[1] In 1691, it was estimated that the settlers of Newfoundland bought 300 tons of provisions and other products annually from New England;[2] in 1715, twelve vessels from Boston alone had a carrying capacity of 475 tons.[3] According to one English official, the New Englanders compelled the settlers to buy rum; and "unless the planters will take such a quantity of these liquors from them at their rates, they shall have no provisions, which occasions the planters and their

stores, £6,250, furs, £3,750, whale products £13,125, total £23,125. Apparently these figures likewise do not include New Hampshire timber. The British records evaluate the total returns of New England in 1715 at £66,555. Banister to Board of Trade, July 15, 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 53. A complete table of New York's returns, 1721 and 1722, giving both quantity and value of products, shows that the native products of the province exported during the two years were worth £18,656, the value of all the commodity returns from the province coming to £35,248. Thus native products represented only 53 per cent of the commodities shipped directly from New York to England during those years. C.O. 390:5, no. 51.

[1] Each year England sent a naval squadron to Newfoundland, the commanders of which reported on the state of the fishery. Their reports agree as to the products supplied by New England. The reports are as follows: 1691, Captain Hawkins, C.O. 1:68, no.92 (i); 1691, Captain Crawley, id., no. 94 (i); 1694, Captain Hogg, id., no. 101 (i); 1698, Captain Norris, C.O. 194:1, no. 126 (i); 1699, Captain Leake, id., no. 150; 1700, Captain Fairborne, C.O. 195:2, p. 390; 1701, Commodore Graydon, C.O. 195:3, pp. 5–7; 1702, Captain Leake, id., p. 116; 1706, Commodore Underdown, C.O. 194:3, no. 169 (i); 1707, Commodore Underdown, C.O. 194:4, no. 35 (i); 1708, Commodore Mitchell, id., no. 76 (i); 1710, Captain Aldred, id., no. 142 (i); 1711, Commodore Crow, C.O. 194:5, no. 8 (ii); 1712, Sir N. Trevanion, id., no. 16 (i); 1713, Captain Leake, id., no. 59 (i); 1715, Captain Kempthorn, C.O. 194:6, no. 10 (i).

[2] Report of Captain Hawkins, 1691, C.O. 1:68, no. 92 (i).

[3] C.O. 5:848.

servants to be so extravagant that it . . . keeps them in perpetual vassalage and poverty." [1]

Boston merchants owned practically all the craft engaged in their Newfoundland trade.[2] By 1715, they had established stores and were maintaining resident factors at the island. The supplies from New England arrived in the summer and were exchanged in part for the settlers' fish.[3] The remainder was left with the factors, who sold on credit to the settlers and their servants during the winter — a time of idleness and drunkenness, when the settlers ran into debt and pledged the next season's catch for payment. It was repeatedly complained that the New Englanders charged exorbitant prices — even as high as three times the first cost of the provisions and rum.[4]

During the summer months trading vessels came to Newfoundland from England, Ireland, and southern Europe, bringing wines, brandy, linen, Spanish iron, and, above all, coin and bills of exchange. The New Englanders, having obtained the settlers' fish, sold it to the European vessels, which then set sail for Portugal and Spain. The coin and bills of exchange passed into the hands of the New England merchants, who took them to Boston on the homeward voyage. It is certain that the Bostonians did not carry much of the Newfoundland fish to its final market.[5] It was said that they never loaded fish when they could get money or bills, that their vessels returned to Boston in ballast, and that on departing left not a shilling of coin behind.[6] One English official estimated that the Newfound-

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[1] Report of Commodore Graydon, March 13, 1701, C.O. 195:3, p. 6.

[2] C.O. 5:848.

[3] George Larkin to Board of Trade, August 20, 1701, C.O. 195:2, pp. 449–450; Captain Tavener to Board of Trade, March 19, 1714, C.O. 194:5, no. 35.

[4] Report of Commodore Graydon, March 13, 1701, C.O. 195:3, pp. 2–3; report of Captain Kempthorn, October 6, 1715, C.O. 194:6, no. 10 (i); Kempthorn to Burchet, 1715, C.O. 194:5, no. 99 (ii).

[5] Of fourteen vessels that left Massachusetts for Newfoundland in 1708, nine returned to New England, two went to Barbados, one to Bideford, one to Oporto, and one to Avero — the ship bound for Oporto being owned at that place. C.O. 194:4, no. 76 (iii). Ten vessels (all New England owned) exported from New England to Newfoundland in 1698. Seven returned to New England without cargoes of fish, two carried 1,450 quintals to Jamaica and Barbados, and one carried 500 quintals to Oporto. C.O. 194:1, no. 126 (i).

[6] Captain Norris to Board of Trade, November 13, 1698, C.O. 194:1, no. 126 (i). He wrote: "Those of New England never exercise the fishing trade [at Newfoundland] but most commonly dispose their cargo for money and bills which makes 25

land trade supplied New England with returns which equaled in value the native produce of the region shipped directly to the mother country; without this trade the New Englanders would have been unable to complete their payments for English goods.[1]

A second branch of colonial trade was also in the hands of the New Englanders — that with southern Europe in fish and timber. Prior to 1715, the fishermen of Massachusetts did not operate at Newfoundland; their fishery off the northern New England coast kept them fully occupied. They had an advantage over the Newfoundland planter in the way they managed their industry. Instead of paying fixed wages to servants (as was the Newfoundland custom) the New Englanders got the utmost from the labor of their servants by allotting them a sixth or a tenth of the season's catch.[2] The best, or merchantable, fish was sorted into two grades: great merchantable, which went to Bilbao and Cales, and little merchantable, for Lisbon and Oporto. At Bilbao, New England cod brought about a piece of eight a quintal more than Newfoundland fish, "because 'tis taken all winter and in cold weather is better cured." [3]

Much the greater part of New England's fish was carried to southern Europe in English vessels, whose owners doubtless procured the fish at Boston or Salem in return for English imports or bills of exchange. Boston was the leading exporting center in 1688; by 1715, nearly all the fish was shipped from Salem.[4] In 1700, it was estimated that New England exported 50,000 quintals, about three quarters of which

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per cent to them at New England, but if they cannot get them, they buy refuse fish and go to the West Indies." See also report of Captain Fairborne, 1700, C.O. 195:2, pp. 391–392; report of Graydon, C. O. 195:3, p. 7; report of Larkin, C.O. 195:2, p. 450; report of Leake, April 25, 1702, C.O. 195:3, p. 116; report of Trevanion, 1712, C.O. 194:5, no. 16 (i).

[1] Report of James Jackson, February 2, 1706, C.O. 194:3, no. 116. Jackson said that to debar the New Englanders from their Newfoundland trade would make it impossible for them to pay debts of £100,000 which they owed to England. For a general discussion of this phase of New England's economic activity, see R. G. Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade at Newfoundland," New England Quarterly, III. 607–626.

[2] C.O. 194:5, no. 99 (ii); report of Leake, C.O. 195:3, p. 120.

[3] Bellomont to Board of Trade, November 28, 1700, C.O. 5:1045, no. 18.

[4] In the 16 months between May, 1686, and September, 1688, 32 vessels sailed from Boston to southern Europe with cargoes of fish. Twelve of these belonged to New Englanders, the other twenty to English merchants. All but four sailed for Bilbao. C.O. 5:848.

went to Bilbao.[1] Boston prices at this time ranged between 12*s* and 18*s* a quintal for the Bilbao grades.[2] In one year, beginning midsummer, 1714, Salem alone sent 112,000 quintals to southern Europe.[3]

Since part of the fish was exported in New England ships, the New Englanders earned a small share of the freights and the exporters' profits. The officials of Massachusetts always insisted that the returns for the fish marketed by the Bostonians in southern Europe took the form of pieces of eight or bills of exchange drawn on London.[4] These were then remitted to England and converted into goods for the New England trade.[5] The merchants of Boston, wrote Bellomont, "reckon upon 50 per cent by the returns they make for their fish from Bilbao to Boston. And when they return their money from Bilbao to London, and there invest it in goods for Boston, they reckon upon 100 per cent profit."[6] Dudley's estimate in 1709 that the trade in fish netted Massachusetts £30,000 yearly is conservative.[7] Some of the proceeds, of course, may have come to Boston in the shape of prohibited European goods, contrary to the Act of 1663. However, during the period reviewed, England always encouraged and supported the colonial trade in fish with southern Europe; this seems fairly conclusive evidence that its proceeds were returning to the colonies chiefly in the form of English goods.[8]

The New England trade to southern Europe in ship timber was initiated at the close of King William's War by a group of London merchants and the leading New Hampshire trader, William Partridge.

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[1] C.O. 5:1045, no. 18.

[2] Id.

[3] C.O. 5:848.

[4] Petition for re-establishment of Massachusetts mint, 1686, C.O. 1:60, no. 88 (v); address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of Massachusetts to the Queen, August 28, 1713, C.O. 5:751, no. 85 (i); Dummer to the Queen, 1713, C.O. 5:866, no. 6 (i).

[5] Sewall's transactions with southern Europe indicate that his agents there sold fish for him and remitted the proceeds, usually by bills of exchange, to his correspondent in England. See six items for the period 1687–1700, in 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 64–65, 66, 92–93, 122, 220, 234.

[6] C.O. 5:1045, no. 18.

[7] C.O. 5:865, no. 22.

[8] A treaty between England and Spain, December 14, 1715, provided that goods imported into and exported from Spain by British subjects were not subject to higher duties than Spanish traders were obliged to pay. British Foreign and State Papers, I. 628.

The latter claimed that for less than £300 New England money he had cleared £1,600 at Lisbon on one lot of such timber.[1] The promoters of the trade asserted that the timber was sold for silk and wine which were carried to England and exchanged for English goods for New England. One shipload had allowed Partridge and his partners to send out English manufactures worth £4,000; while two London merchants said that the new trade had enabled them to export £3,000 of English woolens to New England in 1699.[2] In order to develop a direct trade in naval stores between New England and England, parliament placed ship timber on the enumerated article list in 1705.[3] But there is evidence that this restriction was ignored and that the trade continued as before.[4] Dudley estimated in 1709 that lumber and timber sold in Europe netted Massachusetts £2,000 a year.[5]

By far the most important trade of the northern colonies was that with the British West Indies and with the foreign sugar colonies — Surinam, St. Thomas, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. New England's leading exports thence were fish,[6] lumber,[7] horses,[8] and provisions; [9]

[1] Bellomont to Board of Trade, June 22, 1700, C.O. 5:861, no. 45.

[2] Petition of William Crouch, Joseph Tatem, Henry Phillips, and other London merchants, 1700, C.O. 5:861, no. 29 (i); Journal of Board of Trade, May 6, 1700, Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I., 1700, pp. 229–230; Partridge to Board of Trade, C.O. 5:862, no. 29.

[3] 3 & 4 Anne, c. 9.

[4] J. Smith to John Usher, November 2, 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 74 (i); Board of Trade to Stanhope, August 3, 1715, C.O. 5:752, no. 11.

[5] C. O. 5:865, no. 22.

[6] Salem in one year, 1715–1716, exported 445 hogsheads and 202 quintals of fish to the British West Indies, and 75 per cent of the vessels sailing thither from Boston in 1715 carried shipments of fish. C.O. 5:848.

[7] Most of the lumber sent to the British islands came from northern New England. The chief products were boards, staves, shingles, and hoops. Nearly all the vessels leaving Boston for the British West Indies carried lumber, i. e., 289 of 308 vessels of whose cargoes I have itemized accounts. Id.

[8] In six months of 1688, Boston sent 270 horses to the British islands. They appear in 35 per cent of the cargoes from Boston during 1715. In the year after midsummer, 1715, Salem exported 39. Id.

[9] Wheat, flour, bread, biscuit, beef, pork, bacon, peas, oats, Indian corn, cheese. These foodstuffs made up only a small part of the cargoes from New England to the British islands, although they seem to have been more important before 1690 than afterward. In six months of 1687, provisions are listed in two thirds of the shipments from Boston to the British Indies, but by 1715 only small quantities were so exported. (Id.) Some notion of the relative importance of the

those of New York, wheat, bread, flour,[1] lumber,[2] and horses.[3] The major commodity returns were molasses,[4] rum,[5] and sugar; [6] of minor importance, indigo, fustic, ginger, lime juice, lignum vitæ, and cotton-wool.[7] All these products except rum served as returns from the mainland to England. Molasses and rum, on the other hand, were used in the fur-trade, in the Newfoundland trade, and for the

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products shipped from New England to the sugar colonies may be derived from Thomas Banister's estimates of the trade of New England in 1715. The following figures include all exports (except to the Wine Islands), not only those to the sugar colonies: provisions, £18,750; fish, £187,500; lumber, £31,250; horses, £25,000; onions and fruit, £1,250; beer and cider, £4,375; soap and candles, £6,250; wine, £2,500; small articles, £6,250. Banister to Board of Trade, July 15, 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 53.

[1] During the year after June 24, 1715, New York shipped 1,911 tons of provisions to the British islands in vessels of 2,600 tons, and 450 tons of provisions to the foreign sugar colonies. C.O. 5:1222.

[2] New York, in the year 1715–1716, exported 193,000 feet of boards to the British islands; to the foreign sugar colonies, 84,000 feet of lumber. Id.

[3] New York's exports in the year 1715–1716 were to the British islands, 169 horses; to the foreign sugar colonies, 86. Id.

[4] Before 1712, the British islands exported, one year with another, about 280,000 gallons of molasses to all the other British colonies. Accounts of exports from the British West Indies to the colonies, C.O. 390:6, pp. 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 51, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 66, 73–74, 87, 89, 104, 117. Massachusetts imports of British molasses fell from 156,000 gallons in six months of 1688 to 72,000 gallons in the year 1716. C.O. 5:848, and A. Cuming to Cockburn, March 2, 1717, C.O. 5:866, no. 111. New York took 36,000 gallons of British molasses in one year, 1715–1716. In 1716, Boston imported 105,000 gallons of foreign molasses; New York, 16,000 gallons. C.O. 5:1222, and C.O. 5:866, no. 111.

[5] Before 1712, the British islands exported yearly, on the average, about 325,000 gallons of rum to all the English colonies. Massachusetts in one year, 1716, took 113,000 gallons of British rum, and New York about 72,000 gallons. Imports of foreign rum into New York and Boston in 1715–1716 amounted to about 3,500 gallons for each town a year. C.O. 390:6, passim (see preceding note); C.O. 5:866, no. 111; C.O. 5:1222.

[6] The sugar exported from the British islands to the other English colonies before 1712 may have amounted to about 13,500 hundredweight yearly. C.O. 390:6, passim. Sugar re-exports from the mainland to England, 1703–1716 were: from Massachusetts, a yearly average of 5,988 hundredweight; from New York, yearly average, 1,333 hundredweight. C.O. 390:5, no. 47. Boston's imports of British sugar in 1716 amounted to 792 hogsheads; of foreign sugar, 364 hogsheads. C.O. 5:866, no. 111.

[7] Boston in 1716 imported from the British islands 502 bags of cotton-wool, 6 barrels of indigo, 19 barrels and 14 bags of cocoa; from the foreign colonies, 83 bags of cotton-wool, and 10 barrels of indigo. C.O. 5:866, no. 111. Other returns from the sugar colonies were very slight. C.O. 5:848, and C.O. 5:1222.

northern fishery, in each case enabling the northerners to obtain additional returns to the mother country. So complex was the West India trade and so scattered is the evidence pertaining to it that it seems impossible to estimate the revenues which it afforded the northern colonies. Only a general description of the problem may be attempted.

Undoubtedly the northern ports shipped greater quantities of goods to the sugar colonies than they received in return. During six months of 1688, Boston sent 70 vessels of 3,721 tons to the British sugar islands and only 59 vessels of 3,142 tons came in on return voyages.[1] In one year, 1715–1716, 70 vessels of 3,102 tons cleared from New York for the British and foreign sugar colonies, and only 49 vessels of 2,058 tons entered return cargoes.[2] Moreover, the outgoing vessels were fully laden; those arriving were in part empty. The fact that during these years a fairly large number of the returning vessels brought European goods from the British islands also indicates that the northerners were not able to obtain full commodity returns in West Indian produce. Moreover, many of the incoming vessels imported large quantities of salt. In 1715–1716, 14 vessels of 333 tons brought only salt to New York from the West Indies,[3] and 16 vessels of 744 tons imported nothing but salt to Boston in 1688.[4] Since most of such salt was taken at the salt deposits by the labor of the ship's crew, its cost to the northerners was slight; hence it represents only a small value in exchange for the exports of the northern colonies.[5]

Besides the proceeds from the sale of their produce, the northerners received payment for their services as shipbuilders, shipowners, and merchants. Records of shipments from Boston and Salem to the sugar colonies for eight different periods show a total of 19,500 tons of shipping employed, of which 15,750 tons, or 80 per cent, was Mas-

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[1] C.O. 5:848.

[2] C.O. 5:1222.

[3] Id. [4] C.O. 5:848.

[5] Sewall's sailing orders to Nicholas Bowe, master of the Endeavor, November, 1687, read, "if you cannot near fill up the ketch [at Antigua], you may leave the freight money in the hand of Thomas Marshall, to be sent home upon some good bottom. . . . And then you may proceed for salt to [Tortuga] and there take in lading of good fair small salt free from shells and mother [*sic*], and bring it home with you." 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. I. 66–67.

sachusetts owned.[1] The total shipping engaged in several recorded voyages from New York to the sugar colonies during two years, 1715–1717, was 3,827 tons; that owned at New York, 2,708 tons, or 70 per cent of the whole.[2] When produce was exported in shipping owned by northern merchants, they earned not only the freights, but also the profit of exporter and of importer, inasmuch as they employed agents who disposed of the cargoes either to the planters directly or to retailers in the islands.[3]

The methods of the West India trade may be illustrated by a typical shipment. In 1699, Ebenezer Brenton of Bristol, Massachusetts, built a sloop, the Society, of 40 to 50 tons. He formed a partnership with two merchants, William Fulton and John Porter-

[1] The records in the Massachusetts Shipping Returns are as follows: Boston to the British West Indies, May 18 to September 29, 1686, March 25 to September 29, 1687, March 25 to September 29, 1688, January 1, 1715, to January 1, 1716; Salem to the British West Indies, June 24, 1714, to June 24, 1716; Boston to the foreign sugar colonies, January 1, 1715, to January 1, 1716; Salem to Surinam, June 24, 1714, to June 24, 1716. C.O. 5:848.

[2] New York to British West Indies, June 24, 1715, to June 24, 1716; New York to the foreign sugar colonies, June 24, 1715, to June 24, 1717. C.O. 5:1222.

[3] In the years 1687–1692, Sewall sent five shipments to the West Indies, ordering the ship's captain to make sale. These vessels were of course New England owned. 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 4, 66, 74, 78, 114. Between 1686 and 1692, Sewall also consigned twelve shipments to his agents in the West Indies, giving instructions as to the form in which the proceeds were to be returned. Id., pp., 3, 4, 37, 46, 90, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 133–134. To one agent at Antigua, Nathaniel Barns, a "loving friend," Sewall in 1689 mentioned "many merchants that have made considerable consignments to you." Id., pp. 109–110. When consigning goods to Joseph Sergeant at Jamaica in 1691, Sewall admonished him: "Keep your N. E. principles." Id., pp. 115–116. Writing to his agent, Eliakim Mather, at Jamaica, in 1691, Sewall said: "Stay . . . where you are, if can enjoy God's word on the Sabbath from some good Minister." Id., p. 117. Other agents of Sewall were: at Barbados — John Pilgrim, Nathaniel Thair, Nathaniel Green, William Adams, Conrad Adams, James Taylor; at Antigua — John Keech. John Higginson wrote at Salem in August, 1700: "For correspondents in Barbados, I have had business with Mr. William Adams and his brother Conrad Adams. William served his time in this town with Major Browne; has now married a good fortune in Barbados, and understands business well, and is a faithful man. His brother Conrad lived some time in this town, is now at Barbados, a worthy man. . . . Here is one John Bradstreet, son of Doctor Samuel Bradstreet, about 24 years old, who served his time with Moses Byfield and Mico; who has an estate in Jamaica, and who is going this fall to settle there, whom I would commend to you. . . ." 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII., 219. One duty of the agent was to collect debts. Sewall on three occasions directed that this be done for him. 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 74–75, 154, 247.

field, who together invested £290 in the cargo and vessel, the total value of the two amounting to £800. The partners loaded a cargo of provisions, and Fulton then accompanied the vessel to St. Thomas, where a sale was arranged. The owners received a small sloop in exchange for the Society, and the cargo was sold at 50 per cent above its prime cost in New England. This profit included apparently both the freight charges to St. Thomas and the other gains of the exporters.[1]

The northerners took part of their returns from the West Indies in money.[2] The owners of the Society received in payment £300 in pieces of eight valued at 5*s* each.[3] As early as 1676 it was complained in Jamaica that the New Englanders were carrying away coin instead of the island's products.[4] Later, in 1702, a vessel bound from Jamaica to New York lost 10,906 pieces of eight and 18 ounces of gold.[5] Soon afterward, in 1706, the Board of Trade denounced paper money in Barbados as a likely menace to trade with the northern colonies. Since the importers from the mainland did not always have occasion to take Barbados produce, they had been satisfied to receive money. Should bills of credit form the currency of the island they would drive specie away. The northerners would refuse such bills and, being unable to procure silver, would have to abandon the trade.[6]

An additional form of returns from the sugar colonies to the main-

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[1] Narrative of William Fulton, March 27, 1700, C.O. 5:861, no. 32 (x); bill of lading and sailing orders for the Society, September, 1699, C.O. 5:860, no. 73 (xxiii); articles of sale, October 27, 1699, C.O. 5:861, no. 32 (ix).

[2] Sewall directed his selling agents in 1688 and 1691 to sell for ready money and to remit in part in specie. 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 78, 117. In April, 1687, he acknowledged receipt of 300 pieces of eight. Id., pp. 46–47. Higginson wrote in 1700 that pieces of eight, sugar, and logwood were the returns from Jamaica to Massachusetts. 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII. 220.

[3] C.O. 5:860, no. 32 (ix).

[4] An account of the present state of Jamaica, January 1, 1676, says: "It is the interest of this island that the trade of Ireland and other places should be encouraged, on purpose to disappoint those of New England, who never brought us any servants, or would take off any of our goods, but in exchange for their fish, peas, and pork, carried away only our plate and pieces of eight." C.O. 138:2, pp. 94–95.

[5] Deposition of L. Heddings, 1702, C.O. 5:1048, no. 5.

[6] Board of Trade to House of Commons, November 27, 1707, C.O. 389:19, pp. 391–392.

land consisted of bills of exchange. During eighteen years, 1698–1717, the British West Indies exported to England produce valued at £12,771,000, and purchased English goods worth £5,961,000, leaving a nominal balance in their favor of £6,810,000 — or a yearly average of £378,000.[1] From this sum the islands had to pay the freights on shipments from England, provide commissions for English merchants, purchase slaves, and support absentee planters living in England. This fund of credit also enabled them to buy provisions from the mainland by drawing bills of exchange on their London agents. How much of this credit went to the northerners is, unfortunately, not known.[2]

It appears that there was a marked relationship between the volume of the West India trade of the northern colonies and the volume of their trade with the mother country. In one year New York's imports from England amounted to one third of similar imports of Massachusetts, whereas New York's exports to the sugar colonies were about 30 per cent of those from Boston and Salem. These and other facts suggest that the principal service of the northern trade with the sugar colonies was to supply the mainland with returns to England.

The nature of the West India trade is indicated in another way — by the fact that many of the vessels sailing from the northern ports, after delivering their cargoes to the sugar colonies, sailed to Campeche Bay, where they loaded logwood for shipment to England, either directly or by way of Boston or New York. Boston's imports of logwood grew from 110 tons in six months of 1688 to an average of 1,540 tons a year in 1714 and 1715; New York's from about 260 tons in 1700 to 482 tons in 1716. This trade yielded a good profit, for the logwood was procured at Yucatan with northern provisions, and the vessels employed were all owned at the northern ports.[3]

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[1] C.O. 390:5.

[2] Five items in Sewall's Letter-Book (6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 74, 112, 114, 115, 133) for the period 1687–1692, direct his agents in the West Indies to secure bills of exchange. Four of the orders directed that the bills be sent to Edward Hull, London. Sewall wrote to Hull, October, 1692, "Mr. William Adams sends me from Barbados that he has ordered you a bill of fifty pounds." Id., p. 137. Sewall used these bills for purchases in London.

[3] C.O. 5:848; New York exports to England, June 8, 1698, to September 25, 1700, C.O. 390:17, p. 327; C.O. 5:1222.

The Dutch island of Curaçao was a considerable importer from Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania, commonly buying £50,000 of provisions a year.[1] New York had long been the leader in this trade; in 1698, Randolph noted that fifteen of her vessels had cleared for Curaçao alone.[2] In two years, 1715–1717, 26 sloops were dispatched from the province with combined cargoes of 746 tons of provisions and 3,500 feet of lumber. Nearly 90 per cent of the ships were New York owned,[3] and the profits of the trade apparently went to the New Yorkers, for they acted as importers at Curaçao, maintaining factors there to sell the incoming cargoes and to collect the available returns.[4]

These consisted chiefly of heavy pieces of eight. The principal commodities exported from Curaçao were cocoanut, lime juice, and dyewoods; and these in such small amounts that the New York vessels came home only partly loaded. Moreover, 25 per cent of them did not take any products at all for the return voyage. Curaçao was a small barren place, its major interest being focused upon trade with the Spanish colonies. Along with Jamaica it served the northerners as a place of deposit for their provisions en route to the cherished markets of Spanish America. The Spaniards often resorted to the island with money, but more commonly the Dutch supplied them with goods at their own settlements. Curaçao regularly employed about fifteen sloops in the region between Porto Bello and Cartagena, whence they had been reputed to have received five million pieces of eight in a single year. The ordinary Dutch provision vessel brought the Spaniard some sixty barrels of flour and fifty barrels of beef and pork. Likewise, from Vera Cruz and Cuba money flowed into the island in payment for foodstuffs, European goods, and slaves.[5]

The balance of their trade with Curaçao favored the northern colonies to an unusual extent. The merchants of New York asserted

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[1] Report of Board of Trade, entered January 19, 1710, C.O. 324:9, pp. 423, 425.

[2] Randolph to Board of Trade, August 25, 1698, C.O. 323:2, no. 129.

[3] C.O. 5:1222.

[4] Report on colonial trade with Curaçao, etc. (1707), sent to Board of Trade by Hunter, January 19, 1710, C.O. 5:1122, p. 153.

[5] Report of Mr. Holt on trade of Curaçao, received December 15, 1709, C.O. 388:12, no. 63 (xvi).

that their principal returns consisted of heavy pieces of eight. During King William's War it was said that the province had grown rich through silver obtained from the Spaniards; in 1708, the Dutch islands were New York's principal source of coin in the West Indies.[1] Rhode Island, according to Governor Cranston, imported from Curaçao only salt, cocoa, and pieces of eight, and was thus able to remit annually about £20,000 in money to Boston in payment for foreign goods purchased there.[2]

External trade was not the only source of colonial returns to England. For many years it was supplemented by piracy — an evil which yielded the mainland colonies no little quantity of gold and silver. Before 1690, the pirates operated chiefly in the Caribbean. Jamaica was the center of their activities and the treasure of the Spanish colonies their object.[3] After 1690, the scene shifted to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, where the pirates fell upon ships carrying gold and silver to the Orient or returning with valuable cargoes.[4] Because the precious metals could be disposed of at any place, the pirates were especially on the lookout for treasure-bearing ships. Such outlaws frequently sought the mainland ports, where the great demand for specie made the people warmly receptive to ill-gotten wealth which was liberally spent in shops and taverns or used to refit the marauding vessels for new voyages. An abundance of evidence indicates that in Massachusetts,[5] Rhode

[1] Quarry to Board of Trade, May 30, 1704, C.O. 323:5, no. 51; Cornbury to Board of Trade, July 1, 1708, C.O. 5:1049, no. 96; address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of New York to the Queen, February 22, 1709, C.O. 5:1049, no. 99 (i).

[2] Cranston to Board of Trade, December 5, 1708, C.O. 5:1264, no. 92 (ii).

[3] Violet Barbour, "Privateers and Pirates of the West Indies," American Historical Review, XVI. 542, 555–557.

[4] H. L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, I. 527.

[5] Report came that after the sack of Vera Cruz in 1683, which yielded 960,000 pieces of eight, one of the principal ringleaders headed for Boston with his share of the spoil. (Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I., 1681–1685, p. 458.) An observer wrote about this time of the arrival of a French privateer. "The Bostoners no sooner heard of her off the coast than they dispatched a messenger and pilot to convoy her into port in defiance of the King's proclamation. The pirates are likely to leave the greatest part of their plate behind them, having bought up most of the choice goods in Boston." (Id., p. 678.) At Jamaica, Governor Lynch picked up the rumor that pirates had enriched Boston to the extent of £80,000. (Id. p. 598.) Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire reported (id., pp. 680–681): "Most of the English plate-ships that have come into Boston during the last

Island,[1] and New York[2] the pirates were supported by influential

two years [1682–1684], though they pretended to have recovered their goods from wrecks, have robbed the Spaniards of the greater part of it. . . . It is well that their government is almost at an end, or Boston would have been the receptacle for the pirates in these western parts." It was found that one of the most notorious of the pirate ships was "fitted and protected by the godly New England independents." (Id., p. 760.) When an English agent seized the ship, he encountered threats against his person and delays at law. One protector of the pirates "received clandestinely great quantities of their gold, silver, jewels, and cacao." (Id., pp. 684–685.) In Randolph's judgment the operating of the Massachusetts mint and the incentive given pirates to bring their silver to Boston were simply two aspects of one iniquity. (Id., 1689–1692, p. 47.) Massachusetts also saw much of the adventurers to the Red Sea. One of the most celebrated — Captain Tew — ended his first voyage in the province. The owners of another vessel, that of Captain Wake, lived in Boston. (Id., 1696–1697, pp. 259–260.) When the pirate Bradish was captured in that town, he had £3,000 or so of money in his possession. (Id., 1699, pp. 132–133, 191.) The inventory of Kidd's effects disclosed 1,111 ounces of gold and 2,353 ounces of silver. (Id., p. 375.) Bellomont referred to gold and jewels taken from a fourth pirate, Gillam, whose ship had come from Madagascar, where it was reputed to have taken plunder worth £2,000,000 sterling. (Id., p. 553.) A party of pirates returning to Boston in 1704 brought in about £10,000, of which £4,684 in gold and silver was seized by the provincial officials.

[1] Randolph wrote in 1696 that Rhode Island had "now become a free port for pirates from all places." (Randolph to Board of Trade, August 17, 1696, C.O. 323:2, no. 6 (i).) Tew had come from the Red Sea in 1694 with £100,000 in silver and gold: his share of this booty, £12,000, had enriched the people. (Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I., 1696–1697, p. 214.) A bit later, Randolph found conditions unchanged. Eight pirates, lately from Madagascar, had arrived with great stores of money and East India goods. At the approach of an English warship, six of them fled to Boston. Two were captured and about £1,400 in silver and gold taken. (Id., 1697–1698, p. 256.) Another informant wrote at the time that pirates had been on the coasts of New York and Rhode Island, bringing in £200,000 in gold and East India merchandise. (Id., p. 216.) Numerous reports asserted that pirate ships were readily fitted out in Rhode Island. (Brenton to Board of Trade, March 30, 1703, C.O. 5:863, no. 14a; Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I., 1699, pp. 487, 553.) We hear of Captain Hore taking his prizes to the colony, and of a Captain Want leaving his money there. (Id., 1697–1698, p. 456; 1696–1697, p. 260.) Bellomont told of other pirates who were visiting the Rhode Islanders. The men went ashore during the day and spent their gold "very liberally." The ship Adventure, reported to have had a large sum of money, was sunk by its pirate crew, whereupon the men landed with the spoil and dispersed along the southern New England shore. The governor of Rhode Island managed to get between £2,500 and £3,000 of this money. (Id., 1699, pp. 133, 256.) For a long time one of the standing complaints of English officials against Rhode Island was that the colonists, from the governors down, encouraged and protected pirates, and thereby the colony was improperly enriched. Id., 1697–1698, p. 582; 1699, p. 544.

[2] For a time New York was the leading resort of pirates. Governor Fletcher openly patronized them. He issued commissions to many of the most active, and

merchants and protected by local officials. Reports generally estimated that pirate crews brought in between £50,000 and £200,000

allowed them to come safely into New York with their spoil. His critics said that he received $100 a man in return for the protection and immunity granted. Two members of the Council, William Nichols and Nicholas Bayard, exposed themselves to charges of taking money for acting as intermediaries between Fletcher and the pirates. (Cal. St. Pap., A. & W. I., 1697–1698, pp. 224, 228, 467, 562, 586–587.) Many were the evidences of coin brought in by the outlaws. The ill-fated Tew (so the rumor ran) visited Rhode Island and New York with £100,000. He became a favorite with Fletcher, received a commission from him, and fitted out his ship at New York for another voyage to the Red Sea. (Id., 1696–1697, p. 260; 1697–1698, pp. 326, 456, 587.) A pirate ship, the Jacob, with 65 men on board who had shared $1,800 each, sought Governor Fletcher's protection. The reports affirmed that Nichols received 1,000 pieces of eight for his influence with the governor, and that Fletcher got 100 pieces of eight from each pirate. After the arrival of the ship, Arabian gold pieces became "pretty common" in the province. (Id., pp. 480, 562, 584–585; 1699, p. 23.) A party of pirates from New York, after taking four ships, "returned thither to share the plunder with the governor's connivance." (Id., 1697–1698, p. 365.) A correspondent from Bombay found that the outlaws "carry their unjust gains to New York, where they are permitted egress and regress without control, spending such coin there, in the usual lavish manner of such persons, as might convince the Government that they came not well by it." (Id., p. 114.) In 1698, pirates who had been to New York were thought to have had £200,000 in gold and East India goods. (Id., p. 216.) At this time one of the councillors, Thomas Willett, dispatched a barrel of money and plate from New York to Long Island for safe-keeping when threatened by Bellomont's searches. (Id., pp. 493–494.) Next came news that a pirate ship at Cape May was being unloaded of its rich cargo of East India goods and money by sloops from New York. And soon afterward Bellomont wrote: "A great ship has been seen off this coast any time this week; 'tis supposed to be one Maise a pirate, who has brought a vast deal of wealth from the Red Sea." (Id., 1699, pp. 266, 335.) Likewise, New York's trade to Madagascar became very profitable. In 1698, when four vessels were ready to leave on the African voyage, Bellomont tried to induce the New York Council to require a bond of £2,000 for each ship as a safeguard against its trading with pirates. But the Council resolutely opposed this, and the ships left without restraint. (Id., 1697–1698, p. 282.) For a time the Madagascar trade engrossed the interest of many New York merchants. In 1700, three vessels were expected back, and others were fitting out for the voyage. Great estates had been made by selling wine, rum, and ammunition to the pirates; the margin of profit seemed incredible. One vessel, owned by Messrs. DeLancey and Hackshaw, returned in 1699 with about 60 passengers who had paid 12,000 pieces of eight and 3,000 lion dollars for their passage. This ship also brought treasure that Bellomont believed worth £50,000. The colony was flushed with gold, and the shipowners had been able to defy the government. Three other ships were on the way: when they arrived the province would abound with ready money. (Id., 1697–1698, pp. 270, 403; 1700, p. 106; 1704–1705, pp. 140–141; 1699, pp. 281, 335, 360–361, 402–403.) Piracy reached to the very heart of local politics. The Council under Fletcher shared his attitude; when the pirate ship Jacob arrived, the councillors advised that the

of treasure at a time. Evidence of seizures, however, indicates more modest sums — between £1,300 and £12,000. The gold and silver taken from Captain Kidd may have been worth £5,000. In the period 1680–1700 the supply of coin in the colonies was far more abundant than after 1700, when England's campaign against the evil put a temporary check on such illicit gains.

As already suggested, the commodities derived from foreign trade which were reshipped from the northern ports to England did not supply them with a large volume of returns. Of such foreign products, logwood was the most important. In 1717, the Board of Trade estimated that British imports of Campeche logwood amounted to £60,000.[1] Jamaica and New England were the principal regions concerned in the trade. Shipments from Boston to England during six months of 1688 amounted to 261 tons; in 1715, to 788 tons of logwood and 644 tons of dyewood not specified.[2] New York sent 396 tons of logwood in nine months of 1699, and 487 tons during the year beginning June 24, 1715.[3] The London price in 1717 was £16 a ton, the yearly importation then amounting to some 3,741 tons. Banister estimated in 1715 that New England derived £31,250 yearly from the logwood trade — figures that doubtless include shipments direct from Campeche Bay to England as well as those going by way of Boston.[4]

Sugar ranked second among the re-exports of the northern towns. During sixteen years, 1703–1718, the average yearly shipments to England from New England were 5,988 hundredweight; from New York, 1,333 hundredweight.[5] New York's returns in 1721 included

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men be permitted to come ashore, since the province was "exhausted in men as well as money" and therefore "nothing could be worse than to drive these men to other ports." For his exertions against pirates Bellomont brought upon himself the charge of having kept £100,000 out of the province in less than a year. He met much opposition from his first Council, and aroused the wrath of the New York merchants. Among the councillors who profited by the contact with pirates were Bayard, Philips, Willett, DeLancey, Minvielle, Nichols, Smith, and French. The five first named were removed from office early in Bellomont's campaign against illegal trade. Id., 1697–1698, pp. 211, 480, 487, 512; Nottingham to Board of Trade, July 29, 1702, C.O. 5:1047, nos. 62 and 63 (i-iii).

[1] Board of Trade to the King, September 25, 1717, C.O. 137:46, no. 27.

[2] C.O. 5:848. [3] C.O. 389:17, p. 327; C.O. 5:1222.

[4] Banister to Board of Trade, received July 15, 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 53.

[5] C.O. 390:5, no. 47.

905 hundredweight of brown sugar valued at £1,245, giving a New York price of £1 7*s* 4*d* a hundredweight.[1]

Very little tobacco was shipped from New England or New York to England. For the period 1703–1718 the average yearly exports were: from New England, 29,131 pounds; from New York, 4,967 pounds.[2] Some notion of the other foreign commodity returns may be obtained from a list of New York's exports in 1721. The estimated values were: indigo, £720, rice £465, cocoanuts, £422, Nicaragua wood, £278, and cotton-wool, £255. Even less important were fustic, ginger, pimento, lime juice and lignum vitæ.[3]

Among the invisible returns of the northern colonies to England were coin and bullion.[4] Banister computed that prior to 1706 New England remitted annually between £18,000 and £30,000 in Spanish money and Massachusetts coin "till all was gone." In 1715, he thought the sum had decreased to £2,500.[5] Several independent reports from New York for the period 1697–1718 asserted emphatically that gold and silver made up the principal exports of the province to England.[6]

Another invisible item in the exchanges consisted of freights earned by colonial vessels en route to England. Henry Martin noted in 1717 that such colonial shipping was a British import.[7] Fragmentary evidence indicates that the earnings of New York and Boston on shipments from those ports to England did not exceed £4,000 a year.[8]

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[1] Id., no. 51. [2] Id., no. 47. [3] Id., no. 51.

[4] In 1686–1688, Sewall made four remittances to England, amounting in all to 1,000½ ounces of silver, Mexico, pillar, and Seville, and 7 ounces of gold dust. 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., I. 30, 79, 85–86, 92. In October, 1693, he sent to John Ive 23 Spanish pistoles, 1 small piece of Arabian gold, 10 broad pieces of gold, and £3 in English silver crowns. (Id., I. 137.) Another shipment, in June, 1700, consisted of 4 Arabian gold pieces, 1 double pistole, 2 single pistoles, 1 louis d'or, 5 guineas, and one broad piece of Charles I. Id., I. 237.

[5] C.O. 5:866, no. 53.

[6] New York merchants to Cornbury, *ca.* February, 1705, C.O. 5: 1048, no. 105 (i); Nanfan to Board of Trade, June 9, 1701, C.O. 5:1045, no. 20; Quarry to Board of Trade, May 30, 1704, C.O. 323:5, no. 51; address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of New York to the Queen, October, 1708, C.O. 5:1049, no. 99 (i); New York merchants to Board of Trade, *ca.* 1718, C.O. 1051, no. 67.

[7] Martin was Inspector-General of the Customs. See his discourse on the balance of England's trade, C.O. 390:12, pp. 32–33.

[8] John Higginson, writing at Salem to his brother Nathaniel in August, 1700, said: "here is much shipping, freight very low, and it is a query whether you had

The northerners also carried West India produce directly from the islands to England. Thus Bellomont in 1699 reported many Boston and New York vessels idle because the failure of the year's sugar crop had deprived them of the cargoes they usually carried to England, and in 1708 Quarry stated that some Massachusetts ships, disposing of their lumber at Barbados, were freighted there with produce consigned to the mother country.[1] The freights earned on such shipments obviously increased the northern purchasing power for English goods.

New England's returns included yet another invisible item in the balance of exchanges. In 1717, Martin pointed out that one "value is imported and sold to England, which is no part of the value of those public imports, and that is the very ships themselves of New England . . . after their voyages performed hither. These are some of the returns by which they are enabled to pay some part of the balance."[2] New England vessels were regularly built on order of English merchants, it being reported in 1700 that costs of construction there were 40 per cent lower than in England.[3] As early as 1676 New England shipbuilders obtained from England yearly orders, in time of peace, for as many as thirty ships.[4] William Partridge, according to Bellomont, boasted that in the years 1697–1699 he received £22,000 in England for colonial built vessels.[5] An estimate in 1712 states that seventy Massachusetts ships were sold yearly in Great Britain and the West Indies.[6] Another estimate in 1715

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better not ship upon freight, than either hire or own vessels. The factor here may always have freight when he can provide it." 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII. 218.

[1] Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 24, 1699, C.O. 5:860, no. 73; Quarry to Board of Trade, January 10, 1708, C.O. 323:6, no. 62. J. Higginson wrote in August, 1700: "Barbados, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies are very proper to be made use of in making returns for England, of their commodities, the more advantageous than direct from hence [Salem]. For instance, molasses has been this year at 12*d* a gallon, besides the charge of cask, etc., in Barbados; and much molasses which has been shipped of hence for England, cost here 2*s* a gallon, besides other charges of commission, cooperage, etc. The freight from Barbados [to England] being much the same as from hence, I judge it more advantageous to have returns of that kind from Barbados, than from New England; sugar and cotton are much the same." 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII., 219.

[2] C.O. 390:12, pp. 33–34.

[3] Bellomont to Board of Trade, November 28, 1700, C.O. 5:1045. no. 18.

[4] V. S. Clark, History of Manufacturing in the United States, I. 95.

[5] Bellomont to Board of Trade, April 23, 1700, C.O. 5:931, no. 2.

[6] Dudley to Board of Trade, April 8, 1712, C.O. 5:865, no. 92.

computed the yearly sale value of all New England built ships at £93,750.[1] Martin wrote in 1717: "I know not whether 40 or 50 sail of ships New England built may not be annually sold in England"; and in 1721 an official estimate indicated that most of the vessels constructed in the northern colonies were built on orders from British merchants.[2] On the basis of this data it may not be possible to ascertain the yearly value of such vessels as returns; however, it seems clear that they netted New England more than all the other native products of the region together. Ships built in New York apparently were not sold in Britain to a considerable extent before 1717.

A fourth form of invisible returns consisted of bills of exchange drawn in the northern colonies in payment of services performed there by the Crown. Colonial merchants often supplied money or provisions to royal officials in America, receiving such bills payable by one of the departments of the British government. The merchants then used the bills for purchases in England by endorsing them to their English correspondents.

Between 1692 and 1702, a sum of £36,581 was remitted by such bills for the support of English troops at New York. Other payments in the northern colonies at this time were not large — nor afterward, until 1710. Then considerable sums were remitted for provisioning warships, for equipping the expedition against Nova Scotia, for holding the garrison at Annapolis, for supporting the Palatines at New York, and for financing the campaign against Canada in 1711.

During the years 1711–1713, bills of exchange amounting to at least £44,230 were drawn at New York for these various services, and to at least £57,100 at Boston. But all the bills were not honored in England. Governor Hunter at New York drew bills for £22,071 which were rejected at Whitehall — to his own private loss. Another sum of £4,596, in favor of Benjamin Edmonds, a contractor for the Navy Board, had not been paid by November, 1714. In most instances, the losers from nonpayment of such bills were English merchants who accepted them through their correspondents in the colonies. In spite of irregularities in the payment of these bills, they

[1] C.O. 5:866, no. 53.

[2] Clark, I. 95.

supplied the northern provinces with a large fund of returns during the years 1710–1713.[1]

Summarizing the remittances of New England and the middle colonies to England, we find that commodity shipments provided payments for only a small part of the exports. Such commodity returns were made up of native products of the northern region — fur, whale oil, whalebone, naval stores, and timber — plus a few southern commodities, notably logwood, along with a little sugar and tobacco. New England ships provided more purchasing power than all the other native products of the area available as returns. Coin, bills of exchange, and foreign products carried directly to England were obtained by the northerners in the West Indies, Newfoundland, southern Europe, and the mainland colonies.[2] Before 1702, money had been plentiful as returns, but the decline of piracy after that date seems greatly to have diminished the supply. Meanwhile, Rhode Island and New York continued to obtain heavy pieces of eight at Curaçao. Freights and merchants' charges did not affect the balance of trade of the northern area as in the case of the southern colonies. The freights, commissions, and profits earned by English merchants importing into the colonies were balanced in part by similar earnings of northern merchants in carrying goods to England and selling them in the English market. British remittances to the colonies by bills of exchange created an important source of purchasing power, especially during the years 1710–1713.

Before 1720, the effect of British colonial policy on the northern colonies had been highly beneficial. They had free access to all

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[1] This subject is treated more fully in my article, "British Payments in the American Colonies," English Historical Review, XLVIII. 229–249.

[2] J. Higginson wrote in August, 1700, of trade at Salem: "Our principal commodities are dry merchandise, cod-fish fit for the markets of Spain, Portugal, the Straits, also refuse dry fish, mackerel, lumber, horses and provision for the West Indies; the effects whereof mostly return for England. . . . Considering that money is of late grown so exceeding scarce amongst us, . . . the making of returns for England by the way of Barbados, Leeward Islands, Bilbao, Oporto, Cadiz, and Isle of Wight would be more easy and safe than direct for England; and it's probable, more advantageous; because, money being so scarce, and returns direct, difficult to be got, debts must be contracted to procure money, which will be hardly got in; whereas, a man may sell more goods, and better get in his debts more speedily and certainly, for barter of goods for those markets, than direct." 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VII, 218, 220.

markets of the Empire — especially to those of the West Indies, Newfoundland, and the other mainland colonies. New England was allowed to send fish directly to southern Europe — a privilege of the greatest value. Under the shelter of the Navigation Acts the northern merchants carried on a prosperous business as shippers, exporters, and importers throughout the Empire. They were not only permitted to construct ships, but were also able to sell them in England by virtue of the exclusion of foreign-built vessels from imperial trade.

During Queen Anne's War the northerners enjoyed many other benefits. All the English colonies received the privilege of trading with the Spanish colonies, subject only to trifling restrictions. In the years 1708–1711 England spent £222,000 for naval protection of the trade of New York and New England, supplying convoys without which it could not have endured.[1] The Crown also contributed other large sums toward the conquest of Nova Scotia and the expeditions against Canada, projects that aimed to protect the vital interests of New England and New York.

Then, after 1713, Britain frequently supported the New Englanders in conflicts with foreign powers. One such conflict arose with Spain in 1716 when a Spanish raid on the British logwood cutters at Yucatan threatened to ruin their industry. This provoked an official defense of Britain's position in the trade. The king's subjects had settled at Yucatan in the decade of the 1660's, and were therefore protected by subsequent treaties between England and Spain. These allowed England to hold all American territory occupied before 1667, and guaranteed to her all powers she had enjoyed there by either right or sufferance.[2]

A second conflict arose shortly after the Peace of Utrecht, when the Spaniards seized several northern vessels calling for salt at the island of Tortuda. On one voyage since the peace New England had lost more vessels than during the whole course of the war. Spain, claiming ownership of Tortuda, regarded the New Englanders as

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[1] Estimate of expense of British warships engaged in defense of the colonies, C.O. 390:5, no. 46.

[2] Banister's "Essay on the Trade of New England," 1715, C.O. 5:866, no. 67; report on French and Spanish trade in North America, sent to the Board of Trade by R. Harris, December 27, 1714, C.O. 388:17, no. 86 (ii); Board of Trade to the King, September 25, 1717, C.O. 137:46, no. 27.

intruders. The latter asserted their right of visiting the island by virtue of the Spanish treaty of 1667, which allowed the English to frequent those places in the West Indies where the Spaniards had neither garrisons nor warehouses.[1] "Salt," wrote Jeremiah Dummer, "is used partly for saving provisions, but principally for curing fish, which is . . . the principal branch of returns made from the Continent [of North America] to Great Britain by way of Spain, Portugal, and the Straits, for the great quantities of woolen and indeed all kinds of manufactures, with which they supply themselves here."[2] In response to New England's appeals, the British minister at Madrid, Mr. Methuen, secured a treaty with Spain, December 14, 1715, which allowed British subjects to gather salt at the island in dispute.[3]

The logwood controversy, however, was not so easily settled, and it figured in the events leading to Britain's declaration of war against Spain, December 16, 1718.[4] The logwood and the salt trades were vital to New England; hence she profited by the alertness of British diplomacy, backed by all the defensive forces of the Empire.

After 1713, two groups within the Empire were complaining of certain practices of the northerners. The planters of the British West Indies objected to the trade of the mainland colonies with the foreign West Indies — a trade that, it seemed, was reducing the price of sugar and molasses in the British islands, and raising the price of imported provisions. The Board of Trade in 1714 went so far as to suggest a legal prohibition of this trade.[5] The other complaints came from the fishermen of western England, who insisted that New England's trade with the settlers of Newfoundland was undermining the British fishery there. The New Englanders debauched the settlers and their servants with rum; idleness and inefficiency were the result. Besides, English seamen were being enticed away from English ships at the island with offers of better wages on New England vessels. In 1718, the Board of Trade recommended that the settlers be re-

[1] Banister's Essay, C.O. 5:866, no. 67; address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of Massachusetts to the Queen, August 28, 1713, C.O. 5:751, no. 85 (i).

[2] Memorial of October 13, 1713, C.O. 5:866, no. 7.

[3] Board of Trade to the Queen, January 15, 1714, C.O. 5:913, pp. 464–7; heads of additional instructions for Mr. Methuen, proposed by Board of Trade, January 17, 1715, C.O. 389:25, pp. 73–74; treaty of 1715, Brit. State Papers, I. 628.

[4] Craggs to colonial governors, December 24, 1718, C.O. 324:33, pp. 202–204.

[5] Board of Trade to the Queen, February 9, 1714, C.O. 5:913, pp. 469–471.

moved from Newfoundland altogether, and that the fishery thereafter be carried on from England.[1] Had this been done, and had the foreign West India trade been closed to the northerners, they would have lost two of the most valuable markets for their surplus produce.

These projected attacks on the northern colonies involved serious issues, in view of Britain's policy of checking the growth of colonial manufactures that would compete with her own wares. Either the northern colonies had to have the freedom of manufacturing for themselves, or they had to have access to all available markets in which they could convert their surplus produce into some means of paying for English goods.

Mr. Morison communicated by title a note on

THE LIBRARY OF GEORGE ALCOCK, MEDICAL STUDENT, 1676

George Alcock, who graduated from Harvard College in 1673, apparently intended to be a physician, as his father and grandfather had been before him. Probably he apprenticed himself to a physician after graduating. In ordinary course he would have come up for his A.M. at Commencement, 1676, and argued a medical *quaestio*. But on April 19, 1676, he obtained a Harvard diploma,[2] went to England, and there died of smallpox on March 3, 1676/7. The inventory of his estate is in the Suffolk County probate records in Boston. The list of Alcock's library that it includes has been passed over by students of colonial libraries and reading, because it was assumed to be the library acquired by him in England. But the fact that it is signed by two Roxbury men, John Gore and John Bowles (H.C. 1671), proves that the books had been left there when Alcock went abroad. It is, therefore, the library of a Harvard medical student preparing himself for his second degree and the practice of his profession. In that respect, so far as I know, it is unique for the seventeenth century. Many of the books were doubtless inherited from the student's grandfather, George Alcock, an alumnus of St. John's College, Oxford, who

[1] Board of Trade to the King, December 19, 1718, C.O. 195:6, pp. 416–464.

[2] His diploma bearing that date, the oldest known Harvard diploma, is printed in Sibley, Harvard Graduates, II. 420 (where there is a short sketch of Alcock's life), and is reproduced in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin, xxxv. 807.

emigrated in 1630 and settled in Roxbury as a physician; and from his father, John Alcock (H.C. 1646, *d* 1667), also a practising physician, who left his books and manuscripts in charge of Jonathan Mitchell, "to be kept for his sons, those two that are desirous to be scholars." [1]

What distinguishes Alcock's from all other New England libraries of the era — excepting that of John Winthrop, the younger — is its strength in medicine, and weakness in theology. Out of some eighty items, only ten or twelve, among them the Bible, Psalter, and Greek and Hebrew Testaments are religious. Most fittingly, Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici is included. Many of the medical works were obsolete, and obviously had been brought over by the owner's grandfather; but others, like the works of Sennert and Harvey, were the best available at that time. Alcock's non-professional taste in literature is shown by Don Quixote, and perhaps another work of Cervantes; by works of Justus Lipsius and Lord Bacon, and by classics such as Horace, Homer, Hesiod, and Plutarch. Many of these need no identification; several others such as Scaliger's De Subtilitate are found in other lists in this volume. These have not been annotated; the curious reader is referred to the index. The identifications are by Mr. Donald H. Mugridge, now of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress; and I also acknowledge the aid of Dr. Archibald Malloch, Librarian of the New York Academy of Medicine, and of Dr. W. W. Francis, of the Osler Library at McGill University.

AN INVENTORY OF THE BOOKS OF Mr GEORGE ALCOCK (LATE OF ROXBURY DECEASED) WHICH WERE FOUND IN HIS STUDIE AFTER THE NEWS OF HIS DEATH

	[£	*s*	*d*]
Ambros Parry upon chirurgery [2]	15	—	
Ultrafestinus phisic	03	06	
More's Arithmatic [3]	03	00	
Johnson's medicament practica [4]	03	00	

[1] Sibley I. 125.

[2] Ambroise Paré (the greatest surgeon of the sixteenth century): The Workes of that famous chirurgion A. Parey translated out of Latine and compared with the French by T. Johnson. London, 1634, and later editions.

[3] Sir Jonas Moore: Arithmetick. London, 1650, and later editions.

[4] Johannes Jonston (Polish physician and traveller): Idea Universæ Medicinæ Practicæ libris VIII. Amsterdam, 1644, and later editions.

	[£	s	d]
Psalter		01	—
Bible		02	6
[C]low upon chirurgery [1]		02	6
[S]toa triumphans		—	6
Johannes Riolanus [2]		05	0
[Gra]ecum testamentum		01	6
Henricus Gutberlieth (m[r] whitman's) [3]			
Leonardus Fustius medicus [4]		12	0
Guintherius, (medicus) [5]		05	0
Jacobus Hollerius (phisicus) [6]		05	0
Schrivelij Lexicon [7]		10	0
Don Quixot [8]		03	0
Johannes Messuæ [9]		02	0

[1] William Clowes, surgeon of Queen Elizabeth; the title would suggest that this was the first edition (London, 1588) of his principal work, A Prooved Practise for all Young Chirurgians.

[2] Either the elder (1538–1605) or the younger (1580–1657) Jean Riolan; if the former, either his Universæ Medicinæ Compendium (Paris, 1598), or his Chirurgia (Leipsig, 1601; English translation, 1657); if the latter (the more eminent), probably his Encheiridium Anatomicum et Pathologium (Paris, 1648, and many later editions).

[3] Hendrick Gutberleth: Pathologia, hoc est doctrina de humanis affectibus, physice et ethice tractata. Herborn, 1615.

[4] Probably Leonhard Fuchs: Methodus seu Ratio Compendiara preveniendi ad veram medicinam. Paris, 1541, and later editions. Gutberleth is now remembered for his magnificent botanical drawings, but in his time he was a very popular medical writer.

[5] Joannes Guinterius, *Andernacus* (Johann Winther), a famous sixteenth-century editor of Galen; probably his De Medicina Veteri et Nova (Basel, 1571), an attempted reconciliation of the schools of Galen and Paracelsus.

[6] Jacques Houllier; his Omnia Opera Practica were published in folio in Paris in 1612, but since the price in the inventory does not indicate this to be a folio, it was probably his popular De Materia Chirurgica (1544, and later editions), or his De Morborum Internorum Curatione (Venice, 1562, and later editions).

[7] Cornelius Schrevelius (Schrevel): Lexicon Manuale Græco-Latinum et Latino-Græcum. Leyden, 1654, and many later editions. This book was still being used by Harvard students in the early years of the nineteenth century.

[8] Thomas Shelton's translation, published by Ed. Blount in 1612 and 1620.

[9] The traditional "three books of Mesue," which formed "the common text-book of pharmacology and therapeutics in the Middle Ages"; they were probably Latin compilations of the tenth and eleventh centuries, given, for the sake of prestige, the name of Joannes Mesue Damascenus, the Arab Yuhanna ibn Masawayh (*c* 777–857). There were several sixteenth-century editions.

	[£	s	d]
Johannes Farnelius [1]		04	0
Lexicon grec and Latin		08	0
Jacobus Veckerus [2]		08	0
Gassendus (astronomica)		06	0
Johannes Heurnio [3]		02	0
Franciscus Verulan		02	6
Critica sacra		15	0
Thomas Wilson (upon divinity) [4]		01	0
Cicero		01	6
Riverius (phisicus) [5]		09	0
Rider's dictiona		08	0
Sennertus phisicus [6]		05	0
Sennertus chymicus		06	0
Sennertus (medicus)		05	0
Sennertus de morb mulierum:		05	0
Sennertus phisicus		03	0
Van Helmont [7]		05	0

[1] Jean Fernel (of Amiens, professor of medicine at Paris): Universa Medicina. Frankfort, 1574, and many later editions.

[2] Jacob Wecker, physician of Basel and Colmar; probably his Practica Medicinæ Generalis (Basel, 1585).

[3] Jan van Heurne, physician and professor of medicine at Leyden, author of Notes and Commentaries on various Hippocratic works; probably either his Praxis Medicinæ Nova Ratio (Leyden, 1590), or his Institutiones Medicinæ (Leyden, 1592).

[4] Thomas Wilson (1563–1622), Puritan preacher of Canterbury; perhaps his Christian Dictionarie (London, 1612), "one of the earliest attempts made at a concordance of the Bible in English."

[5] Possibly Charles Etienne de la Rivière, physician and printer of Paris (*d* 1569), but more likely Lazare Rivière (1589–1655), professor at Montpellier, whose complete works in folio went through twelve editions between 1663 and 1738. The work listed here was probably the latter's Praxis Medica (Paris, 1640, and later editions), or his Institutiones Medicæ (1655, and later editions). Lazare Rivière is said to have plagiarized extensively from Sennert.

[6] Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), the most authoritative medical writer of his time. Alcock's library doubtless included the following: Hypomnemata Physica (Frankfort, 1636); De Chymicorum cum Aristotelicis et Galenicis Consensu ac Dissensu Liber (Wittenberg, 1619); Institutionum Medicinæ libri V (Wittenberg, 1628); Liber IV Practicæ Medicinæ: de Mulierum et Infantium Morbis (Wittenberg, 1632); Epitome Institutionum Medicinæ et Libr. de Febribus (Wittenberg, 1634).

[7] J. B. van Helmont, the "chemist" extraordinary of the seventeenth century. His Ortus Medicinæ (Amsterdam, 1644) was translated into English in 1662 as Oriatrike or Physick Refined.

	[£	s	d]
Sennertus phisicus		03	6
Sennertus phisicus		04	6
Scroderius medicus [1]		04	0
Gulielmus Harveus (medicus) [2]		03	0
Bartoletus (medicus) [3]		02	6
Hæbr Bible	1	00	0
Homer's Iliads [4]		01	6
Scaliger de subtilitate		02	0
Bartholinus (anatomicus) [5]		03	0
Lipsij æpistolæ [6]		01	0
Kecarmanus (phisicus)		01	0
Guastivinus (medicus) [7]		01	0
Martinus Rulandius [8]		03	0
Ramij opera		03	0
Æginetæ opera [9]		02	0
Aristot (Logic)		02	6

[1] Probably Johann Schroeder, whose Pharmacopœia Medico-chymica (Ulm, 1641) was translated into English in 1669.

[2] Since there was no collected edition of Harvey's works until the eighteenth century, this was probably the immortal Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus (Frankfort, 1628, and many later editions).

[3] Probably a mistake for Bartholinus, for whom see note 5, below.

[4] Doubtless Chapman's translation, which bore this plural form of the title.

[5] There was a whole family of distinguished Danish physicians by this name, beginning with Caspar Bartholinus the elder (1585–1629), who Latinized his name of Jasper Bertelsen. This book was probably one of the numerous works of Thomas Bartholinus (1616–1680), son of Caspar, and "the most famous of the family": perhaps his Historiarum Anatomicarum et Medicarum Rariorum Centuria (Amsterdam, 1654), or his De Pulmonum Substantia et Motu Diatribe (Copenhagen, 1663).

[6] Justus Lipsius, of Louvain, "un des savants les plus prodigieux du seizième siècle"; from the wording of the title in the inventory, this is perhaps his Epistolæ Selectæ ad Belgas (1605). All his other collections of letters, and there are many such, have the form *epistolarum*.

[7] Giulio Guastavigno (professor of medicine at Pisa): Libri Locorum de Medicina Selectorum. London, 1616, and later editions.

[8] Probably the elder Martin Ruland (1532–1602), who published a general treatise, Medicina Practica Recens et Nova, at Strasburg in 1567. The younger Martin Ruland (1569–1611), a physician of Regensburg and Prague, also wrote medical works.

[9] The seven books of Paulus Ægineta, a Byzantine Greek (625–690). There were various Latin and Greek editions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; from the price quoted here, this may well have been a small octavo edited by Guinterius (see note 5, p. 352, above) in 1589.

	[£	s	d]
Rami dialect		01	0
Firth (theologus) [1]		01	0
Farnelius medicus		01	6
Slegelius medicus [2]		01	0
Plutarch			
Plutarch Ethicorum		04	0
Clavis Homerica		03	0
Manutij phras		01	0
Hus — phras		02	6
Castanij destinctiones		02	0
Petrus Uffenbachius (medicus) [3]		02	0
Franciscus Titelmannus (dialect) [4]		02	0
Sententiæ Ciceronis		01	0
Ursini Catechesis		03	0
Aristot. de arte dicendi		02	0
Hurnius upon Hyppocrates		01	0
Liddelius (medicus) [5]		03	0
Hooker's church discipline		01	6
Smetius		02	0
Biggs medicus [6]		03	0
Richardson's Logic		03	0

[1] Perhaps William Firth: A Saint's Monument, or the Tomb of the Righteous. London, 1662. This is based on a sermon preached at the funeral of the wife of Lord Willoughby of Parham, well known in the early history of the British West Indies.

[2] Paul Marquart Slegel (Schlegel), of Hamburg, author of numerous dissertations on particular diseases, of which a collection may have been made.

[3] Peter Uffenbach, physician of Frankfort-on-Main, translator, editor, and author of various medical, and especially pharmacological, works; this is perhaps his collection, Dispensatorium Galenochymicum (Hanau, 1631), or his own De Venenis et Mortiferis Medicinis.

[4] Franciscus Titelman (Capuchin friar, *d* 1537): Compendium Dialecticæ ad Libros Logicorum Arist. (Paris, 1542), or De Consideratione Dialectica (1534).

[5] Duncan Liddel, a Scottish M.D., professor at the University of Helmstadt in Brunswick. This is probably his Ars Medica (Hamburg, 1608), dedicated to James I.

[6] Noah Biggs, who described himself as *Helmontii Psittacus*, and who published at London in 1651 a book with this extraordinary title: Matæotechnia Medicinæ Praxeωs: the vanity of the craft of physick; or a new dispensatory, wherein is dissected the errors, ignorance, impostures, and supinities of the schools, in their main pillars of purging, bloodletting, etc. With an humble motion for the reformation of the Universities, and the whole landscap of physick, and discovering the terra incognita of chymistrie to the parliament of England.

	[£	s	d]
Helmont medicus		03	0
Barrough medicus [1]		01	0
Horatius		01	0
Dounham's Logic		02	0
Jodocus anatomicus [2]		01	0
Castonij destinctiones		02	0
Janua Linguarum		01	0
Fernelius de Lue venerea [3]		02	0
Thesaurus poeticus		01	0
Be[h]men signatura rerum [4]		02	0
Religio medici		01	6
Tho Horn's manuduction [5]		01	0
Lipsij flores [6]		00	6
Buxtorfij Lexicon		08	0
Porselius [7]		01	0
Rami artes		01	6
Hesiodus		01	0
Bibliotheca scholastica:		01	6
Clark's formulæ		01	0
Flavel [8]		01	0

[1] Philip Barrough (Barrow; licensed as a chirurgeon by Cambridge University in 1559): Method of Physicke, containing the causes, signs and cures of inward diseases in man's body from head to foot. London, 1590. The seventh edition appeared as late as 1652.

[2] Jobst or Jodocus was the first name of Willichius Resellianus (1501–1552), whose Commentarius Anatomicus appeared in 1544.

[3] See note 1, p. 353, above; this was Fernel's posthumous De Luis Venereæ Curatione (Antwerp, 1579).

[4] Jacob Boehme, the famous German mystic. J. Ellistone produced a translation of this work (London, 1651) under the following title: Signatura Rerum, or the Signature of all Things, shewing the sign and signification of the severall forms and shapes in the creation, and what the beginning, ruin, and cure of everything is.

[5] Thomas Horne (Master of Eton): Manuductio in Ædem Palladis. London, 1641, and later editions.

[6] See note 6, p. 354, above; either his Flores Totius Philosophiæ (Magdeburg, 1599), published by Lipsius during his lifetime, or the posthumous Justi Lipsii Flores ex eius operibus decerpti (Antwerp, 1616).

[7] Since no Porselius or Perselius is to be discovered, the query arises, particularly since Don Quixote is on Alcock's list, whether this may not have been Cervantes' Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda, of which an English translation was published in 1619.

[8] Probably John Flavel, the ejected Presbyterian (1630–1691), four of whose many works had appeared by the time Alcock went to England; perhaps either

	[£	s	d]
Gramatic grec		01	0
Introductio ad Logicam		01	0
Farnabij rhethoric		01	0
Orationes Ranoldij		01	0
Schibleri Logic:		01	6
Drexellius [1]		01	6
Guintherius (medicus)		00	6
An old desk and frames		06	0
old and defaced books and pamphlets not particularly inventoried	2	00	00

	li	s	d
Summa totalis	17:	13:	00

These books were Inventoried and apprized 27th of December in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred seventy and seven } By us

JOHN GORE:
JOHN BOWLES.

The President presented by title the following communication by Mr. CHARLES M. ANDREWS:

On page 5 of this volume Professor Kittredge observes that the order of the quotations from Spenser's poems in Elnathan Chauncy's commonplace book follows that of the 1611 and 1617 folios of Spenser's works. He conjectures, therefore, that Chauncy possessed a mutilated copy of one of these editions, which might account for his neglect of the Faerie Queene — as that stands first in the folio — and of the Muiopotmos and the Visions, which stand at the end.

There has recently been presented to the Library of Yale University an edition of Spenser's works bearing the date 1611. This

Husbandry Spiritualized (London, 1669), or Navigation Spiritualized (London, 1682). Otherwise, the Tractatus de Demonstratione Methodicus et Polemicus (Oxford, 1619) of an earlier and most precocious John Flavel (1596–1617).

[1] The Bavarian Jesuit, Jeremias Drechsel (Drexel), writer of devotional and Scholastic manuals. The HCL has his Orbis Phaëthon (Cologne, 1631) with signatures of Edward Pelham and Joseph Sewall (A.B. 1707), and his Aurifodina Artium et Scientiarum Omnium (Antwerp, 1638).

volume belonged, by tradition, to President Dunster. It became the property of Hannah, the last surviving daughter of Isaiah Dunster, the great-grandson of the president, and by her was given to Captain Joshua Smith of Hanson, Massachusetts, through one of whose descendants it has come into Yale's possession. The volume is without the original binding, its covers are gone, and the pages, though mostly in good condition, show signs of mutilation and hard usage. It contains the whole of the Faerie Queene and all the lesser poems except Mother Hubberd's Tale, Virgil's Gnat, the Ruines of Rome, Muiopotmos, and the Visions, the last four of which are gone from the end of the volume. Portions of the Shepheards Calender and Colin Clout are also missing.

It is a pleasant thought to believe that this may be the very folio from which Elnathan Chauncy copied his quotations, but unfortunately there is reason to think that such is not the case. In the first place, the volume contains the whole of the Faerie Queene, which Professor Kittredge assumes that Chauncy would have used had he had access to it, though that assumption is not conclusive evidence. More significant is the fact that the volume apparently did not contain one of the minor poems, from which, if I read Professor Kittredge aright (above, page 5, note 3), Chauncy did quote. This poem is the Mother Hubberd's Tale. Now there seem to have been two variants of the edition bearing the 1611 imprint — one brought out in that year, omitting this poem, and the other really brought out in 1612, but retaining the date 1611, in which this poem is included. As the poem reflected on Lord Burghley, whose son, Robert Cecil, was living in 1611, it was intentionally left out of the edition put together and issued in that year. Cecil died May 24, 1612, and in the edition of that year the poem was included. The question therefore arises as to whether the Dunster volume in the Yale Library originally contained the Mother Hubberd's Tale, or whether it did not. If it did not, then the Yale copy is the edition actually issued in 1611, and Chauncy could not have used it; if it did, then it is the second variant, issued after Cecil's death, and Chauncy might have quoted from it. There seems to be no way of reaching a final conclusion, as pages are missing in the Yale volume both before and after the place where the Tale appears in the second variant, but such expert opinion as I have been able to obtain favors the original omission

of the Tale from the Dunster volume. In that case Chauncy could not have used it.

In the second place, difficulties are encountered when we endeavor to trace Chauncy's connection with the volume. Assuming that it was originally a part of President Dunster's library, how did it come into Chauncy's hands? President Dunster left by will to President Chauncy, who succeeded him in 1654, "such mathematicke books as hitherto I have lent him . . . ";[1] certain books of Divinity to Jonathan Mitchell and to Mrs. Dunster; and "the other two moyties" of his library, to his sons, David and Jonathan, "to be delivered unto them as they shall have need of any particular books."[2] As this folio descended in the Dunster family, it is hard to account for its presence in the Chauncy family. It might have been left behind by the president when he departed from Cambridge, and after his death in 1659 have been returned by President Chauncy to Mrs. Dunster. During that period Elnathan Chauncy might have used it and have made from it the generous and extended extracts that appear in his commonplace book, but I think that the evidence shows otherwise. I believe that Chauncy had at his disposal another copy, either the second variant of the 1611 edition or one of the 1617 folios. If so, Yale has a copy of the rare first variant and there must have been in the Massachusetts Bay Colony two editions of Spenser's poems before 1654.

[1] Jeremiah Chaplin, Life of Henry Dunster, p. 307.
[2] Id., p. 305.

APRIL MEETING, 1933

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of the Reverend EDWARD C. MOORE, at No. 21 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, on Thursday, April 20, 1933, at eight o'clock in the evening, the President, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY announced the death of CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN, a Resident Member and the last of the founders of the Society, on March 29, 1933; of WALDO LINCOLN, a Resident Member, on April 7, 1933; and of HEMAN MERRICK BURR, a Resident Member, on April 14, 1933.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following committees, in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON, JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd, and ROBERT EPHRAIM PEABODY.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. MATT BUSHNELL JONES, RICHARD AMMI CUTTER, and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK.

Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK ROBINSON, of Watertown, Mr. LUDLOW GRISCOM, of Cambridge, and Mr. HOWARD CORNING, of Salem, were elected Resident Members of the Society; and Mr. HOWARD MILLER CHAPIN, of Providence, and Mr. ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT, of Urbana, Illinois, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. Arthur O. Norton presented by title the following paper:

HARVARD TEXT-BOOKS AND REFERENCE BOOKS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY[1]

The scantiness of our knowledge concerning the text-books and other books used — or at least owned — by Harvard students of the seventeenth century led me in 1909 to begin a search for further light on this neglected but fundamentally important aspect of the history of Harvard College.

At that time practically all that was known on the subject was contained in the then unpublished Corporation Records for the years 1636 to 1750,[2] and in three other documents, all of which had been printed. Those three are (1) the detailed account of the college which appeared in New Englands First Fruits (1643);[3] (2) Jonathan

[1] The substance of this paper provided the basis of a communication to this Society at its meeting in April, 1930. For important contributions to its present expanded form acknowledgments are due to Mr. Samuel Eliot Morison. I gave him a rough draft, with a list of the books then identified, for use in writing his Tercentennial History of Harvard College. He personally verified the list, added many new titles thereto, made more extensive transcripts of the title-pages, and furnished various editorial comments.

A discussion of the seventeenth-century curriculum as a whole, which might be expected in an introduction to this list of books, is rendered unnecessary by the exhaustive treatment of that subject in Mr. Morison's Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century. His chapters on studies and exercises at Harvard in that century not only give the first detailed account ever written, but they also far surpass corresponding chapters in any of the numerous histories of European universities.

Readers of the following pages will note: (1) that I am more inclined than Mr. Morison to believe that the curriculum was planned primarily (though not exclusively) for the education of the future ministers of the colony; and (2) that I suggest that the plan was derived, directly or indirectly, from St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana. This view he will doubtless characterize as far-fetched, but I propose it as at least a possibility.

[2] Now printed as Volumes xv and xvi of our Publications.

[3] Reprinted in Old South Leaflets, No. 51. The material on the college is dated 1642, and that date is used here in references to this source. Quotations given here are from the original edition. I have rearranged in tabular form, with some explanatory words, the section on the programme of studies (see p. 362). The course for the A.B. degree in 1642 was three years in length and continued so until 1654, when it was extended to four years. (Our Publications, xxxi. 280–282.) The four-year scheme is embodied in the College Laws of 1655, together with considerably increased entrance requirements in Greek, and a more extended examination for the A.B. degree than in 1642.

"THE ORDER AND TIMES OF THEIR STUDIES" — 1642

MONDAY AND TUESDAY: PHILOSOPHIES AND ARTS

	8–9	9–10	10–11	(Intermission) 11–2	2–3	3–4	4–5
FRESHMEN	Logic I–III[1] Physics IV				Disputations in Logic and Physics		
JUNIORS		Ethics and Politics				Disputations in Ethics and Politics	
SENIORS			Arithmetic and Geometry I–III Astronomy IV				Disputations in Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy

WEDNESDAY: GREEK

FRESHMEN	Greek Grammar, — "Etymol. & Syntax"				Practice in Greek Grammar		
JUNIORS		Greek Grammar, — "Prosody & Dialects"				Practice in Poësy: Nonnus, Duport	
SENIORS	"Perfect their theory before noon." [of "Style"?]				"Exercise *Style, Composition, Imitation, Epitome* in Prose and Verse afternoone"		

THURSDAY: HEBREW, CHALDEE, SYRIAC

FRESHMEN	Hebrew [Grammar]				Practice in Hebrew Bible		
JUNIORS		"Chaldee" [Grammar]				Practice in Chaldee: Ezra and Daniel	
SENIORS			Syriac [Grammar]				Practice in Syriac New Testament, Ed. Trostius

FRIDAY: RHETORIC (ALL CLASSES TOGETHER)

FRESHMEN	Rhetoric	Declamations "The rest of the day *vacat Rhetoricis studiis.*"
JUNIORS	Rhetoric	Declamations "The rest of the day *vacat Rhetoricis studiis.*"
SENIORS	Rhetoric	Declamations "The rest of the day *vacat Rhetoricis studiis.*"

SATURDAY: DIVINITY CATECHETICALL: COMMONPLACES, ETC.

ALL CLASSES TOGETHER?	Divinity Catecheticall	Commonplaces	At 1 P.M.	History in Winter Nature of Plants in Summer

[1] The year was divided into four "quarters," here indicated by Roman numerals.

Mitchell's (H. C. 1687) copy of the College Laws of 1655;[1] and (3) a single page of MS. in the Harvard College Papers (I, No. 31), headed "A particular Account of the present Stated Exercises Enjoyned the Students."[2] This last was neither dated nor signed by its writer; but someone — probably Mr. T. W. Harris, who arranged the papers for President Quincy in the 1830's — has pencilled the tentative date "1690?" at the top of the page. For want of evidence to the contrary, I long accepted this date. It was not impossible, since every book mentioned by title in the document was published before 1690. However, on re-study of the records in 1929, I was able to prove that the actual date is not 1690, but 1723, and I shall refer to this paper hereafter as the list of 1723.

This new date brings into the picture a fourth document, which is now, for the first time, proved to be the final and official form of the list of 1723. It was incorporated by President Wadsworth in his diary under the date March 15, 1725/6. I shall call this "particular Account," as Wadsworth styled it, the list of 1726.[3]

[1] Printed in 1 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., xiv. 207–215; reprinted, from another and earlier copy, in our Publications, xxxi. 327–343. Quotations given here are from the latter version.

[2] Printed (with some errors) in L. F. Snow, The College Curriculum in the United States (1907), pp. 34–35; and in Colyer Meriwether, Our Colonial Curriculum (1907), pp. 55–56; reproduced in illustration facing p. 365.

[3] In 1723, the Overseers were, for various reasons, moved to a critical survey of the instruction then being given at the college. On August 9, 1723, they appointed a committee to bring in a list of questions or "articles of visitation" on which the inquiry was to proceed. Eight questions were formulated by the committee, and these were approved by the Overseers on September 30. The first was: "W^{t} are the Stated Exercises Enjoyned the Students, and how attended by them." To this the Tutors (Flynt, Prince, and Welsteed) replied that the stated exercises were "generally the same which they formerly have been." Thereupon the Overseers voted (October 9): "That the Tutors of the College draw up a particular account of the present Stated Exercises Enjoyned the Students, and lay it before the Overseers at a future meeting." This vote contains the exact title of College Paper No. 31 in Volume I, which is in the handwriting of Tutor Flynt. Evidently this paper is a preliminary draft of the official reply which was finally signed by Flynt, Prince, and Welsteed, and handed to the Overseers, probably shortly after October 9. This document has not been found, but fortunately it was copied (with the signatures) by President Wadsworth in his diary on March 15, 1725/6, with the comment, "Twas given in some few years before to ye overseers." "Some few years before" could not have been earlier than 1723, since Nathan Prince, who signed as one of the Tutors, was not appointed until that year. This, as just noted, was the year of the Overseers' inquiry. These facts fix the date. For the text of Wadsworth's copy, see our Publications, xxxi. 455–456.

The information given by these four documents may be disposed of briefly. The College Records for this period mention only one text — "the Originall of the old & new Testament." [1] President Dunster's Bible, now in the Harvard College Library, is doubtless an example. The Old Testament, in his copy, is mainly in Hebrew, but the books of Ezra and Daniel are in "Chaldee," now identified as Aramaic. The New Testament is in Greek, but the Syriac version of the Gospels is bound in the same volume. These, the original languages of the Word of God, must be mastered by all who sought to understand "the true sense and meaning" of that Word. The requirements for graduation from college throughout the seventeenth century, be it noted, included an examination of the student's ability to "read [i.e., translate] the originall of the old & new Testament into the Lattin Tongue." [2] The four languages, Hebrew, "Chaldee," Greek, and Syriac, appear in the earliest existing programme of studies (1642), and there can be no doubt that they were included mainly, if not wholly, to enable the student to read the Word of God in those languages.

The programme of 1642 mentions, in addition to the Bible, only three books. These are rather vaguely indicated as "Nonnus[3] and Duport,"[4] in connection with the study of Greek poetry, and "*Tres-*

[1] Our Publications, xv. 189 (the College Laws of 1642–1646).

[2] This requirement was modified in 1655 to require ability "to read extempore the Pentateuch, and the New Testament into Latin out of the Originall Tongues." (Our Publications, xxxi. 334.) It appears in the College Laws as late as 1734. The student's ability to read the Bible in Latin on his entrance to college was of course assured by his long and varied preparatory course in that language. For the details of this training, see below, and our Publications, xxvii. 21–29.

[3] Nonnus (*c* 400 A.D.), a Greek poet, wrote, besides many poems on classical subjects, a paraphrase of St. John's Gospel in Greek hexameters. A copy is in the Harvard College Library.

[4] James Duport (1606–1679), appointed regius professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1639, paraphrased in Greek verse the Psalms, the Book of Job, the Book of Proverbs, and other books of the Old Testament. He also wrote poems in Greek on many other subjects. HCL has a copy of his version of the Psalms; BPL (Prince), his versions of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. In view of the suspicion of pagan authors then existing among Puritans — reflected in the provision of the Laws of 1655 that "in the teaching of all Arts such Authors bee read as doe best agree with the Scripture truths" — we may assume that "practice in poësy" was based on versified selections from the Bible rather than on other subjects treated by Nonnus and Duport. These writers are not mentioned again in the sources for our period, and no copy of their works which I have found contains a Harvard signature of the seventeenth century.

A particular account of the present State of Exercises Enjoyned the Students

The first year The Freshmen recite the Classick Authours learnt at School viz. Tully, Virgil, Isocrates, Homer, with the greek Testament & greek Catechism, Dugard or Farnabys Rhetorick, & [illegible] the latter part of the year the Hebrew Grammar & Psalter, Ramus's & Burgersdicius's Logick

The second year The Sophimores recite Burgersdicius's Logick and a Manuscript called the New Logick Extracted from Legrand & Ars Cogitandi, Catechism on Saturdays, and in the Latter part of the year Heereboords Meletemata continuing still most part of the year recitations in the forementioned greek & Hebrew books and dispute on Logical Questions twice a week

The third year The Junior Sophisters recite Heereboords Meletemata, Mr Mortons Physicks, Dr Mores Ethicks, a system of Geography & a System of Metaphysicks, Wollebius's Divinity on Saturdays & dispute twice a week on Physical, Metaphysical & Ethical Questions.

The fourth year The Senior Sophisters recite Alsteds Geometry, Gassendus's Astronomy, go over the arts viz. Grammar, Logick & Natural Philosophy, Ames Medulla, & dispute once a week on philosophical & theological questions

tius New Testament," [1] so placed as to indicate a connection with Syriac.

The College Laws of 1655 name no text-books whatever. The four just named, then, are the only ones indicated by the sources prior to the list of 1723.

The list of 1723, dated eighty-five years after the opening of the college, is the earliest document which gives detailed information as to text-books. It not only records the studies and exercises for each of the four years of the college course, but also names more or less explicitly eighteen text-books, and indicates the use of five others in connection with these studies. It is here reproduced:

A particular Account of the present Stated Exercises Enjoyned the Students

The first year The Freshmen recite the Classick Authours Learn't at School viz Tully Virgil Isocrates Homer with the greek Testam[en]t & greek Catechism & Dugards or Farnabys Rhetorick [2] & the latter part of the year the Hebrew Grammar & Psalter Ramus's & Burgesdicius's Logicks

The Second year The Sophimores recite Bu[r]gesdicius's Logick and a Manuscript called the New Logick Extracted from Legrand and ars Cogitandi [3] Wollebius on Saturdays and in the Latter part of the year Herebords Meletemata continuing stil most part of the year recitations in the formentioned greek & Hebrew books and dispute on Logical Questions twice a week

The third year The Junior Sophisters recite Herebords Melletemata

[1] "Trestius," as New Englands First Fruits has it, is a misprint for "Trostius." Martin Trost (1588–1636), professor in various German universities — finally at Wittenberg — published in 1622 an edition of the Syriac New Testament, and a year later a Syriac Lexicon. Copies of each have been found, but none have been identified as belonging to a Harvard student. The study of Syriac is not mentioned after the programme of 1642.

[2] William Dugard (1606–1662; headmaster of the Merchant Taylors School, London), Rhetorices Elementa, published shortly before 1660; Thomas Farnaby (1575–1641), Index Rhetoricus, 4th ed., London, 1646. Farnaby maintained a private school in London and elsewhere.

[3] The New Logic was compiled (*c* 1687) by William Brattle (Tutor 1685?–1697) from Anthony Legrand, Institutio Philosophiae secundum principia D. Renat: Descartes (London, 1680); and A. Arnauld and P. Nicole, Logica, Sive Ars Cogitandi (London, 1674 — The Port Royal Logic). Copies of both the Institutio and the Ars Cogitandi are in HCL and BPL (Prince). The remaining titles in this Account are to be found in the list by authors, below.

Mr Mortons Physicks Dr Mores Ethicks a system of Geography & a System of Metaphysicks Wollebius's Divinity on Saturdays & dispute twice a week on Physical & Metaphisical & Ethical Questions

The fourth year The Senior Sophisters recite Alsteds Geometry Gassendus's astronomy goe over the arts viz Grammar Logick & Natural Phylosophy Ames Medulla & dispute once a week on phylosophical & astronomical questions [1]

As noted above, I long accepted the incorrect date 1690 for this list, and assumed that the text-books therein named were actually in use in the college at that time.[2] I therefore began an attack on the unknown period between 1642 and 1690, for which the only documents were the Order of Studies of 1642 and the College Laws of 1655.

Although they name only four text-books, these two combine to furnish a clear account of the studies and exercises in vogue during the early years of the college. The programme of 1642 is remarkable for its detailed schedule of studies by hours, days of the week, and years. The Laws of 1655 are vague in this particular, but they give a more definite statement concerning the religious exercises. From the two the outline given below is obtained.

In arranging the material, I have followed the traditional (and I

[1] The list of 1726 gives official standing to most of the books mentioned in 1723; but it adds no new titles. It differs from that of 1723 in the following particulars:

1. Study of Latin and Greek grammar, not mentioned in 1723, is prescribed in 1726. Evidently the first year of the college course had descended nearly to a review of preparatory school studies; it was much below the standard of 1642.

2. Isocrates and Homer, mentioned in 1723, are dropped from the official list of 1726; the study of Greek is limited to grammar, the New Testament, and the Catechism.

3. Hebrew, which is listed for both freshmen and sophomores in 1723, does not appear at all in 1726. This is a curious oversight, since Judah Monis was appointed instructor in Hebrew in 1722, and his MS. Hebrew grammar and the Hebrew Psalter were both in use at that time.

4. Arithmetic, not mentioned in 1723, is listed for the senior class in 1726, thus continuing the practice of 1642.

5. There are several minor differences in phrasing, some statements being more exact in the earlier, some in the later list.

[2] This assumption turned out later to be nearly correct, in spite of the fact that the actual date is 1723. Dugard's Rhetorices Elementa and Farnaby's Index Rhetoricus must be excepted since none of the copies thus far examined contain seventeenth-century student signatures. The importation of these books about 1680 is recorded, however, in the Boston booksellers' lists, and probably they were in use at Harvard as early as that date.

believe correct) view that Harvard, like Emmanuel College in Cambridge, was founded primarily for the education of the clergy; its founders "dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust." [1] If we accept this view, the significance of each part of the programme at once becomes apparent. The religious exercises and the study of the Bible formed the center of the scheme; the other subjects were such as aided the student, first, to interpret the Bible correctly for himself; and second, to expound to others, and to defend (in public debate if need be) his interpretation.[2] From this point of view the studies and exercises

[1] New Englands First Fruits, p. 12.

[2] This organization is suggested by St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine (Book I, ch. 1, 1), which furnishes a striking parallel to the Harvard programme of 1642: "There are two things on which all interpretation of Scripture depends: The mode of ascertaining the proper meaning, and the mode of making known the meaning when it is ascertained."

The clear-cut medieval division of liberal learning into the seven liberal arts and the three philosophies was either unknown to, or had been abandoned by, many of the writers of this period. The seven liberal arts of medieval tradition included the trivium — grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the quadrivium — arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The three philosophies were natural (physics), rational (metaphysics or theology), and moral (ethics). By the seventeenth century the advancement of learning had resulted in the development of new subjects, and more comprehensive classifications of the field as a whole were necessary. The older subjects were retained, but often in new relations. These new classifications appear in several of the volumes in our list. Thus, Alsted (see p. 383, below, Cursus Philosophici Encyclopaedia, 1620) classifies the whole body of liberal learning as "philosophy," which in turn is treated under four "praecognita" and twenty-three "disciplines." These last include "Septem Artes Philosophiae Poeticae" — lexica, grammatica, rhetorica, logica, oratoria, poetica, and mnemonica, "quas memoriae causa dividimus in Trivium, et Quadrivium." Alsted places the four mathematical branches of the medieval quadrivium with seven other subjects under the head of "Undecim Scientiae Philosophicae Theoreticae."

William Ames (Technometria, 1646, see p. 385, below) mentions six arts. Three of these are general — logic, grammar, and rhetoric; three are special — mathematics (geometry and arithmetic), physics (cosmography, astronomy, geography, optics, and music), and theology. Philosophy, according to Ames, has seven parts, and some of these are included under the six arts: oratory (including poetry), cosmography, optics, music, architecture, economics, and politics.

Christopher Scheibler (Philosophia Compendiosa, 1623), after rejecting several current definitions of philosophy, concludes: "Est igitur Philosophia scientiarum & artium liberalium comprehensio. . . . Philosophia dividitur in artes liberales seu Logicas, & scientias.

"Artes logicae sunt. . . . Logica. . . . seu Dialectica, Rhetorica, Grammatica, & ut quibusdam placet, Poetica.

"Scientia. . . est speculativa vel practica. . . . [Scientiae speculativae] sunt

fall naturally into six groups: 1. The practice of piety. 2. The study and analysis of the Bible. 3. "The principles of Divinity and

Metaphysica, Physica & Mathesis. Ad Mathesin autem pertinent, tùm scientiae purae, ut sunt Geometria & Arithmetica: tùm impurae, ut sunt Astronomia, Geographia, Musica & Optica. . . . [Scientiae practicae] sunt tres: Ethica, Politica & Oeconomica."

The notebook of William Partrigg (Partridge), H.C. 1689, gives a different view: all ordinary acquired knowledge is either philology (grammar — Latin, Greek, Hebrew — rhetoric, and poetry) or philosophy (logic and "all Arts and Sciences"). The arts and sciences include practical philosophy (ethics, politics, and economics), speculative philosophy (metaphysics the science of being, and metaphysics the science of quantity, i.e., geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, optics, and music), and physics.

All this is a long way from the medieval conception of the seven arts and the three philosophies, and it suggests caution in accepting any theory of the organization of the early Harvard curriculum. With due reservation, therefore, I suggest that the theory underlying the programme of 1642 was directly or indirectly derived from St. Augustine's On Christian Doctrine. Without arguing the case at length, I call attention to certain remarkable similarities. The programme as a whole seems clearly to justify the traditional view that it was organized primarily, though not exclusively, for the training of ministers. One phase of this training was mastery of the Bible. Mastery of the Bible, according to St. Augustine, includes (1) ability to interpret the meaning, and (2) ability to make known the meaning when it is ascertained.

Ability to interpret, he says, involves much auxiliary learning; e.g., the knowledge of the original languages in which the Scriptures are written, history, chronology, natural science ("the situation of places, and the nature of animals, trees, herbs, stones, and other bodies"), the mechanical arts, medicine, agriculture, navigation, and astronomy (but not astrology). Logic, according to St. Augustine, "is of very great service in searching into and unravelling all sorts of questions that come up in Scripture"; while the science of number, with its unchanging laws, may lead us to "the unchangeable truth above it." In short, "whatever has been rightly said by the heathen we may appropriate to our uses." All this is to be employed in the most careful interpretation of the Scriptures (On Christian Doctrine, Book III). It is not difficult to find a large part of the programme of 1642 in this outline — the study of the Biblical languages, natural science (physics and "the nature of plants"), history, logic, and mathematics and astronomy. The required private reading of the Bible twice daily; the translations from the Greek and Hebrew texts; the "*Theoreticall* observations of the Language and *Logic* and of the *Practicall* and spirituall truths" which the student was expected to make; and the chief examination for the A.B. degree — a test of the candidate's ability to "read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Testament* into the Latine tongue and to resolve them *Logically*" — all indicate the use of these auxiliary studies for the definite purpose of interpretation.

Similarly, ability to expound the Bible involves a knowledge of rhetoric, a study of styles of speech, and an ability to defend one's interpretation in debate. "It is the duty, then, of the interpreter and teacher of Holy Scripture, the defender of the true faith and the opponent of error, both to teach what is right, and refute

Christianity." 4. The mastery of the languages necessary to read the Bible in its original tongues — Greek, Hebrew, "Chaldee" (Aramaic), and Syriac. 5. Auxiliary studies — the arts and philosophies, history, and politics — necessary to correct interpretation of the Bible by the student. 6. Studies and exercises necessary to effective exposition and defense of one's interpretation — rhetoric, declamations, disputations, repetition of sermons, commonplaces. The information given by the documents of 1642 and 1655 is most compactly shown in the following summary. The source is indicated by the dates in parentheses as (1642) or (1655).

"Lawes About Holy Dutyes Scholasticall Exercises and Helps of Learning" (1655) [1]

I. The Practice of Piety.

(1) Private prayer: "Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and

what is wrong. . . . The work that I am speaking of ought to be undertaken by one who can argue and speak with wisdom, if not with eloquence, and with profit to his hearers." St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, Book IV, chaps. iv and v.

Under this heading the programme of 1642 presents rhetoric, exercises in "style," declamations, disputations, repetition of sermons, and "commonplaces."

[1] In reading this summary we must recall that throughout the seventeenth century — and much later — the freshman entered college trained to read, speak, and write Latin with ease, and with an elementary knowledge of Greek. No other subjects were required. The standard entrance requirement in Latin was (1) the translation of Cicero, Virgil, "or such like classical author" at sight, (2) the writing of Latin prose and verse, and (3) oral composition in prose and in verse. Both writing and speaking were to be "suo ut aiunt Marte," i.e., by the student's own unaided efforts. This probably means that he was not to use the phrase-books, collections of proverbs, and other helps so plentifully provided for "unballasted wits" in those days.

Thus trained, the freshman could listen understandingly to the lectures, read the text-books, take notes, write declamations, conduct disputations, and converse with his fellow-students in Latin. Latin was the language of practically all the books used in college except those in Greek, Hebrew, "Chaldee," and Syriac; and by the Laws of 1655 students were not to use English in the college, unless "called thereunto in the public exercise of oratory or the like."

The entrance requirement in Greek was, in 1642, merely ability to "decline perfectly the paradigmes of Nounes and verbes in ye Greeke tongue" (our Publications, XV. 24–25). Further training in Greek was carried on throughout the three years of the college course, culminating in declamations in Greek and (in 1655) in translations from the Bible (Old Testament) "out of Hebrew into Greek," and of the New Testament "out of English into greeke." In 1655, the entrance requirements were increased. The candidate for admission must be "Competently

studies is, *to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternall life,* Joh. 17. 3. and therefore to lay *Christ* in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and Learning.

"And seeing the Lord only giveth wisedome, Let every one seriously set himselfe by prayer in secret to seeke it of him *Prov.* 2, 3." (1642)

(2) Attendance at Chapel twice daily: "Seing God is the giver of all wisedome, all & every Scholler (besides private prayers wherein every one is bound to aske wisedome) shall bee present Morning and evening at publique prayers at the accustomed houres viz ordinarily at six of the clocke in the Morning from the tenth of March at Sun rising and at five of the Clocke at Night all the yeare long." (1655)

(3) Public repetition of sermons in the Hall by the students in turn, "that so with reverence & Love they may retaine God & his truths in their minds." On Saturday evenings "an account of their profitting by the Sermons preached the weeke past." (1655)

(4) Attendance on Sundays at services of the local church, where "gallery room" was reserved for the students.

II. Study and Analysis of the Bible.[1]

(1) "Every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in *Theoretticall* observations of the Lan-

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grounded in the Greeke Language; so as to be able to Construe & Grammatically to resolve ordinary Greeke, as the Greeke Testament, Isocrates, & the minor poets [Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, Bion, Moschus, Theognis, Pythagoras, Solon, and others] or such like. . . . " We may doubt whether this high standard was maintained in succeeding years. In 1723 and 1726, a large part of the freshman year was spent in reviewing the Greek "Classick Authors Learnt at School." For details of the college preparatory course see Nathaniel Williams's account of the Boston Latin School in 1712, with Professor Murdock's notes thereon, in our Publications, XXVII. 21–29. This article throws a flood of light on the Harvard entrance requirements at this time, since the Boston Latin School was in effect a preparatory school for Harvard. In brief, its course of seven years was almost wholly devoted to the study of Latin and Greek, with abundant practice in composition in prose and in verse in both languages.

[1] Compare with this the requirements for graduation, and the account of the first Commencement in New Englands First Fruits: "Every Schollar, that on proofe is found able to read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Testament* into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them *Logically* . . . is fit to be dignified with his first Degree" (p. 16). "The Governour . . . and others . . . were present, and did heare their Exercises; [among which was] Hebrew Analasis, Grammaticall, Logicall, & Rhetoricall of the Psalms. . . . "

guage, and *Logick*, and in *Practicall* and spirituall truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing *the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple*, Psalm, 119.130." (1642; repeated with omission of the last clause in 1655.)

(2) "It is appointed that some part of the holy Scripture be read at morning & evening prayer viz some part of the Old Testament at Morning, & some part of the New at Evening prayer on this manner.

"That all students shall read the Old Testament in some portion of it out of Hebrew into Greeke, and all shall turne the New Testament out of English into Greeke, after which one of the Bachelors or Sophisters shall in his Course Logically analyse that which is read, by which meanes both theire Scill in Logicke, and the Scriptures and the Scriptures originall Language may be increased." (1655)

III. Divinity (1642).

(1) "Divinity Catecheticall" [1] at eight o'clock Saturday mornings.
(2) Commonplaces at nine o'clock Saturday mornings (see "Rhetoric," group VI, no. 2, below).
(3) Analysis of the Bible (see group II, no. 2, above).
(4) Study of systematic theology: manuals of Ames and Wollebius (specified first in the list of 1723, but probably used before 1701).

IV. "The Tongues" (1642).

(1) Greek.
  (a) Grammar.
    (1) Etymology and syntax with "practice . . . in such Authors as have variety of words."
    (2) Prosody and dialects, with "practice in *Poësy*, *Nonnus*, *Duport*, or the like."

[1] The exact scope of this subject is not known. Did the students of the 1640's memorize and recite answers to a series of questions? If so, what catechism? In what language? Did they use the Westminster Catechism after its approval in the Cambridge Platform of 1648? Whose was the "Greek Catechysm" so insistently inquired after by the Overseers in 1723 — Calvin's? Nowell's? Harmar's Greek version of the Westminster Catechism? Was the exercise perhaps an exposition on a word or a phrase of some catechism, after the manner of Samuel Willard's two hundred and fifty sermons on the Westminster Catechism? These questions have yet to be answered.

(b) Composition.

(1) "Perfect their Theory" (i.e., principles of "style").

(2) "Exercise *Style, Composition, Imitation, Epitome,* both in Prose and Verse."

(2) Hebrew: grammar, with "practice in the Bible," i.e., the Old Testament.

(3) Chaldee: grammar, with practice in the books of Ezra and Daniel.

(4) Syriac: grammar, with practice in the Syriac version of the Gospels, or the New Testament as a whole, edited by Martin Trost.

V. Auxiliary Studies: the Arts and Philosophies, History, and Politics.

(1) Logic
(2) Physics
(3) "The Nature of Plants"
(4) Metaphysics
(5) Ethics
(6) Politics
(7) History
(8) Arithmetic
(9) Geometry
(10) Astronomy

VI. Exposition and Defence of Interpretations of the Bible.

(1) Rhetoric: lecture to all students at eight o'clock on Fridays (1642).

(2) Declamations: a declamation by each student once a month (1642), at nine o'clock on Fridays (once in two months, 1655). The rest of that day "vacat Rhetoricis studiis" (probably *for*, rather than *from*, rhetorical studies). The time might be given, e.g., to the composition or practice of the declamation which the student must deliver once a month before the members of the college. The technique of oratory, as given in the lectures on rhetoric and in such books as Clarke's Formulae Oratorium or Morellus's Enchiridion Oratorium could have been applied in these exercises.

(3) Disputations: disputations (i.e., debates) were stated exercises, one hour in length, for each class on Monday and Tuesday afternoons, in the programme of 1642 (twice a week in 1655). The questions or theses for debates were presumably chosen from the subject — logic, physics, ethics, etc. — which the class was studying in the morning of the same day.

The rather intricate technique of disputation must have been studied, somewhat as principles of argumentation are studied today. Farley's Disputationum Academiarum Formulae, and especially Keckermann's Opera Omnia, I, chapter vii, display the technique in detail.

(4) Repetition of sermons (see group I, no. 3, above).

(5) Commonplaces: systematic discussions of some point in divinity in the form of a (supposedly) short sermon, which might, however,

run to an hour in length.[1] See Maccovius, Loci Communes, and Musculus, Commonplaces of the Christian Religion, pp. 416 and 421, below.

"There shall be a Common place handled in Divinity . . . once a Fort-Night, the President beginning, and the Masters of Art & Senior Bachelours following according to their Seniority; Wherein the President & Fellows shall take Care that heterodox opinions & Doctrines bee avoided & refuted & such as are according to the Analogy of Faith be held forth & Confirmed." (1655)

Inspection of this list revealed some twenty-five subjects in which the use of text-books might be expected. I assumed that these subjects were actually taught at one time or another, and that text-books were used in connection with each. The problem was to identify those books.

The prospect of a solution was not hopeful. For some time I was held back by the thought that all the books of the Harvard library were destroyed by the fire of 1764, and that therefore none of those existing in the seventeenth century would be there. It simply did not occur to me that the gifts made by alumni to replace the lost volumes might include such books; still less did I imagine the way in which, if found, any evidence could establish their use as Harvard text-books.

Another difficulty lay in the condition of the college library in 1909. It had expanded far beyond the capacity of Gore Hall, and many thousands of volumes were stored temporarily in the basements of other buildings; some tens of thousands more, unclassified on the shelves, were in stacks called by Professor Emerton "the Dump."[2] The card catalogue also presented obstacles; it was mainly an author catalogue, and although there was also a classification by subjects, it was hopelessly inadequate for my purpose. I could only cruise

[1] Diary of Samuel Sewall (5 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., v. 4): "July 1, 1674. Sir Thacher Commonplaced, Justification was his head. He had a solid good piece: stood above an hour, and yet brake of[f] before he came to any use [i.e., application]."

[2] Professor William James objected strongly to the extraction from these stacks of the books on philosophy and psychology, and their orderly arrangement on separate shelves: "When I hunt there for a book on philosophy I find dozens of other interesting ones on all sorts of subjects, and I shall never see them if our books are classified." My belief is that many odd associations of ideas in James's writings may be traced to his hunting in "the Dump," where Hegel, Hottentots, and Arctic explorations might be shelved side by side.

along the several miles of shelves, looking at old books in the hope of finding a clue. In this state of affairs my attention was called to a pile of such books in the basement, and among these the clue was found. The book was a copy of Aldo Manuzzio's Phrases Linguae Latinae (London, 1636).[1] On its fly-leaves were the dated signatures of John Whiting and Joseph Whiting, the undated autograph of one of the two Joseph Cookes — all Harvard undergraduates in the 1650's — and a bookplate (dated 1693) of Elisha Cooke, A.B. 1697.

Phrase-books of this type were constantly used in European schools and universities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the composition of Latin orations, declamations, and disputations; hence it seemed possible, if not probable, that the book in hand was actually used at Harvard in the 1650's.[2] And naturally this discovery suggested further search for books autographed and dated by Harvard students of the seventeenth century. The assumption was that books on the various subjects of the curriculum, owned by these men during their student years, were used in their study of the subjects concerned. The use of auxiliary books, such as the phrase-book first discovered, was naturally suggested; and further exploration revealed an unexpected number and variety of such works.

The condition of the Harvard College Library, and various other circumstances, including the World War, combined to postpone further investigation until 1920. Meanwhile the Widener Library had been built, and the arrangement of books therein made further search easily possible. The original plan was simply to take from the shelves all books (earlier than 1701) in logic, ethics, metaphysics, and the other subjects listed above, and examine them for dated signatures, inscriptions, or other evidences of ownership by Harvard men during their years as undergraduates or as candidates for the degree of A.M. Exploration soon spread beyond these subjects to other possible fields. However, neither the finding of the books nor the interpretation of the inscriptions proved to be as simple a matter as the preceding sentences imply.

The work has gone on at varying intervals in the few hours which

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[1] See p. 418, below.

[2] Cf. Foster Watson, English Grammar Schools to 1660 (1908), pp. 435–437. See also id., p. 467, on which are listed no less than 118 writers of books of this type.

could be spared from many other duties, and it is not yet complete. The search has been extended to the libraries of the Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary, the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Athenaeum, Yale University, and Brown University, and to the Boston Public Library (especially the Prince collection) and the New York Public Library.[1] More than four thousand volumes have now been examined. Various graduate students have assisted me in this work. Particular mention must be made of Mr. Kenneth Viall, who in 1920 examined about a thousand volumes and first identified many of the books listed in this article.

The main results of this long-continued search are given in the two detailed lists below. These are (1) an alphabetic arrangement of the books by authors; (2) an arrangement of the authors according to the subject-matter of the books cited in the first list, following the order given above. A list of student owners, with the titles of books owned by each, may be compiled from the index to this volume. The results may be stated more briefly. In contrast to the four titles suggested by the seventeenth-century sources available in 1909, some 228 items have now been identified by dated signatures as actually the property of seventeenth-century Harvard students during their college years. Thirty others, each containing at least two undated student signatures and each supported by additional evidence, have been included as "probables"; twenty-five or more, each with one undated signature and other evidence, have been listed as "possibles." [2]

[1] Professor Morison examined also the collection of George A. Plimpton, Esq., the library of the Union Theological Seminary, and the John Winthrop collection in the Society Library in New York, but without result. The Winthrop collection contains several copies of books in this list, with undated signatures of Wait Winthrop (Class of 1662) and John Winthrop (A.B. 1700).

[2] Many others, among the several thousand volumes examined, might have been added to the "possibles," and a much larger number could have been placed in a fourth group as "suspects." These last contain no Harvard signatures; but all of them were almost certainly imported before 1700, and they are either duplicates of those in the accepted group, or treat the same subjects. Unfortunately I have kept no record of these, but their number certainly exceeds that of the accepted list. Even if these are included, however, the number of survivors thus far known is but a small fraction of the total number which must have been owned by the 465 A.B.'s and the approximately 100 non-graduates of the seventeenth century. A modest estimate of ten to twenty books a student yields a total of 6,000 to 12,000 volumes for this period. Some of these will doubtless appear on

As to content, these books may be divided into three groups. First are the text-books. The list includes text-books on all the subjects mentioned in the Order of Studies of 1642, except politics, "Divinity Catecheticall," and the "Nature of Plants." Those best represented are the Bible — nineteen examples of the whole, or parts, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or "Chaldee"; divinity — twenty titles, besides two systematic treatises in seven and eight volumes respectively; logic — twenty-one titles, three of which have three examples each; physics — eleven titles, of which one (Magirus) appears in six examples; metaphysics — nine titles, one in duplicate; ethics, five titles; astronomy, five titles; and Hebrew grammar, six titles, one of which (Schickard) appears in five examples.

Reference books of various types make up the second group. Among these are phrase-books, collections of proverbs, and specimens of composition, all useful in the writing of themes, orations, and declamations; lexicons for Hebrew, "Chaldee," Syriac, Greek, and Latin; dictionaries of classical and oriental antiquities; works on chronology; systematic treatises on theology; and encyclopaedias.

The third group includes a few works not directly related to the programme of studies, but such as might more or less casually drift into a student's library.

The acceptance of these volumes as text-books and reference books used at Harvard in the seventeenth century is based mainly upon two lines of evidence:[1] first, they deal with, or are related to, the sub-

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further search, but in view of the treatment usually accorded to old text-books we must conclude that the great majority have returned to the dust with the ministers whom they made "literate" for the churches.

[1] Supporting evidence later appeared from many sources, including Watson, English Grammar Schools to 1660; Colyer Meriwether, Our Colonial Curriculum; Professor E. T. Campagnac's scholarly editions of John Brinsley's Ludus Literarius (1627), and Charles Hoole's New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole (1660); the indispensable catalogue of John Harvard's Library, by our associate Alfred C. Potter (our Publications, XXI. 190–230); the study of Dissenting Academies in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Irene Parker (1914); and especially the much more detailed account of these academies by H. McLachlan (English Education under the Test Acts, 1931). There is a suggestive resemblance between some of these academies and Harvard in their programmes of study; and often the text-books used are identical. Charles Morton (1627–1698), B.A. Oxford, 1649, who came to Harvard about 1687 and became vice-president of the college, was the founder and head of an academy at Stoke Newington, 1675–1686.

jects of the programme of studies as given in the sources cited at the beginning of this paper. Second, they contain the signatures of men recorded in the Quinquennial Catalogue as students of this period. These signatures, of course, furnish the decisive evidence. Without them we should still be in almost complete ignorance; with them, we can speak with confidence.

This evidence is certainly impressive, both in the number of men who have written their names in these volumes, and in the number of college classes represented by them. It is presented in detail in the description of each volume in the alphabetic list of authors below.

If the evidence derived from the signatures were to be viewed statistically, it would be seen that 177 (nearly 38 per cent) of the 465 men who took the A.B. degree between 1642 and 1701 wrote their names in these volumes.[1] Of these men, 115 (about 25 per cent of

[1] Ninety-seven men have each autographed but one of the surviving volumes; the remaining eighty-one, two or more volumes each. Particular note must be taken of seven men, each represented in six or more of these books: John Barnard, ten; Joseph Browne, ten; Joseph Cooke, ten; John Leverett, eight; Cotton Mather, no less than twenty-six; Increase Mather, six; Nathaniel Mather, fourteen.

The total number of autographs (including duplicates) recorded in the list below is nearly four hundred. But this takes account of only one example of each signature in each book; the actual number is far greater, since many men wrote their names three or four times in a single volume. Cotton Mather favored posterity with no less than twelve autographs in one small book, which also contains several other Mather signatures. Probably 1,000 signatures of our 177 seventeenth-century students can be found in the volumes here listed.

This extraordinary collection of early Massachusetts autographs deserves a study in itself. The inscriptions include much besides the signatures. Like students of other places and times, Harvard students of the seventeenth century often used the fly-leaves and margins of their books for entries of various kinds. Many of these are here reproduced. Warnings against stealing the book, or requests to return it to the owner if it is found or borrowed, appear in varied forms: "Steal this Booke if you dare," writes Charles Chauncy in his copy of Florus. John Poole puts it more mildly: "Hic liber meus est, si quisquis forte requirit Nomen subscriptum perlege quaeso meum." John Eliot expresses the idea in a slightly different way:

"Si quaerit lector quis possidet istum
Nomen subscriptum perlegat ille meum."

A more emphatic form which appeared several times in books not included in this list runs thus:

"Hic liber est meus
Testis est Deus
Si quis furatur
Per collum pendatur."

the total number of seventeenth-century A.B.'s) dated their signatures during their college years. The signatures of the other sixty-two, undated, have been accepted, for reasons varying from case to case, as probably also written during their student days.[1]

The distribution of these men by classes is no less surprising than the number whose signatures have been found. In the sixty-year period 1642–1701, fifty-five classes were graduated.[2] No less than forty-four of these, beginning with the first class (1642), are represented by dated (and thirty-one of the forty-four also by undated) signatures of one or more of their members. Four other classes (1649, 1659, 1668, 1675) are represented only by undated signatures, but these were probably written during the college years of the men concerned.[3]

Other inscriptions vary from grave to gay: Joseph Browne identified nearly all of his books by "Lege, Intellege, Vive, J.B."; John Barnard notes in his copy of Brochmand's Theologiae Systema: "Lege, Lege, deliberate Lege; praemium munificium ea persolvet." Nathaniel Clap, having been given a copy of the Hebrew Old Testament by Increase Mather, characterizes that gentleman as "Benevolentissimus, Reverendissimus et Doctissimus." Someone (perhaps Elisha Cooke) writes in a copy of the Greek New Testament that "Samuel Aspinwall is a knave"; and in an Isocrates owned by the Reverend Samuel Mitchell (A.B. 1681; Fellow and Tutor) some irreverent youth records his opinion that "Samuel Mitchell is a long-legged Catt." "Every man at his best estate is altogether vanity," is inscribed in Bartholin's Enchiridion Physicum, owned by Nathaniel Saltonstall. Joseph Cooke, however, connects Keckermann's very dry Logic with more cheerful thoughts:

"Call for a Tankard
My Cloths at pollards
Get some Pisado: Clarett
buy a grater. Some Lime-juice."

[1] The reasons cannot be given here for each case; one example must suffice. A copy of Isocrates contains only the undated signature of Joseph Webb (A.B., 1684). But the volume is accepted as a "probable" and Webb's name is included in the index because (1) Isocrates, presumably read in preparation for college, was also presumably reviewed in the freshman year; (2) this presumption is supported by the College Laws of 1655, by the Particular Account of 1723–1726, and by four other copies of Isocrates, each owned by two or more Harvard men of that period; (3) Webb's signature (again undated) appears in two other books, each of which is definitely dated by one of his contemporaries in college. We may infer that he wrote these signatures during his college years.

[2] According to the Quinquennial Catalogue there were no graduates in 1644, 1648, 1672, 1682, 1688.

[3] The seven classes not represented in the index of signatures below are those of 1643, 1645, 1646, 1652, 1654, 1658, and 1673. These number only twenty-eight men, all told.

Dated and undated inscriptions taken together, the decade of the 1640's is represented by signatures of five (or possibly six) of the thirty-six men who took their degrees in that period. Similarly, twenty-four of the seventy-seven A.B.'s in the 1650's; thirty-two of the seventy-three in the 1660's; twenty-one of the forty-eight in the lean 1670's; thirty-three of the seventy-two in the 1680's; and forty-five of the 145 in the prosperous 1690's signed their names in the books now identified — a surprisingly even distribution. Some classes are represented by half, or even more than half, of their members: e.g., five out of ten in 1651 and in 1669; one of the two members of the Class of 1655; five out of seven graduates in 1657; three out of four in 1666; and all three members of the Class of 1683.

The persistent use of some of the books in the list is shown in two ways: by a succession of dated signatures in individual volumes, and by duplicate copies dated at different periods. An example of the first is the 1521 edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, owned by John Remington in 1657, then by his son John in 1688; by Moses Hale in 1696; by Samuel Moodey, 1697; by John Hale about 1715; by Oliver Peabody, 1716; by John Hancock before 1766, and given by him to John Winthrop in 1766. Similar records exist in a copy of Burgersdicius's Idea Moralis (1650); Cicero's Orations, Vol. II (1606); and Homer's Iliad (1672), in which the eight signatures run from 1680 to 1792. Among duplicate copies dated at different times are the Meditationes of Descartes, of which Zechariah Brigden owned a copy in 1658 and Daniel Henchman another in 1696. Keckermann's Systema Logicae was owned by Increase Mather in 1654; three other copies have been identified, with ten seventeenth-century Harvard owners of later date, ending with Timothy Cutler of the Class of 1701. Maccovius's Metaphysica, owned by Increase Mather in 1655, appears in two other copies, owned respectively by John Hancock (the Lexington minister) in 1691, and Tutor Henry Flynt in 1692. Magirus's Physiologia is represented by six copies, in which the earliest signature appears to be that of John Wilson, possibly of the Class of 1642; the latest that of Daniel Russell, A.B. 1699. A dozen other Harvard owners had these books in the intervening years. Russell's copy was transferred to Yale where it was owned by John Wick, Isaac Wolcott Chauncy, and finally, in 1723, by Joseph Buckingham. Almost as impressive are the five copies of Schickard's

Horologium Hebraeum (Hebrew in Twenty-four Hours!). Nehemiah Ambrose, of the Class of 1653, signed the earliest of these. A dozen later Harvard signatures in the five copies, ending with that of Mather Byles, of the Class of 1725, mark successive years of the use of this book. Byles's class would have used Schickard in their freshman year, 1721–22, and it must have been the last to do so, since the grammar of Judah Monis was introduced in 1722.

As interesting as the persistency of certain texts is the interval between the date of publication of some books and their first appearance at Harvard. In a few instances (e.g. Ames, Lectiones in Omnes Psalmos) the book was sent over shortly after publication, but in most cases the interval was anywhere from twenty to one hundred years. Where were these books during those years? The question suggests an interesting subject for research.

In view of the facts which have been cited, the lists which follow, and much evidence which I have not space to exhibit, it seems reasonable to infer that, among the books identified, approximately two hundred volumes which are definitely text-books form a collection fairly representative of those in use by Harvard undergraduates of the seventeenth century. One naturally inquires whether the recovery of the six thousand or more volumes now lost, which must have been owned by these men, would radically change the picture given us by this little group of survivors. There are reasons for believing that it would not. It appears that the books now identified, taken in connection with the few surviving notebooks kept by students, the Commencement Theses, and other documents of the period, give us a fairly accurate idea of the field of learning cultivated by our predecessors of nearly three centuries ago.

As for the little group of reference books, there is less assurance that these are representative; but the list is easily supplemented from the Boston booksellers' lists of the 1680's, from the various catalogues of colonial libraries now available, and from the libraries mentioned in this article.

About thirty places of publication are represented in this list, but eleven of them account for most of the titles: London (65), Amsterdam (27), Geneva (17), Frankfort (14), Cambridge (11), Leyden (9), Oxford (8), Hanover (7), Antwerp (5), Basle (5), Herborn (5).

Some light on the ways in which these books reached Harvard is

furnished by Thomas Goddard Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620–1730 (1920). The biographies of their writers (about one hundred in number) furnish most illuminating material for this study; but for these the reader must be referred to the English, German, and French biographical dictionaries. Similarly illuminating, the biographies of the owners of these long-forgotten volumes must be sought in the invaluable pages of John Langdon Sibley's Harvard Graduates.

With these materials in hand it is now possible to write a more authentic and more detailed history than has hitherto been written of the studies and exercises in Harvard College in the seventeenth century. And surely that history must leave us with profound respect for the learning of those Puritan Englishmen who maintained through the troublous years of that century standards which brought recognition of the Harvard degree from Cambridge and Oxford.

List by Authors

In the following list all copies of the Old and New Testaments, or parts of them, are placed under the heading "Bibles." The other books are arranged alphabetically by authors or (in a few cases) by titles. The author's name is usually given in its native form, followed in some instances by the Latinized version. In cases in which the latter is the better known, the reverse procedure is followed; thus, Burgersdicius rather than Burgersdyk; Chytraeus rather than Kochhoff; Clenardus rather than Cleynaerts; Comenius rather than Komenski. The titles of the books are usually given in abbreviated form, but enough has been included to indicate the nature of the work. No attempt has been made, however, to follow the original capitalization and punctuation. Needless to say, the title-page of those days usually amounted to an appetizing table of contents, coupled with some skillful advertising. Too much space would be required for complete reproduction of this interesting material, but a study of the phrases used to attract the buyer is well worth while.

The place of publication has been given in English rather than in the

Latin form commonly used by the publishers ("Copenhagen" instead of "Hafnia," "Utrecht" rather than "Ultrajectum," etc.); and the date in Arabic rather than Roman numerals. The superior "a" which follows certain titles indicates that these books are listed as "probables"; similarly, superior "b" indicates those listed as "possibles" (see p. 375, above). Present locations of the books listed are indicated according to the key given below.[1]

The dated signature or signatures which indicate ownership of the book by one or more Harvard students of the seventeenth century come next, in smaller type. The dates in those books ranked as "certains" must fall, as noted above, within the seven-year period between the student's entrance as a freshman and his attainment of the A.M. degree. Examples of other signatures, dated or undated, and other inscriptions of interest are included. Each item is transcribed exactly and placed in quotation marks. The date of the student's A.B. degree is given in brackets in each case, including even those later than 1701. Names not followed by the A.B. date are those of men who did not attend the college, or who did not take a degree.

No attempt has been made to print all the signatures in these books. Not infrequently later owners crossed out the names of earlier ones; many of these have been deciphered and are here printed, but others, effectually blotted out, remain to tantalize the investigator. A serious effort has been made to record at least one example of each decipherable signature, but it has not been possible to indicate the position of this signature in the volume. In general, the names are to be found on both front and back fly-leaves, on the insides of covers, on title-pages, on the margins of prefaces, and occasionally well within the numbered pages of the book. They may be hard to find, written as they often are at all angles or upside down, in faded ink, in obscure corners, or in a microscopic hand, or hidden by a mass of later scrawls and scribbles. Anyone who wishes to follow the trail of the present writer is hereby warned of the difficulties in the way.

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[1] AAS. American Antiquarian Society.
BA. Boston Athenaeum.
BPL. Boston Public Library.
HCL. Harvard College Library.
MHS. Massachusetts Historical Society.
Yale. Yale University Library.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED

Cursus Philosophici Encyclopaedia libris XXVII complectens universae philosophiae methodum, serie praeceptorum, regularum & commentariorum perpetuâ. Herborn: 1620. BPL (Prince).

"Samuell Niles^{s} Book July 25th 1697 pr 9^{s}" [A.B. 1699]

Johannis-Henrici Alstedii Encyclopaedia. I. Praecognita disciplinarum. II. Philologia. III. Philosophia theoretica. IV. Philosophia practica. V. Tres superiores facultates. VI. Artes mechanicae. VII. Farragines disciplinarum. 7 vols. in 4. Engraved t.p. Herborn: 1630. HCL.

"Petro Ruck [A.B. 1683] hanc Encyclopædiā Alstedianā dono dedit Reverendissimus Crescentius Matherus vigesimo octavo die Maij Anno Domini 1683 Preciū 4. vol. 2^{l}8^{s}"

"Johannes Ballantine hunc librum jure tenet Novembris 23° 1691" [A.B. 1694]

"Johannes Barnard me jure tenet 1799 [*sic;* A.B. 1700]

The same signatures are repeated in volumes II–IV, and in the back of volume III is "Joseph Pynchon me tenet 1663" [A.B. 1664]

Methodus SS. Theologiae in VI. libros tributa: in quorum I. Theologia naturalis. II. Theologia catechetica. III. Theologia didactica seu loci communes. IV. Sotyrologia seu scholae tentationum, & casus conscientiae. V. Prophetica, ubi rhetorica & biographia ecclesiastica. VI. Theologia acroamatica. Autore Iohan. Henrico Alstedio. Cum indice rerum & verborum. Hanover: 1619. AAS.

"Cottoni Matheri Liber 1681" [A.B. 1678]

Pastor Conformatus ab Henrico Bullingero: officium boni pastoris, totius Christianae religionis elementa. Productus in lucem a Johan-Henrico Alstedio. Frankfort: 1613. MHS.

"Crescentius Mather, 1655" [A.B. 1656]

Bound with Talasius, Epitome Logici, q.v.

Ioan. Henrici Alstedii Scientiarum Omnium Encyclopaediae Tomus III, IV. Lyons: 1649. (Plate I.) BPL (Prince).

"E libris Josephi Browne octob: 2: 1668" [A.B. 1666]

"Lege, Intellige, Vive, J.B: Pret: Bos: 2 fol^{o} 03, 12, 0. 1668"

Theologia Didactica, Theologia Prophetica. 8 vols. Frankfort, Hanover: 1616–1627. AAS (Mather).

Some of them inscribed: "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1681" [A.B. 1678]

Johannis Henrici Alstedii Thesaurus Chronologiae in quo universa temporum & historiarum series in omni vitae genere ita ponitur ob oculos, ut fundamenta chronologiae ex S. literis & calculo astronomico eruantur, & deinceps tituli homogenei in certas classes memoriae causa digerantur. 2nd edition, Herborn: 1628. BPL (Prince).

"J. Sewall"

"Daniel Russell His Book 1670" [A.B. 1669]

A copy of the fourth edition (Herborn, 1650) in BPL (Prince) bears the undated signatures "Crescentii Matheri Liber," and "Byles."

WILLIAM AMES

De Conscientia et eius iure vel casibus. Engraved t.p. Amsterdam: 1630. (Plate II.) HCL.

"Richardus Wensley me Suis addidit 1 Januarii, 1681" [A.B. 1684]

Another edition. T.p. missing. Amsterdam: 1680. HCL.

"pretium 1^{s} 6^{d}"

"Joseph Dassett me jure inter suos numerat Anno Domini 1685" [A.B. 1687]

"Nathaniel A. Haven Junr e Libris avi ejus honorati Rev^{di} Samuelis Haven [A.B. 1749] S.T.D. anno S.N. 1806"

Lectiones in omnes Psalmos Davidis: in quibus per analysim, &, ubi opus est, per quaestiones sensus dilucide ac succinctè enodatur. London: 1647. MHS.

"Samuell Willys His Booke sent from England, Anno Dom: 1650" [A.B. 1653]

"S. Phillips pretium 0-3-6"

Bookplate (mut.) of Samuel Phillips, 1707 [A.B. 1708]

"Obadiah Ayer [A.B. 1710] 1717 Donum Rev. Samll. Philips ult. 10er 1717"

This book fully illustrates the meaning of the hitherto unexplained requirement in the college statutes of the seventeenth century that candidates for the A.B. degree must be able to "resolve [the Scriptures] logically." Compare the works of Piscator on various books of

the Old and New Testaments. Each of these contains an "analysis logica" of the book under consideration.

Medulla S.S. Theologiae. Amsterdam: 1628. (Plate III.) AAS.

"preciū 2^s 4^d"

"Thomas Cheever me suis addidit Junii 25 1674" [A.B. 1677]

"Johannes Burt [A.B. 1736] ejus Liber Ex dono Avi sui Reverendi D. Thomæ Cheever A.M. 1736."

Another edition. London: 1629. AAS.

Bookplate:[1] "Joseph Eliot his Book Anno Domini 1678" [A.B. 1681]

"Joseph Eliot's book"

"William Whitaker his Book"

"W. Williams 1714"

"Joshua Gee" [A.B. 1717]

Technometria. Guilielmi Amesii magni theologi ac philosophi acutissimi philosophemata. Technometria duplici methodo adornata, cui jure cognationis nunc adjunguntur, ejusdem adversus metaphysicam atque ethicam disputatio theologica. Item, logicae verae demonstratio & adumbratio, ac logicae theses, res ejusdem artis ordine enucleantes. Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, sed magis amica Veritas. Cambridge: 1646. AAS.

"Cottoni Matheri Liber 1681" [A.B. 1678]

Alexander Aphrodisiensis

Quaestiones Alexandri Aphrodisei Naturales, De Anima, Morales: sive difficilium dubitationum & solutionum libri IV nunc primum in lucem editi. Gentiano Herueto Aureliano interprete. Basle: 1548. BPL (Prince).

"Nath Saltonstall 30 (6) 56" [A.B. 1659]

Aphthonius

Aphthonii Progymnasmata, partim à Rodolpho Agricola, partim à Johanne Maria Catanaeo, latinitate donata. Cum scholiis R. Lorichii. London: 1611.[a] AAS (Mather).

"John Eliot his Booke" [A.B. 1685]

"John Oliver" [A.B. 1685]

[1] This bookplate has been removed from the volume, and is now in the AAS collection of bookplates.

"S. Matheri, 1761" "Rich. Carter" "Walter Carter"
"Jonathan Ting his booke" "Recompense Tinge" "Peter Tinge"
"Walter Carter is the true honer of"

Originally bound at the end of this volume was the advertisement of "a publike School to youth at the signe of the Red Lion over against the west end of Paul's." The advertisement is not dated, but its date appears to be about 1654, since "King" in "God save the King" at the end is crossed out, and "Protector" is written in. This advertisement has been removed and is now classified in the AAS catalogue as a broadside.

Another edition. London: 1636.[a] HCL.

"Jonathan Burr his book" [A.B. 1651]
"John White his booke" [A.B. 1698]
"Edmund" [Goffe? A.B., 1690] "John Goffe"
"Swan" on p. 2 of index
"domæ manu 1694" on p. 328

Another edition. London: 1655.[b] HCL.

Given to the HCL by John Barnard [A.B. 1700]. Possibly owned by him in college.

ARIAS MONTANUS. *See* BIBLE, *Hebrew O.T.*

ARISTOTLE

Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis, Soc. Jesu, in quatuor libros de Coelo, Meteorologicos & Parva Naturalia, Aristotelis Stagiritae. Cologne: 1603. HCL.

"Cotton Mather 1676" [A.B. 1678]
"Johannis Barnard Liber 1697/8" [A.B. 1700]

This, and the corresponding Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis in tres libros de Anima (of which both the HCL and the BPL have copies that belonged to Harvard graduates) consisted of the Greek text of Aristotle with Latin translation, an extensive gloss by the Jesuit Doctors of the University of Coimbra, and *quaestiones* on each chapter, argued syllogistically.

Epitome Doctrinae Moralis, ex decem libris Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum collecta, pro Academia Argentinensi, per Theophilum Golium, adjectus est ad calcem aureus ejusdem Aristotelis libellus de Virtutibus & Vitiis, Symone Grynaeo interprete. Cambridge: 1634. BPL (Prince).

"Henrici Gibbs Liber: 1685/6" [A.B. 1685]
"Samuel [ ] his book, volo Henry Gibbs"
"Eliot John"
"T. Prince, Cantab Nov Ang. 1706" [A.B. 1707]
Greek text and Latin translation.
For other Aristotelian texts with commentaries, see HIPPIUS and MAGIRUS.

JOHANNES AVENARIUS (JOHANN HABERMANN)

Liber Radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum. Wittenberg: 1589.
BPL (Prince).

"Joseph Gerrish [A.B. 1669] his Booke Bought of Mr John Paine Anno Domini 1666 Aprill 13th"
"Joseph Gerrish his Booke 1667"

ROBERT BAILLIE (1599–1662)

Operis Historici et Chronologici libri duo; in quibus historia sacra & profana compendiosè deducitur ex ipsis fontibus, à creatione mundi ad Constantinum Magnum. Amsterdam: 1668. BPL (Adams).

"Compensatius Wadsworth Ejus Liber An. Sal. 79" [Class of 1679]
"Benjamin Wadsworth [A.B. 1690] me suum vocat anno dom. 1686 October 20 . . . given by his brother Recompence"
"N. Williams book bought of Mr. Wadsworth April 1 1695 pr 6/–" [A.B. 1693]

Another copy. Yale.

"Grindall Rawson's Booke" [n.d.; A.B. 1678]
"Jacobus Pierpontus [A.B. 1681] me Bibliothecæ suæ commendatum fecit: Ter; Calend; Maii, An, Dom, 1679"

JOHN BARCLAY (1582–1621)

Jo: Barclaii Argenis. Editio novissima. Amsterdam: [1642].[b] HCL.

"pretium 3^s"
"Michaell Wigglesworth me jure possidet" [A.B. 1651]
"Joseph Sewall" [A.B. 1707]
"Edward Wigglesworth 1726" [A.B. 1710]

CASPAR BARTHOLIN (1585–1630)

Casparis Bartholini Malmogii Dani Philosophi Enchiridion Physicum ex priscis & recentioribus philosophis. Strassburg: 1625.
BPL (Prince).

"Sum ex Libris Nathaniel Saltonstall Oct: 13 1695" [A.B. 1695]
"John Woodbridge" [there were graduates of that name in 1664, 1694, and 1710]
"Every man at his best estate is altogether vanity"

Enchiridion Metaphysicum. *See* MAGIRUS, Physiologiae, etc.

JOHN BASTWICK

Ηραξεις των 'Επισκόπων, sive Apologeticus ad Praesules Anglicanos. Autore Johanne Bastwick, M.D. n.p.: 1636. AAS.

"Joseph Taylor ej[s] Liber An: Dom. 1671" [A.B. 1669]
"John Tailor His Booke 1696" [A.B. 1699]
"John Holman his book" [A.B. 1700]

FRIEDRICH BEURHAUS (BEURHUSIUS)

In P. Rami Dialecticae libros duos Lutetiae anno LXXII postremo sine praelectionibus aeditos, explicationum quaestiones: quae paedagogiae logicae de docenda discendaque dialectica. Pars prima. London: 1581. [And] De P. Rami Dialecticae praecipuis capitibus disputationes scholasticae & cum iisdem variorum logicorum comparationes: quae paedagogiae logicae pars secunda, qua artis veritas exquiritur. London: 1582. HCL.

"Elisha Cooke" [A.B. 1657 or 1697]
"Lord" "John D [ ]"
"Joseph Cooke [A.B. 1660 or 1661] me suis addidit: July 1659"
Marginal and interlinear MS. notes in the text, in more than one hand.

BEZA. See last item under Bibles.

BIBLE — *Hebrew O.T.*

[Pentateuch][1] חמשה חומשי תורה ed. Adelkind. Venice: Bamberg, 1521.[2] AAS.

"John Remington His Booke 1657"
"J[o] Remington's Book Anno Christi 1688" [A.B. 1696]

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[1] The title-page in several of these Hebrew Bibles reads "Pentateuch," but they contain the whole Old Testament. There were separate title-pages for the other parts or books.

[2] BFBS, no. 5084; Zedner, p. 96. These abbreviations refer to the British and Foreign Bible Society's Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles, and to the Catalogue of Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum (1867), compiled by J. Zedner.

"Moses Hale [A.B. 1699] Eius Liber Bought of Remington Decemb: 20th: 1696, Pret: 16s"

"Samuel Moodey Anno 1697" [A.B. 1697]

"John Hall" [A.B. 1719]

"Oliver Peabody [A.B. 1721] Ejus Liber. Bought of Mr Hale jun 1716/17 pret. 16s"

"John Winthrop [A.B. 1765 or 1770] Feby 20, 1766, the gift of John Hancock Esqr"

Plate IV, showing a fly-leaf of this book, furnishes an illustration of students' inscriptions and scrawls.

[Pentateuch] חמשה חומשי תורה. Antwerp: Plantin, 1566.[1] AAS.

"John Hancock [A.B. 1689] Thomas Swan [A.B. 1687] Ejus Liber Anno Dom."

"Hic liber meus est si quisquis fortè requirit
Nomen subscriptū perlege quæso meū.
Johannes Poole" [Class of 1696]

[Pentateuch] חמשה חומשי תורה.[a] Geneva: Rovière, 1618.[2] AAS.

"John Tyng His book September 31 [*sic*] 1688" [A.B. 1691]

"Andrew Gardner 169[ ]" [A.B. 1696]

"John Taylor 1696" [A.B. 1699]

"Dudley Bradstreet" [A.B. 1698]

Another copy. AAS.

"William Partrigg His Book Anno; Dominj 1686" [A.B. 1689]

"Josephus Wingurtus"

Bound in wrong order: the title-page is numbered p. 122 in MS.

Another copy. AAS.

"Isaaci Chauncei liber 1690 Julii" [A.B. 1693]

"Solomon Williams His Book Anno 1717" [A.B. 1719]

"John Hubbard Ejus Liber 1750" [A.B. Yale 1747]

"The Revd Mr John Hubbard's Book. Minr of Cts Ch at Northfield"

Biblia Hebraica. Eorundem Latina interpretatio Xantis Pagnini Lucensis Benedicti Ariae Montani. Geneva: 1619.[3] [Bound with:] Novum Testamentum Graecum. n.p. 1619. HCL.

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[1] BFBS, no. 5099; Zedner, p. 97.

[2] BFBS, no. 5118; Zedner p. 99.

[3] BFBS, no. 5117.

"E libris Josephi Browne Octob: 1. 1668 Lege, Intellige, Vive. Pret: Lond: 01.15.00. 1668" [A.B. 1666]

Hebrew, with interlinear Latin translation by Sante Pagnino from the Antwerp Polyglot edited by Arias Montanus. Pasted into this copy are the inscriptions from another, which the HCL sold as a duplicate, *c* 1825. That duplicate belonged to George Phillips, the first minister of Watertown (*d* 1644), who gave it to his son Samuel Phillips (A.B. 1650), the grandfather of Samuel Phillips (A.B. 1734), who also used it in college.

Biblia Hebraica, eleganti charactere impressa. Editio nova. Amsterdam: 1635.[1] HCL.

"Samuel Sewall Novembr 26, 1687"

"Hunc Librum Dudleius Bradstreet [A.B. 1698] Tenet A. Domini 1695."

"John Legge's Hebrew Book Anno Dom: 1687/8" [A.B. 1701]

"Benjamin Wadsworth's Book, given by Mr. John Legg Jan 4 1706/7"

Second and most important of the editions prepared by Menasseh ben Israel, the famous Jewish Rabbi of Amsterdam.

Another copy. Interleaved and bound in 2 vols. Andover-Harvard.

"Samuel Vassall me jure tenet Jan. 1692" [A.B. 1695]

"Sed potuit Tho: Phips 1693" [A.B. 1695]

Later marks of ownership of Joseph Buckminster (Yale 1770), William Mather (Yale 1773), Samuel Harris (died as an undergraduate at Harvard, 1812), John Gorham Palfrey the historian, and Andrew Preston Peabody, who gave these volumes to the Divinity School Library in 1888.

[The Twenty-four (books of the Old Testament)] עשרים וארבעה. Amsterdam: 1638–39.[2] Andover-Harvard.

"Huius Libri Donatori Benevolentissimo, Reverendissimo ac Doctissimo Domino Crescentio Mathero, Gratias Multas et maximas agit, Aget Agatque Donatus Indignissimus Nathaniel Clap. Januarii 21, 1687/8" [A.B. 1690]

The third edition prepared by Menasseh ben Israel.

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[1] BFBS, no. 5124.

[2] BFBS, no. 5127; Zedner, p. 100.

Another copy. T.p. missing. Andover-Harvard.

"Me omnes inspicientes Wilhelmi Brinsmeadi [Class of 1655] librum appellate Emptum Augusti 2do 1651"

"Liber Abijæ Thurston 1746" [A.B. 1749]

"Edmund Noyes his Book 1746" [A.B. 1747]

The Hebrew Text of the Psalmes and Lamentations, revised and corrected according to the best of Plantin and Stephan's Impressions. By William Robertson. London: 1656.[b] AAS.

"Thomæ Berry liber" [A.B. 1685]

"he is a rouge and a great"

"Benjamin Marston 1711" [A.B. 1715]

BIBLE — *Greek*

Της Θειας γραφης, Παλαιας Δηλαδη και Νεας Διαθηκης, απαντα. Divinae Scripturae omnia. Frankfort: 1597.[1] HCL.

"Simon Willard his booke 1692" [A.B. 1695]

Bookplate: "Simon Willard Hunc Librum Jure Tenet *Julij* 1. 1695."

"Joseph Sewall 1730" [A.B. 1707]; who gave it to the HCL in 1764.

Edited by François du Jon or Friedrich Sylburg.

Another copy. BPL (Prince).

"Anthony Stoddard's Booke Anno: Dom: Nati: Ies. Christ: 94" [A.B. 1697]

"Bought of Mr. I. K. November 25: Finis cum furcum Babilonium Geog."

BIBLE — *Greek O.T.*

Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Graecum ex versione Septuaginta.[b] London: 1653.[2] HCL.

"Collegii Harvardi Liber 1676"

"John Leverett Ejus Liber 1696" [A.B. 1680]

"Thomæ Frink [A.B. 1722] Liber e Bibliotheca Harvardina 1734"

This book apparently belonged to the College Library, was used and claimed as his by John Leverett as a tutor, purchased from the Library by Thomas Frink, and again presented to the Library by Walter S. Hertzog (A.B. 1905) in 1905.

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[1] BFBS, no. 4653.

[2] BFBS, no. 4692 B, which calls it the "first edition of the LXX printed in England."

Another copy.[a] AAS.

"Peter Thacher" [A.B. 1696?]

"Oxenbridge Thacher" [A.B. 1698]

"Peter Thacher [A.B. 1769] his Book by the Gift of his honoured Grandfather Oxenbridge Thacher Esqr September 19 1766"

"Zabdiel Adams [A.B. 1759] his Book Bought of Peter Thacher in the yeare 1769 Pretium £4.10.0"

There is an earlier erased signature (Edmund Davie? A.B. 1674) with the date 1666.

BIBLE — *Greek N.T.*

Της Καινης Διαθηκης απαντα. Novi Testamenti libri omnes, editi cum notis Roberti Stephani, Josephi Scaligeri, & Isaaci Casauboni. London: 1622.[a] MHS.

"John Cotton His Booke Anno Domini 1649" [A.B. 1657]

"Witness all that in this writinge looke on the 8th day of . . . Aprill 1650 written by Elisha Cooke" [A.B. 1657]

"honorificicabilitudinitatibusque"

"honorificicabilitudinitatibusiter"

"Samuel Aspinwall is a knave"

BIBLE — *Greek Apocrypha*

Bibliorum pars Graeca quae Hebraice non invenitur; cum interlineari interpretatione Latina. Antwerp: 1612. AAS.

"Samuell Myles [A.B. 1684] est huius liberi verus possessor, ex dono Avi reverendi — March 8: 1683"

BIBLE — *Latin O.T.*

Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, libri canonici priscae Judaeorum ecclesiae Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Junio. Hanover: 1603.[1] HCL.

"Caleb Cushing's Book An: dom 1695" [A.B. 1692]

BIBLE — *Latin N.T.*

Novum Testamentum Interprete Theodoro Beza.[b] London: 1659.[2] MHS.

"Benjamin Colman" repcated on several pages [A.B. 1692]

"M. Byles" [A.B. 1725]

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[1] BFBS, no. 6192.

[2] BFBS, no. 524.

BIBLE — *Polyglott*

S. S. BIBLIA POLYGLOTTA complectentia textus originales Hebraicos cum Pentat. Samarit: Chaldaicos Graecos versionumque antiquarum quicquid comparari poterat. Ex MSS. antiquis undique conquisitis optimisque exemplaribus summa fide collatis. Edidit Brianus Waltonus S.T.D. 6 vols. London: 1657. BPL (Prince).

[In vol. I:] "In the year 1724 I bought this with all the following volumes & Castelli [Polyglott] Lexicon of Mr. Samuel Gerrish Bookseller of Boston, for Thirty Pounds, who had bought them of Dr. Cotton Mather, who had a duplicate of them: & I paid sd. Gerrish Thirty Pounds for them:

as witness my hand
Thomas Prince"

"Nathanaelis Matheri Liber Martii 23rd 1683[/4]" [A.B. 1685]

[In vol. II:]

"Nathanaelem Matherum
Hoc Libro Donavit
Pater Suus Carissimus
Mensis Martii Die 23
Anno Christi
MDCLXXXIII"

Bookplate in vols. III–VI: "Nathanielis Matheri Liber. Dedit Pater Suus Honorarissimus A.D. 1683"

The Hebrew and Latin are interlinear, and the "Versio Vulg. Lat." is also given.

The "Castelli Lexicon" mentioned by Prince is also in the Prince collection, but contains no seventeenth-century Harvard signatures.

WILLIAM BRATTLE (1662–1717)

Compendium Logicae secundum principia D. Renati Descartes catechistice propositum. ℙ Gul. Brattle. In usū pupillorū. Bound MS. book, 72 pp. HCL.

"Thomas Phips 1693" [A.B. 1695] who probably made the copy p. 3, printed label: "Joseph McKean, 1791" [A.B. 1794]

A Compendium of Logick, according to the modern philosophy extracted from Legrand & others, their systems. Per Dom: Brattle, in usum pupil. 1687. MS. 4° book of 18 leaves, bound up with MS. Morton's Logic (*see* MORTON). MHS.

"Timothy Lindall His Booke 1692/3 [A.B. 1695] Incept: a Die 17: 12 et finit: Die 17 1 mensis"

An English translation of the Compendium Logicae, which serves to identify both with the "manuscript called the New Logick Extracted from Legrand and ars Cogitandi," mentioned in Tutor Flynt's list of studies. Another MS. copy (56 leaves 8°), transcribed by Thomas Prince in 1710, is in the MHS.

CASPAR ERASMUS BROCHMAND (JESPER RASMUSSEN BROCHMAN)

Universae Theologiae Systema. Authore Casparo Erasmo Brochmand SS. Theologiae in Academia Regia Hafniensi Doctore. Ulm: 1658. HCL.

"John Barnard Ejus Liber 1703" [A.B. 1700]

"Lege, Lege, deliberatè Lege; præmium munificum ea persolvet"

GEORGE BUCHANAN. *See* BÜCHLER

WILLIAM BUCHAN (BUCANUS)

Institutiones Theologicae, seu locorum communium Christianae Religionis analysis Guilielmi Bucani SS. Theologiae in Academia Lausanensi professoris operâ & studio. Geneva: 1625. (Plate V.) AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Matherus"

"Cottonus Matherus 1676" [A.B. 1678]

Another edition. Geneva: 1630. HCL.

"Elna Athaenaeus Chauncaius me suo addidit vaticano An° Dom: 72: 24. pret. 4^{s}" [A.B. 1661]

"Sam. Phipps me suis addidit 29: 4: 74" [A.B. 1671]

"Simonis Bradstreet Liber, 1725" [A.B. 1728?]

JOHANN BÜCHLER

Sacrarum Profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus, opera M^{ro} Ioannis Buchleri in Wicradt praefecti. Adjacent praeterea [Georgii] Buchanani Phrases. Editio decima tertia. London: 1642.^{a} HCL.

"Elisha Cooke his book" [A.B. 1657]

"Middlecott Cooke eius liber" [A.B. 1723]

"Middlecott Cooke is my name
& England is my nation
Boston is my dwelling place

And heaven my habitation
When I am dead & laid in ye grave
and all my bones are roten
Which this you see remember me
Which never will be forgotten"

BURGERSDICIUS (FRANCO BURGERSDIJCK)

Collegium Physicum, disputationibus XXXII absolutum; totam naturalem philosophiam compendiose proponens. Autore M. Francone Burgersdicio. Leyden: 1642. HCL.

"C.M." "Johanno Barnard Hunc Librum dedit Cottonus Matherus 1700"

"Johannis Barnardi Liber: 1697/8" [A.B. 1700]

"John Ballantine" [A.B. 1694?]

"Lydia Ballantine" "Samuell Wade"

Idea Philosophiae Moralis sive compendiosa institutio. Amsterdam: 1650. Brown University Library.

"Josiah Flint His Book 16 [62? or 91?]" [A.B. 1664]

"Henry Flint Ejus Liber Anno Domini 1699 Octob. [ ]" [A.B. 1693]

"Post Patrem possidet Josiah. Patre mortuo Succedit Filius 1691 Henry. Henry mortuo [1760] Succedit alienus 1762 Nathaniel Fisher. [A.B. 1763] Nathaniel Pecuniae causa vendidit Richardo Cary. [A.B. 1763] Richardus amico ven[didit] Johanni Scolly [A.B. 1764] a quo Nathaniel re[demit] & nunc possidet & semp[er] Possidebit Deo Juvant[e]"

The last entry is apparently in the hand of Nathaniel Fisher. A very remarkable record of ownership. Cf. similar records in the Venice edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch (1521), above, and in Cicero's Orations (1606), below.

Fr. Burgersdicii Institutionum Logicarum libri duo. Ad juventutem Cantabrigiensem. London: 1651. H. A. Larrabee, Esq.

"Geo. Curwin His book 1699" [A.B. 1701]

"R. Dana's 1718" [A.B. 1718]

"Sam. Jenison" [A.B. 1720]

"Thomas Weld 1719" [A.B. 1723]

At the back, mostly in the same hand, are the names Angier, Bayley, Cotton, Cutler, Fessenden, and Loring — all classmates of Curwin.

Franconis Burgersdici Institutionum Metaphysicarum libri II. Opus posthumum. [Edited by Heereboord.] The Hague: 1657.[b] AAS.

"Joseph Dasset's Book" [A.B. 1687] "l^{s} 6^{d}"

JOHANN BUXTORF (1564–1629)

Joann. Buxtorfii Epitome Grammaticae Hebraeae. London: 1653. BPL (Prince).

"Ephraim Savage His Booke 1661" [A.B. 1662]

"medio tutissimus ibis"

Johannis Buxtorffi Epitome Radicum Hebraicarum et Chaldaicarum. T.p. missing; preface dated 1607.[a] AAS.

"Jn Dauis" [A.B. 1661?] "Mr Dauis me suis addidit"

"Jeremiah Peck me jure tenet Anno 61" [Class of 1657]

"Phineas Fiske nunc me jure possidet Anno D."

Johannis Buxtorfi Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum. London: 1646. BPL (Prince).

"Thomas dudly oweth this Booke to his cousin 1652" [A.B. 1651]

"Tho: Shepard [A.B. 1653] me tenet donum D^{ni} Danforthi [A.B. 1643] 1651"

"Josiah Marshall his book 1716" [A.B. 1720]

VICTOR BYTHNER

Lyra Prophetica Davidis Regis sive analysis critico-practica Psalmorum in qua omnes & singulae voces Hebraeae in Psalterio contentae tam propriae quam appellativae ad regulas artis revocantur. Insuper harmonia Hebraei textus cum paraphrasi Chaldaea, & versione Graeca LXXII interpretum, in locis, sententiis discrepantibus, fideliter confertur. Cui ad calcem addita est brevis institutio linguae Hebraeae & Chaldaeae. London: 1664. BPL (Prince).

"Ametius Angier [A.B. 1701] Hunc Librum vendicat. Si quis in hunc librum teneres convertit ocellos nomen subscriptum perlegat ille meum, 1698"

"Remington, Jno." [A.B. 1696]

"Sam Mighill [A.B. 1704] Ejus Liber bought of Thomas Graves" [A.B. 1703]

"Nathaniell Fisher" [A.B. 1706]

"Sam: Mighill non est verus possessor hujus libri Benjamin Ruggles [A.B. 1724] est verus possessor hujus libri emtus a Samuelo Mighilo anno domini 1719"

Another copy. BPL (Prince).

"Sam Sewall January 22 1684/5" [A.B. 1671]
"Joseph Sewall 1723" [A.B. 1707]
"Sam[l] Hirst me jure tenet" [A.B. 1723]
John Ellery[s] hand did it in y[e] year 1731/2" [A.B. 1732]

JOHN CALVIN

The Institution of Christian Religion translated into English by Thomas Norton. London: 1599.[a] HCL.

"Empt: e [a?] Mag: [John?] Clark [A.B. 1670?] 19 Apr. 1682"
"William Brattle His Book Cost [illegible]" [A.B. 1680]
"Empt. a mag: Brattle. Anno 1683. Guilielmis Williams Liber Cost 6[s]" [minister at Hatfield; A.B. 1683]
A succession of Williamses follows.

WILLIAM CAMDEN (1551–1623)

Institutio Graecae Grammatices Compendiaria, in usum regiae scholae Westmonasteriensis. In usum studiosae juventutis adduntur etiam quidam literarum nexus & scripturae compendia quae partim elegantiae, partim brevitatis causa usurpari solent. [Bound with:] Scientiarum Janitrix Grammaticae. London: 1656. BPL (Prince).

"John Cotton his Gram̄er 1676" [A.B. 1678]
"Septemb. 25 1677 John Leverett his Booke" [A.B. 1680]
"T. Prince Liber 1701 1[s] 6[d]" [A.B. 1707]
"William Wharton not ejus Liber"

[Institutio] Graecae Grammatices Rudimenta in usum Scholae Westmonasteriensis. London: 1671. AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Matherus"
"Cottonus Matherus 1676" [A.B. 1678]
"Nathaniel Matherus 1682" [A.B. 1685]
An abridgment of Camden's Institutio G. G. Compendaria, also written for Westminster School; of which there is in the HCL a copy of the London, 1695, edition inscribed by William Dudley (A.B. 1704) in 1699, and by William Little (A.B. 1710).

CARMINUM PROVERBIALIUM totius humanae vitae statum breviter deliniantium, loci communes in gratiam iuventutis selecti. London: 1603. AAS.

"Sam[ll] Alcock" [A.B. 1659]
"Joseph Belcher His Book 1689" [A.B. 1690]
"Andrew Gardner" [A.B. 1696]
"Nicholas Sever" [A.B. 1701] "Belcher 1701"
"Benj[a] Gerrish" [A.B. 1733] "Sam[ll] Penhallows"
"William Sever of Kingston A.D. 1742" [A.B. 1745]
"Burnet"
"Young men think old men fools but old men know you"

Latin verses on a variety of subjects, arranged alphabetically, and to which the second owner has added in MS. Attributed to one S.A.I. by the British Museum Catalogue.

NATHANIEL CARPENTER (1589–1628?)

Philosophia Libera, in qua adversus huius temporis philosophos, dogmata quaedam nova discutiuntur. Authore Nathanaele Carpentario Exoniensis Collegij. Ed. secunda. Oxford: 1622. BPL (Prince).

"Thos Brattle His Booke 15 8[ber] 1673" [A.B. 1676]
"Oliver Noyes" [A.B. 1695]
"Jonathan Remington's Booke ex dono O.N." [A.B. 1696]

An attack on Aristotelian philosophy.

ISAAC CASAUBON. *See* BIBLE, *Greek N.T.*

MARC CASAUBON. *See* TERENCE

JEAN CHATARD

[Locutionum Graecarum in Communes Locos per alphabeti ordinem digestarum, volumen.] Paris(?): *c* 1600.[a] AAS.

"Edward Rawson" [A.B. 1653]
"Grindall Rawson his book" [A.B. 1678]

The title-page of this volume is missing. What is given above is the subtitle on p. 1. The preface is signed "Johannes Chatardus." Cf. Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

NATHAN CHYTRAEUS (KOCHHOFF)

Carmen Protrepticon, summam doctrinae Christianae complectens. Herborn: 1661. [A Latin hexameter poem, bound with the following:] Viaticum Itineris Extremi, doctrinae et consolationis plenissimum. Additae sunt necessariae quaedam notae per Johan. Piscatorem. Herborn: 1661. MHS.

"Joseph Webb" [A.B. 1684]
"Nehemiah Walter scripsit Anno Dom: 1682" [A.B. 1684]

CICERO

De Officiis Marci Tullii Ciceronis libri tres. De Amicitia: De Senectute: Paradoxa: & de Somnio Scipionis. London: 1629.[a] (Plate VI.) MHS.

"Joseph Eliot His Booke 16[ ]" [A.B. 1656, 1658, or 1681]

"John Wompowess His Booke 1665"

"Joseph Browne" [A.B. 1666]

"fungor fruor hetaris affectu letare Joseph Browne [followed by, in another hand] is a fool for writing fungor fruor hetaris affectu letare"

"Jacob Elliots Book 1688 [followed by, in his hand]

This book is mine,
and you may fine
I will drink some wine.
He is very fine
And I will one
I will put you in the pou[nd]"

"Thomas Williams bot at Auction Oct. 1768"

John Wompowess may be a hitherto unrecorded Indian undergraduate. On one of the fly-leaves is a crude sketch of a meeting-house with the legend "John Savage his meeting house the king of it I say," probably an allusion to John's intended vocation.

M. Tulii Ciceronis Orationum pars prima, post Pauli Manutij & aliorum doctiss. correctiones, diligenter emendata. Antwerp: 1567.[a] MHS.

"Samuel Eatonus me jure tenet" [A.B. 1649]

"Urianus Oakes hunc librum jure tenet" [A.B. 1649]

"John Williams hunc librum jure emtionis possidet" [A.B. 1683]

"Solomon Williams 1742" [A.B. 1747]

Note by William F. Williams, who gave this book to the MHS, stating that John Williams was the captive minister of Deerfield, and his (W.F.W.'s) great-grandfather.

Orationum Marci Tullii Ciceronis volumen secundum. Editio ad Manutianam & Brutinam conformata. Hanover: 1606. AAS.

"John Cotton his book suæ optimo"

"Seaborne Cotton His booke Apr: 9. anno 1646" [A.B. 1651]

"Johannis Cotton [A.B. 1678] est verus possessor hujus libri E D[ono] P[atris] Anno Domini 1673"

Bookplate: "John Cotton his Book Ann. Dom. 1674" [said to be the oldest dated bookplate in the English colonies]

MS. note by J. Wingate Thornton stating that this is one of a set of six volumes of Cicero's works that descended from John Cotton through his son Seaborn and grandson John to the Reverend Nathaniel Gookin (A.B. 1703), to his son Nathaniel (A.B. 1731), and to the Reverend Jonathan French (A.B. 1771), who gave it to Mr. Thornton.

JOHN CLARKE (of Fiskerton, near Lincoln)

Formulae Oratoriae, in usum scholarum concinnatae, cum praxi & usu earundem in epistolis, thematibus, declamationibus contexendis. Editio octava limatior et emendatior. Engraved t.p. London: 1659. HCL.

"John Barnard Eius Liber" [A.B. 1700]
"John Higginson Tertius 1712/13" [A.B. 1717]
"Pyam Blowers's Book" [A.B. 1721] "cost 3^{s} 6^{d}"

Another edition. Engraved and colored t.p. London: 1664. AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Matherus"
"Cotton Mather dedit pater: 1681" [A.B. 1678] on p. 385
"Nathanael Mather" [A.B. 1685]
"Warham" [Mather, A.B. 1685]
"Samuel Mather [A.B. 1723] ex dono ingenii"

Another edition. Engraved t.p. London: 1672. AAS.

"Paulus Dudleius eius liber anno 1688" [A.B. 1690]
Bookplate: "Nicholaus Lynde 1690" [A.B. 1690]
"Joseph Lynde"

NICHOLAUS CLENARDUS (CLEYNAERTS)

Nicolai Clenardi Graecae Linguae Institutiones; cum scholiis et praxi Petri Antesignani [Davenant]. A Frid. Sylburgio denuò recognitae. Hanover: 1617. HCL.

"L. H[oar]" "Leonard hoar his booke 1651" [A.B. 1650] "Pre. 2^{s} 6^{d}"
"Lege, Intellige, Vive. J. B[rowne, A.B. 1666]" "Pre: 1–6"

PETER COELEMAN (COELEMANNUS)

Opus Prosodicum Graecum Novum. Frankfort: 1651. (Plate VII.) HCL.

"Joseph Browne anno dom. 1666" [A.B. 1666]

Greek and Latin on opposite pages.

JOHANNES AMOS COMENIUS (KOMENSKI)

I. A. Comenii Ianua Aurea Linguarum, et auctior et emendatior quam unquam antehac. Autore Teodoro Simonio Holsato. Amsterdam: 1649.[b] HCL.

"Joel Jacoomis is my owner" [Indian of Class of 1665]

Described, with facsimiles of Jacoomis's autograph, in our Publications, XXI. 186, which see for note of eighteenth-century students.

I. A. Commenii Physicae ad lumen divinum reformatae synopsis. [Quotation from Ludovico Vives.] Amsterdam: 1645. HCL.

"John Barnard Ejus Liber 1693 . . . His Book Anno D. 1696" [A.B. 1700]

"John Swift" [A.B. 1697]

Described, with facsimiles of the signatures, in our Publications, XXI. 185–186.

CONCIONES ET ORATIONES ex historicis Latinis excerptae. Argumenta singulis praefixa sunt, quae causam cujusque & summam ex rei gestae occasione explicant. Opus recognitum recensitumque in usum scholarum Hollandiae & Westrisiae ex decreto illustriss. D.D. Ordinum ejusdem Provinciae. Amsterdam: 1648. AAS.

"Crescentius Matherus"

"Increase Mather, 1653" [A.B. 1656]

"Cottonus Matherus"

"S. Matheri, 1741"

JEAN CRESPIN

Τα Σωζομενα των παλαιοτατων, Ποιητων, Γεοργικα, Βουκολικα και Γνωμικα. Vetustissimorum authorum Georgica, Bucolica, & Gnomica poemata quae supersunt. Edidit J. Crispinus. 3 vols. in 1. Geneva: 1639. AAS.

"Hope Atherton his book 1661" [A.B. 1665]

"Nicholaus Lynde" [A.B. 1690]

Latin and Greek on opposite pages. Includes Hesiod's Works and Days, Theogony, and Shield of Heracles, with annotations by Mel-

anchthon; Theognis of Megara, Phocylides, Pythagoras, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, selections from the poets of the Middle and New Comedy, and numerous minor poets. The first edition came out in 1570.

DESCARTES

Renati Des Cartes Meditationes de Prima Philosophia, in quibus Dei existentia, & animae humanae à corpore distinctio, demonstrantur. His adjunctae sunt variae objectiones doctorum virorum in istas de Deo & anima demonstrationes; cum responsionibus authoris. Tertia editio. Amsterdam: 1650. BPL (Prince).

"Samuel Lee tenet Julij 22. die o 1651" "Londini 0:1:0 m^r Sam Tomson"

"Daniel Henchman tenet Cantabrigiæ Aprielis 9, die 1696" [A.B. 1696]

Probably purchased at the sale, in 1693, of the library of Samuel Lee, who arrived in New England in 1686. Cf. our Publications, XXI. 180, and XIV. 143.

Another edition. Amsterdam: 1654. AAS.

"Zech. Brigden me tenet jun 27. 58" [A.B. 1657]

"Samuel Brackenbury. Nec habeo, nec Careo, nec Curo, 1664" [A.B. 1664]

"Dono Dedit D. Generosissimus Mr. Franciscus Willoughby, Lege, Intellige, Vive. J.B." [Joseph Browne, A.B. 1666] "Pret Lond.[ ]"

Opera Philosophica, editio ultima ab autore recognita. Amsterdam: 1656. HCL.

"Benjamin Lynde me inter suos numerat 10: 1: 1685/6" [A.B. 1686]

"Timothy Lindall His booke 1694" [A.B. 1695]

"Benjamin Wadsworth's Book 1687 pre. 7^s 6^d" [A.B. 1690]

A tear on the title-page has defaced an earlier signature than Lynde's: "Johann . . . Regine" is left.

Includes, with separate title-pages, the Principia Philosophiae, Specimena Philosophiae seu Dissertatio de Methodo; Dioptrice et Meteora ex Galileo translata; Passiones Animae; Meditationes: objectiones et responses.

JEAN DESPAUTÈRE (VAN PAUTEREN)

Ioan: Despauterii Ninivitae Grammaticae Institutionis lib. VII. Doctè & concinnè in compendium redacti à Sebastiano Duisburgensi. Bound with his Syntaxis and his Artis Versificatoriae Compendium.] Edinburgh: 1660. HCL.

"E libris Joannis Urie" [A Scottish student]
On page near end: "Isaac Bayly Ejus Liber: 1698" [A.B. 1701]
"Nicholaus Severus Ejus Liber Ex dono I. Bayley August 7 1698" [A.B. 1701]

DAVID DICKSON

Therapeutica Sacra, seu, de curandis casibus conscientiae libri tres. London: 1656. AAS (Mather).

"Cottoni Matheri Liber 1681" [A.B. 1678]

A DICTIONARIE English and Latine: wherein the knots and difficulties of the Latine tongue are untied and resolved, and the elegancies and proprieties thereof fully declared and confirmed by examples. London: 1623. AAS (Mather).

"John Bellingham Eius Liber Anno Dom: 1655" [A.B. 1661]
"Cottonus Matherus 1674" [A.B. 1678]
"Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1682" [A.B. 1685]
"Samuel Mather's Book: 1717" [A.B. 1723]

GEORGE DOWNAME. *See* RAMUS

THOMAS DRAXE

Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima, or, a treasurie of ancient adagies and sententious proverbes, selected out of the English, Greeke, Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish. Published by Thomas Draxe Batch. in Divinitie. London: 1633. HCL.

"Elisha Cooke me tenet" [A.B. 1657] "Whiting"
"Joseph Cooke me tenet Anno 1660" [A.B. 1660]
"Mr. Louse had his gutts broake out & fell into Mr. Walkers mouth." "Old Mr. Louse fell from a book & pitcht into a pecke & broake his neck &c"

Calliepeia, or a rich store-house of proper, choyce, and elegant Latine words and phrases collected (for the most part) out of Tullie's works, and for the use and benefit of scholars by Thomas Drax. London: 1612. BPL (Prince).

"Thomas Oakes me jure tenet 1658" [A.B. 1662]

"Thomas Oakes not [in Joseph Taylor's hand] his booke Anno 1658"

"Joseph Taylor His booke 1665" [A.B. 1669]

"Samuel Sewall his Booke Anno Dom: 1669" [A.B. 1671]

"Stephen Sewall"

"Joseph Sewall His Book"

Another edition. London: 1643. HCL.

"Elisha Cooke" [A.B. 1657]

"Samuell Johnson"

Another edition (London, 1662) is in the Mather Collection at the AAS. It was owned by Increase, Cotton, Nathaniel, Samuel (A.B. 1690), and Samuel (A.B. 1723); also by William Charnock (A.B. 1743). Dates, when given, indicate the use of the book in preparation for college, rather than use in college.

GUILLAUME DURAND

Rationale Divinorum Officiorum a R.D. Gulielmo Durando Mimatensi Episcopo. Adjectum fuit praeterea aliud Divinorum Officiorum rationale ab Ioanne Beletho theologo Parisiensi. Tomus primus. Antwerp: 1614. AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Matherus"

"Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1683. D. dedit Pater" [A.B. 1685]

ERASMUS

Epitome Adagiorum Erasmi, Iunii, Cognati, et aliorum παροιμιογράφων. n.p.: apud Guillelmum Laemarium, 1593. AAS (Mather).

"Nathanaelis Mather Liber 1682 [A.B. 1685] D. Dedit Frater suus charissimus, C.M."

A phrase-book. 562 pp. of Erasmus's, then the "viii centuries" of adages of Hadrian Junius, "in epitomen contractae"; then the proverbs of Johann Alexander Brassicanus, others of Pythagoras, etc.

Institutio Principis Christiani. *See* PATRIZZI

EUCLID

The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara. Faithfully (now first) translated into the Englishe toung, by H. Billingsley. With a very fruitfull praeface made by M. I. Dee. Engraved t.p. London: 1570. (Plate VIII.) Yale.

"Henrici Dunsteri Liber pret. 1 10 00 bought of Mr Pierce of Newhaven 1652 price thirty shillings."

See below, Ramus's Arithmetic and Geometry (1649), also owned by Dunster, and editorial comment thereon. Evidently his translation of this latter work, begun in 1649, was rendered unnecessary by his purchase of the version listed above. Mark Pierce (1597–1656), referred to by Dunster, came to Cambridge from England in 1642, and soon removed to New Haven, where he was schoolmaster and surveyor. He returned to England in 1652 or 1653, and died there.

EUSTACHE DE SAINT-PAUL

Fr. Eustachii a S. Paulo ex congregatione Fuliensi Ordinis Cisterciensis Ethica, sive summa moralis disciplinae. In gratiam studiosae juventutis edita. Cambridge: 1654. AAS.

"Joseph Browne His Booke 1665" [A.B. 1666]

"Lege, Intellige, Vive. J. B."

Not in the British Museum Catalogue. Fr. Eustache was a French Cistercian who flourished 1610–1635.

ROBERT FARLEY

Disputationum Academicarum Formulae per R.F. London: 1638. AAS (Mather).

"Thomas Shepard me tenet. 1651 decemb. 30" [A.B. 1653]

"Samuell Willard his Book" [A.B. 1659] on p. 13

FLORUS

L. Julii Flori Rerum à Romanis Gestarum libri IV a Johanne Stadio emendati. Editio nova singulis neotericis purgatior & emendatior. Cui accesserunt Chronologicae doctiss: Cl. Salmasii excerptiones unà cum variis lectionibus. Oxford: 1669.[a] HCL.

"Charles Chauncy" [A.B. 1686?]

"steal this Booke if you dare"

M. FUNDANUS

Phrases Poeticae seu sylvae poeticarum locutionum. Prima vestigia a M. Fundano posita, deinde ab A.S.I.T. auctiores factae. Rotterdam: 1621.[b] HCL.

"Elisha Cooke me tenet" [A.B. 1657]

GALILEO GALILEI. *See* GASSENDI

PETRUS GALTRUCHIUS

P. Petri Galtruchii Aurelianensis Societ. Jesu, Philosophiae ac Mathematicae Institutio ad usum studiosae iuventutis. Physica Particularis. Caen: 1665. AAS (Mather).

"Cottonus Matherus 1676" [A.B. 1678]

HENRY GARTHWAIT

Μονοτέσσαρον. The Evangelicall Harmonie, reducing the foure Evangelists into one continued context. Cambridge: 1634. MHS.

"Henry Dunster"

"Elizabeth Dunster Her book 1676"

"Benjamin Colmans [A.B. 1692] Book Donum formosæ admodum Dominæ Elizabethæ Wade 1693/4"

PIERRE GASSENDI

Exercitationes Paradoxicae adversus Aristoteleos. In quibus praecipua totius Peripateticae doctrinae fundamenta excutiuntur. Amsterdam: 1649. AAS (Mather).

"Cottonus Matherus 1675" [A.B. 1678]

"S. Matheri 1740"

Petri Gassendi Institutio Astronomica juxta hypotheses tam veterum, quam recentiorum. Cui accesserunt Galilei Galilei Nuntius Sidereus, et Johannis Kepleri Dioptrice. Secunda editio. Illustrated. London: 1653. BA.

"Thomas Shepardus me jure tenet 9. 12°. 1675/6 p^{r} 7^{s} 6^{d}" [A.B. 1676]

"Wm Brattle 1705" [A.B. 1680]

"Brenton's Book 1706" [A.B. 1707]

"William Brown"

"N. Lendall his book Anno D. 1726" [A.B. 1727]

"Old skipper Lendall"

"Was 'ere a man like worthy skipper seen
How foolish is His look. how quere his mein:
How bald and ugly"

"There is a purpose of marriage between Job: Squander-beg & Margaret Hawk-Spun both of Toplifelis alley"

RUDOLPH GOCLENIUS (1547–1628)

Partitionum Dialecticarum M. Rodolphi Goclenij professoris Academici [Marburgensis]. [Title-page wanting; this is the subtitle,

preceded by "Generalia Prolegomena in omnes artes." Bound with:] Rodolphi Goclenii Praxis Logica ex privatis eius lectionibus, ante aliquot annos excerpta. Frankfort: 1595. AAS (Mather).

"Nathaniel Mather his book 1684" [A.B. 1685]

THOMAS GODWYN (1587–1643)

Romanae Historiae Anthologia recognita et aucta. An English exposition of the Roman antiquities, for the use of Abingdon Schoole. Oxford: 1623.[a] AAS.

"S[r] Oakes" "Urianus" [A.B. 1649; A.M. 1651]

"William Brattle's book anno 75 cost 18[d]" [A.B. 1680]

"John Cotton" [A.B. 1678]

The HCL has a copy of the Oxford, 1628, edition (Plate IX) containing President Dunster's bookplate, dated March 27, 1634. With it is bound Godwyn's "Moses and Aaron, civil and ecclesiastical rites used by the ancient Hebrews" (London, 1628), also inscribed by Dunster.

GOLIUS. *See* ARISTOTLE

ADRIAN HEEREBOORD

Ἑρμενεια Logica, seu Synopseos Logicae Burgersdicianae explicatio. Accedit ejusdem authoris Praxis Logica. Leyden: 1660. BPL.

"Thomas Mighell his Booke" [A.B. 1663]

"Thomas Weld his book anno domini 1668: 27 5th month" [A.B. 1671]

"Danforth is admitted into college" [A.B. 1671?]

Another edition. Editio quinta. Amsterdam: 1666.[b] HCL.

"Sum Timothei Cutler Cantabrigiensis" [A.B. 1701]

Another edition. Cambridge: 1670.[b] BPL (Prince).

"Addington Davenport's Book" [A.B. 1689]

"Thomas Prince Liber p[ce] 2[s] 6[d]" [A.B. 1707]

"Thomas Prince his Book when he was att Colledge harvard."

Another edition. Cambridge: 1680. H. A. Larrabee, Esq.

Bound with the London, 1651, edition of Burgersdicius's Institutionum Logicarum Libri Duo, which see for owners.

Meletemata Philosophica; in quibus pleraeque res metaphysicae ventilantur, tota ethica κατασκολαστικῶς καὶ ἀνασκολαστικῶς explicatur, universa physica per theoremata & commentarios exponitur, summa rerum logicarum per disputationes traditur. Editio ultima. Accedunt Philosophia Naturalis cum novis commentariis & Pneumatica. Frontispiece portrait of author. Nymwegen: 1665. (Plate X.) AAS.

"Simon Bradstreet" [A.B. 1693 or 1700]
"John Legg Boston 1699" [A.B. 1701]
"Libris ex Roberto Gibbs A.D. 1749" [A.B. 1750]

Another edition. Editio nova. Amsterdam: 1680. HCL.

"Benjamin Colman [A.B. 1692] me suum vocat prid. Cal. Sept. 1690" with variations, on eight or ten different pages.
"Thomas Goodwin his book 1722/3" [A.B. 1725]
"Gulielmus Phipps [A.B. 1728] ejus Liber Ex Dono Honoratis^{i} vice Gubernatoris provinciæ Massachusettensis Domini Spencer Phipps" [A.B. 1703]
"memorandum per me Josiah Quincy ye Day ye 4th of" [A.B. 1728]
"Samuel Danforth" [A.B. 1715 or 1758] "John Swan"
"Artemas Ward Ejus Liber Anno Domini 1746" [A.B. 1748]

Another copy. AAS.

"Thomas Berry hunc librum jure vendicat Anno gratia 1683" [A.B. 1685]. On the back are some lines indicating that it also belonged to his son Thomas Berry (A.B. 1712).
"Adam Cushing His Booke Bought of Monsieure Berry p 12^{s} Anno Dom. 1713" [A.B. 1714]
"Job Cushing His Booke Bought Anno: Domini 1712" [A.B. 1714]

Philosophia Naturalis. T.p. wanting. [Leyden: 1663?]. MHS.

"Nicholas Noyce Ej^{s} Liber 1665" [A.B. 1667]
"Samuel Sewall Samuell Mather" [in Sewall's hand; both A.B. 1671]
"Thomas Brattle [A.B. 1676] Ejus Liber 15.6.73 statit 2^{s} [changed to] 18^{d}"
"Edvardus Paysonus me suis addidit pret 2^{s} 6^{d}" [A.B. 1677]
"Samuel Moody" [A.B. 1697]
"Mrs. Prudence Chester her Booke"

JOHANN ULRICH HERLIN

Isagoge ad Lectionem Librorum Novi Testamenti per analysin cum versibus μνημονευτικοῖς triplicibus a Johanne-Huldrico Herlino, Collegij Bernensis Inspectore. Bern: 1605.[a] MHS.

"Josiah Flynt" [A.B. 1664]
"Henry Flint" [A.B. 1693]
"D. Bradstreet donum D[n] Nath Clarke"

HESIOD

Ἡσιοδου Ἀσκραίου τὰ εὑρισκόμενα. Hesiodi Ascraei quae extant. Cum notis ex probatissimis quibusdam authoribus. Opera & studio Cornelii Schrevelii. Leyden: 1653. BPL (Prince).

"Peter Thacher's Book May 9th Anno Domini 1692" [A.B. 1696]

Another edition. London: 1659. BPL (Prince).

"Joseph Flynt"
"Joseph Gerrish his booke 68" [A.B. 1669]
"Attendamus quaeso cum reverencia ad quid dicturi sumus" [in Flynt's hand]

For an additional Hesiod item, see under CRESPIN.

PETER HEYLYN

Cosmographie in four books. Containing the Chorographie and Historie of the whole World. London: 1657. HCL.

"John Eliot" [the "Apostle"]
"Si quaerit lector librum quis possidet istum
Nomen subscriptum perlegat ille meum
John Eliot" [A.B. 1685]
"John Eliot sold this booke to Bn Wadsworth [A.B. 1690] July 1692 to Nathaniel Williams 1695" [A.B. 1693]
"Mr. Wadsworth's Booke 1694"

FABIANUS HIPPIUS

Excellentissimi Philosophi M. Fabiani Hippii physici in Academia Lipsensi professori ordinarii problemata physica et logica Peripatetica, in quibus illustriores quaestiones physica & logica inter philosophos veteres & recentiores agitatae. Wittenberg: 1604. John Albree, Esq.

"Nehemiah Walter hunc Librum possidet 1683" [A.B. 1684]
"Daniel Rogers his Book Anno Dom. 1686" [A.B. 1686]

HOMER

Clavis Homerica. T.p. missing. Rotterdam: 1673.[a] HCL.

"Peter Olivers juner Clavis E Libris petri Oliver" [A.B. 1675]
"John Veazie" [A.B. 1700]

Ὁμήρου Ιλιας. Homeri Ilias, id est, de rebus Trojani gestis. Editio postrema. Cambridge: 1672. HCL.

"Richard Wensley me jure tenet An: Dom: 1680" [A.B. 1684]
"Josh. Winslow's Book 1716" [A.B. 1721]
"Ebenezer Parkman ex Dono Josiæ Winslow 1718" [both A.B. 1721]
"Ebenezer Miller [A.B. 1722] Ejus liber 1718 bought of E. Parkman"
"Nathan. Davies Eius Liber" [A.B. 1724]
"Samuel Miller" [A.B. 1756]
"Jonathan Allen His Book October 18 1754" [A.B. 1757]
"John S. Popkin 1792" [A.B. 1792]
Greek and Latin on opposite pages.

JAMES HOWELL

Epistolae Ho-Elianae. Familiar letters upon emergent occasions. 4th ed. London: 1673.[a] BPL (Prince).

"John Lake Octob. 1677" [Not H.C.]
In the hand of John Leverett (A.B. 1680): "Borrowed of Jn° Lake Octob^r 15 1680"
"Jn° Leverett 14° 11^i 1694/5 Ex dono Johannes Lake 1688"
"Edmund Goffe His Book" [A.B. 1690]

ISOCRATES

Ισοκρατους Λόγοι και Επιστολαι. Isocratis Orationes et Epistolae. Cum Latina interpretatione Hieronymi Wolfii. Editio postrema, mendis quibus priores scatebant, repurgata. Geneva: 1642.[b] BPL (Prince).

"Joseph Webb me jure ten" [A.B. 1684]
Greek and Latin in parallel columns.

Another edition. Geneva: 1651.[a] HCL.

"Jeremiah Sheppard me jure tenet 1664" [A.B. 1669]
"Samuel Mitchell me jure possidet" [A.B. 1681]
Bookplate: "Samuel Phillips 1707" [A.B. 1708]
"Samuel Mitchell is a long legged Catt"

Another copy.[b] HCL.

"Samuel Danforth per me Peter Thacher" [both A.B. 1671]

Another edition. Geneva: 1660. AAS (Mather).

"Manasseh Armitage 23^{d} 2^{d} m^{o} 1661" [A.B. 1660]
On p. 800: "Joh(?) Reyner His Book" [A.B. 1663]
"John Foster His Book An. Dom. 1663" [A.B. 1667]
"Cottonus Ma[therus] e dono patris charissi[mi]" [A.B. 1678]
"Nathaniel Mather" [A.B. 1685]

Ισοκρατους απαντα. Isocratis Scripta quae quidem nunc extant, omnia, Graecolatina, postremò recognita: Hieronymo Wolfio Oetingeni interprete. Basle: 1571.[b] HCL.

"Elisha Cooks Bo[ok]" [A.B. 1657]

Menasseh ben Israel. *See* Bible, *Hebrew O.T.*

Gilbert Jack (Iacchaeus, 1578?–1628)

Primae Philosophiae sive Institutionum Metaphysicarum libri sex. Auctore Gilberto Jacchaeo. Cambridge: 1649. HCL.

"Joseph Cooke me suis addidit, Jan: 19: 1660." [A.B. 1660]

Thomas Jack (*d* 1596)

Onomasticon Poeticum, sive, propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi sunt veteres poetae, brevis descriptio poetica, Thoma Iacchaeo Caledonio authore. Edinburgh: 1592. BPL (Prince).

"Elijah Corlet" [the Cambridge schoolmaster]
"Ammi Ruhamah Corlet [A.B. 1670] te sine teste time" [in another hand:] "Nodie te ipsum 14–8–72"
"Sam Sewall May 19 1685" [A.B. 1671?]
A classical dictionary in Latin hexameters.

Henry Jeanes

A Mixture of Scholasticall Divinity, with Practicall, in severall tractates: wherein some of the most difficult knots in Divinity are untied, many darke places of Scripture cleared, sundry heresies, and errours, refuted, by Henry Ieanes, minister of God's Word at Chedzoy in Sommerset-shire. Oxford: 1656. AAS (Mather).

"Lege, Intellige, vive: J B: Pret Lond: 2. vol. 10*sh.* 1667" [Joseph Browne, A.B. 1666]
"Matheri" [n.d.; hand of Increase Mather]

A Second Part of the Mixture of Scholasticall Divinity, with Practical, in several tractates. Whereunto are annexed, several letters of the same author, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor, concerning Original Sin. Together with a reply unto Dr. Hammonds Vindication of his Grounds of Uniformity from 1 Cor. 14.40. Oxford: 1660. AAS (Mather).

"Lege, Intellige, vive. J[oseph] B[rowne] Pret. Lond: 2 vol. 10*sh* sterl. 1667" [A.B. 1666]

"Cottoni Matheri Liber 1683"

FRANÇOIS DU JON (JUNIUS of Bourges, 1545–1602)

Fr. Junii Biturgis Animadversiones ad controversiam primam (secundam, quartam, sextam) Christianae fidei de Verbo Dei (de Christo capite totius Ecclesiae, de Conciliis, de Purgatorio). 4 vols. Leyden: 1602–1603.[a] HCL.

"Johannes Angier hunc suis addidit" [A.B. 1653, August 9]

"Joshua Moodey" [A.B. 1653, August 10.]

"Donum Dom. Quincy" "Edw. Wigglesworth"

The above are four of the five volumes containing Du Jon's controversies against Bellarmine.

Fr. Junii Grammatica Hebraeae Linguae, editio tertia. Geneva: 1596.[b] HCL.

"Elisha Cooke" [A.B. 1657]

"William Aspinwall"

See also BIBLE, *Latin O.T.*

ADRIAN DE JONGE (JUNIUS, 1515–1575). *See* ERASMUS and TEXTOR

BARTHOLOMÄUS KECKERMANN

D. Bartholomaei Keckermanni Dantiscani Operum Omnium quae extant. Tomus primus. Complectens praecognita philosophiae, gymnasia, variaque systemata logica, systema physicum, astronomicum, geographicum, metaphysicae compendium. Tomus secundus in quo speciatim methodicè & uberrimè de ethica, oeconomica, politica disciplina: necnon de arte rhetorica agitur. 2 vols. Geneva: 1614. Andover-Harvard.

"Samuel Webb"

"Samuel Andrew" [A.B. 1675; and in his hand:]

"Aug: sententia versificata
Quod lego, quod scribo, didici puer utile quicquid
Hocce, benigno Deus, serviat omne tibi."
"Vincenti dabitur"
"Thomas Brattle's Book" [A.B. 1676]
"Joseph Eliot His Booke 1681" [A.B. 1681]
"Nehemiah Walter's Book" [A.B. 1684] "Tomorum duorum Pretium $2^{l}0^{s}0^{d}$"
"J. Emerson [A.B. 1689] to his Kinsman Sam^{ll} Philips, 1707"
Bookplate: "Samuel Phillips His Book. 1707" [A.B. 1708]

Systema compendiosum totius Mathematices, hoc est geometriae, opticae, astronomiae et geographiae publicis praelectionibus anno 1605, in celeberrimo Gymnasio Dantiscano propositum. A Bartholomaeo Keckermanno. In fine accessit brevis Commentatio Nautica, ab eodem autore. Oxford: 1661.[b] BPL (Prince).

"Peter Thacher" [A.B. 1671 or 1696]

Systema Logicae, tribus libris adornatum a Bartholomaeo Keckermanno Dantiscano. T.p. mut. Editio secunda. 1603. Yale.

"Crescentius Matherus ex dono fratris S.M. 1654" [A.B. 1656]
"Noachus Burt Hunc Lib[rum] Jure Possidet Ex Dono . . . Solomonis Stoddard" [Stoddard was A.B. 1662]
Two other signatures of Increase Mather, dated 1654 and 1656, respectively, are in this volume.

Another edition. Editio postrema, ab authore recognita & emendata. Cologne: 1611. MHS.

"[Edm]und Angier d"
"Thomas Graves" [A.B. 1656]
"[ ] Cooke 1664" "Sustine & Abstine [ ]67"
"Edrd Paison" [A.B. 1677]

Another edition. Editio ultima, prioribus correctior. Frankfort: 1628. (Plate XI.) BPL.

"Ephraim Savage His Booke 1660. Medio tutissimus ibis." [A.B. 1662]
"Samuel Danforth bought 22.2.1683 . . . 2.6^{d}" [A.B. 1683]
"Joseph Webb me jure tenet" [A.B. 1684]
Danforth writes his name in Greek, and Webb, after several ineffectual attempts at the same, writes "Ιωσηφ Γυμχω ειυσ λιβερ."

Another copy. AAS.

"David Deming Ejus Liber 1697" [A.B. 1700]
"Timothy Cutler" [A.B. 1701]
"George Minot Ejus Liber 1749" [A.B. 1752]

Systema Logicae minus succincto praeceptorum compendio tribus libris. Nunc extrema cura recognitum, et exemplis e vetustate Latina & Cicerone praesertim, magna parte sententiosis illustratum, & commentariis auctum eiusmodi, quibus ars explicatur, & eius fontes ex Aristotele & aliis praestantibus logicis monstrantur, praecepta denique cum doctrina Melanchthoniana perpetuo comparantur; ut servire possit Gymnasio Dantiscano et aliis scholis, in quibus Aristotelicae doctrinae formula, cum Melanchthoniana perspicuitate, atque aliorum logicorum utilibus inventis coniungitur. Hanover: 1606. HCL.

"Josephus Cook me Suis Addidit 1660" [A.B. 1660]
"Call for a Tankard
My Cloths at pollards
Get some Pisado: Clarett
buy a grater. Some Lime-juice"
"Phillip —— festina lente. Mine for whom I will Ex dono Mr. S. Willsoni"

Another edition. Hanover: 1612.[a] HCL.

"Samuel Bellingham" [A.B. 1642]
"John Bellingham" [A.B. 1661]
"Dan Epes" [A.B. 1669]
"S. Parris. . . 19. Jan: 1674"

Systema Physicum, septem libris adornatum. Hanover: 1623. HCL.

"Samuel Man His Booke Anno Dom 1662" [A.B. 1665]
"Nathanielis Mather Liber 1681" [A.B. 1685]
"Joseph John Foster His Book 1671" [A.B. 1667]
"Samuelis Dunbar Liber 1724" [A.B. 1723]
"Angier" "John Bailey"

KEPLER. *See* GASSENDI

WILHELMUS LANGIUS (LANGE)

Wilhelmi Langi de Annis Christi libri duo. Leyden: 1649. BPL (Adams).

"pret 8^{s} Boston Decemb 25 1650 possed. Jonathan Mitchell" [A.B. 1647]

"N. Williams's Book 92" [A.B. 1693]

"Benjamin Wadsworth his booke, 1694" [A.B. 1690]

Christian Severin Longberg (Christianus S. Longmontanus)

Astronomica Danica Vigiliis & opera Christiani S. Longmontani elaborata, & in duas partes tributa; quarum prior doctrinam de diurna apparente siderum revolutione super sphera armillarii instaurata, duobus libris explicat: posterior theorias de motibus planetarum ad observationes D. Tychonis Brahae, & proprias, in triplici forma redintegratas itidem duobus libris complectitur. Amsterdam: 1640. HCL.

Bookplate: "Simon Willard Hunc Librum Jure Tenet Julii 1 1695" [A.B. 1695]

"For Mr. John Sherman, minister in Wattertown" "Pr 18s 6d"

Nearly a page of rules, probably in Sherman's hand, on fly-leaf, for finding positions, spheric triangles, etc. MS. astronomical tables and index of tables on back fly-leaves. Also a note from one Richard Thurston, dated July 24, 1651, to "Mate Streett or in his absance Charles Thurston" about clearing "y^{e} Shippe away from gravce end." "Our men" are to be "ridie to goe." His plan is to "sett sayle for the Douns."

This volume is a library copy, not a text-book. The pages measure $7\frac{3}{4}$ x $11\frac{3}{4}$.

Lycosthenes (Conrad Wolffhart)

Apophthegmata ex probatis Graecae Latinaeque linguae scriptoribus. A Conrado Lycosthene collecta. Accesserunt parabolae sive similitudines, ab Erasmo ex Plutarcho & aliis olim excerptae. London: 1635. HCL.

"Joseph Cooke his book anno 1657" [A.B. 1660]

"Elisha Cooke his book" [A.B. 1697]

"Middlecott Cooke's book 1719" [A.B. 1723]

Another edition. Geneva: 1668.[a] AAS.

"Cottonus Matherus 1673" [A.B. 1678]

"Samuel Math[er]"

Possibly used in college, though dated earlier than Cotton's freshman year. The dates in the 1635 edition, above, indicate use in college.

JOHANNES MACCOVIUS (MAKOWSKI)

Johannis Maccovii Distinctiones et regulae theologicae ac philosophicae. Editae operâ ac studiô Nicolai Arnoldi. Franeker: 1653.[a] MHS.

"Sam. Willard [A.B. 1659?] ex dono M^ri^ Alex. Nowell" [A.B. 1664]

"Simon Willard" [A.B. 1695]

"Peter Thacher's Book [A.B. 1696] given by mr Simon Willard"

Another edition. Oxford: 1656. (Plate XII.) AAS.

"E libris Gulielmi Adams 12.7.1669" [A.B. 1671]

"Ebenezer Kirtland His Booke 1673" [Class of 1674]

"Tho: Brattle Ejus Liber 15.12.1673" [A.B. 1676]

"Sam^llum^ Parris ex viro [*torn*] Breerwoodi Logicâ one [*torn*] January. 29. 1675"

"N. Sever's Book" [A.B. 1701]

"Vino forma perit, vino corrūpitur ætas"

Joannis Maccovii Loci Communes Theologici ex omnibus ejus, quae extant, collegiis, thesibus, manuscriptis, collecti, digesti; indice capitum rerumque locupletati; operâ & studio Nicolai Arnoldi. Editio postrema. Amsterdam: 1658. AAS (Mather).

"John Hancock his Book 29: October: 1691" [A.B. 1689]

Another edition. Amsterdam: 1658. Andover-Harvard.

"Jno. Richardson ejus liber 1665" [A.B. 1666]

"Benjamin Smith Ejus Liber"

Johannis Maccovii Metaphysica ad usum quaestionum in philosophia ac theologia adornata & applicata. Leyden: 1645. John Albree, Esq.

"John Hancock's Book 26 July 1691. Cost. 2.6" [A.B. 1689]

"Sum ex libris Johannis Hancock." In another hand: "Emptus ex Dno. J. Elioto."

Johannis Maccovi Metaphysica. Accedit ejusdem tractatus de Anima separata. Leyden: 1650. AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Matherus Maji 2. 1655" [A.B. 1656]

"Incepi Sept. 25 Fin. Oct. 31. 1656."

"Vade vale cave ne titubes Mandataque frangas"

"Cottonus Mather"

"Eleazar Mather" [A.B. 1656]

Another edition. Amsterdam: 1651. HCL.

"Ebenezer Kyrtland ejus Liber 167[ ]" [Class of 1674]
"Henry Flynt His Booke 1692" [A.B. 1693] "Thomas Adams"
"Joseph Baxter His Booke" [A.B. 1693 or 1724]

MICHAEL MAESTLIN (1550–1631)

Epitome Astronomiae, qua brevi explicatione omnia ex ipsius scientiae fontibus deducta, perspicue per quaestiones traduntur; conscripta per M. Michaelem Maestlinum Goeppingensem, matheseos in Academia Tubingensi professorem. Tubingen: 1624. HCL.

"Alexander Nowell Eius Liber 1664" [A.B. 1664]

MAGIRUS (JOHANN KOCH)

Dn. Joannis Magiri Corona Virtutum Moralium, universam Aristotelis summi philosophi Ethicen exacte enucleans. Frankfort: 1628. HCL.

"my selfe Siluanus Walderne" [Class of 1661?]
Bookplate: "Elisha Cooke His Book 1693" [A.B. 1697]
Aristotle's Ethics; Greek and Latin texts, annotated.

Ioannis Magiri Physiologiae Peripateticae libri sex, cum commentariis, in quibus praecepta illius perspicue, eruditeque explicantur, & ex optimis quibusvis interpretibus, Platone, Aristotele, Zabarella, [etc., etc.] disceptantur. Accessit Caspari Bartholini Enchiridion Metaphysicum. Editio sexta Wittebergensi melior & notis auctior. Frankfort: 1610. (Plate XI.) HCL.

"Sum Johannis Wilsoni" [A.B. 1642?]
"Thomas Scottow his book 74 borrowed Oct. 17, 74" [A.B. 1677]
"Habijah Savage His Book 1693" [A.B. 1695]
Quotations, selected largely from the physical books of Aristotle, so as to make a continuous narrative, with comments by the author at the end of each chapter. Practically no trace of modern science.

Another edition. Editio quinta Lipsiensi melior & notis auctior. n.p.: 1611.[a] BA.

"S[r] Reyner"(?) on p. 4 [John Rayner, A.B. 1663?]
"Samuell S[ewall?] lib pretiū 1[s]6[d]"
"Edward Mills 7[d] 9th 168[ ]" [A.B. 1685]
"John Hancock's book" [A.B. 1689]
"Joseph Belcher His booke 1687" [A.B. 1690]

Another edition. London: 1619.[a] HCL.

"Ex libris Io[*torn*]" "Tho: Dudley" [A.B. 1651?]

"Johannes Cottonus E D[ono] P[atris]"

"Mr. John Cotton tutor Haruardi Collegii" [A.B. 1678; Tutor 1681–1685]

Fragment of printed booklabel: "[ ]nus"

Presented to the HCL by the Princeton University Library.

Another copy.[a] AAS.

"Joshua Moodey" "John Angier" [both A.B. 1653]

"For how canst thou lack any thing whereof I stand in need. God is in the assembly of the righteous — Jehovah."

Another edition. Editio ultima, infinitis mendis quae in prioribus irrepserant diligentius expurgata. Geneva: 1621. BA.

"Daniel Russell His Booke 1669" [A.B. 1669]

"Isaac Foster me jure tenet An. Dom. 1669 pret. 3^{s} satis superque" [A.B. 1671]

"John Wick His Book Ann. Domini" [A.B. Yale 1722]

"Amend thy hand by diligence" "Know all men by these præsence"

"Ichabod Wolcott Chauncy's Book 1721" [A.B. Yale 1723]

"Joseph Buckingham's Book Anno Domini 1723" [A.B. Yale 1723]

Another edition. Accessit J. Magiri de Memoria Artificiosa. Cambridge: 1642.[b] AAS.

"Natha. Rogers" [A.B. 1687? But possibly the founder of Ipswich]

ALDO MANUZZIO (ALDUS)

Phrases Linguae Latinae, ab Aldo Manutio P. F. conscriptae: nunc primùm in ordinem Abecedarium adductae, & in Anglicum sermonem conversae. London: 1636. (Plate XIII.) HCL.

"John Whitting his book 1651" [A.B. 1657]

"Joseph Whiting [A.B. 1661] his book 1657 Amend y^{r} hand by diligence & prayse shal^{be} y^{r} recompense"

"Richard Cooke his booke Anno Dom"

"Joseph Cooke owneth the booke" [A.B. 1660]

Bookplate: "Elisha Cooke 1693" [A.B. 1697]

PIER ANGELO MANZOLLI

Marcelli Stellati Poetae Zodiaci Vitae, liber primus. T.p. missing. [Amsterdam: 1628?]. HCL.

Bookplate: "John Leverett 1677" [A.B. 1680]

On p. 9: "G. Pyncheon" [A.B. 1743?]

A satirical attack on the abuses of the author's day, in Latin hexameters. It first appeared in 1534 and was banned by the Inquisition.

MATTHIAS MARTINI (1572–1630)

Graecae Linguae Fundamenta quae sunt tanquam epitome lexici & etymologici Graeci. Limatiora & pleniora ex quarta editione curâ Matthiae Martinii. London: 1629. AAS.

"John Winthrope" [A.B. 1700]

"Israel Loring His Booke 98" [A.B. 1701]

A brief dictionary, by the Rector of the gymnasium at Bremen.

PETRUS MARTINIUS (1530–1594). *See* UDALL

JOHN MILTON

Joannis Miltoni Angli, Artis Logicae, plenior institutio, ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata, adjecta est Praxis Analytica & Petri Rami vita, libris duobus. London: 1672.[a] BPL (Prince).

On p. 143: "William Veazie" [A.B. 1693]

"Ephraim Little [A.B. 1695] His Book bought of Mr. Brattle"

"Thomas littel larn you well"

"Nath^{ll} Clarke's Book" [A.B. 1705]

"D. Rindge 1709" [A.B. 1709]

Facing the title-page is what appears to be the tally of some sort of game between Ephraim Little, Joseph Smith, and John Hubbard, Class of 1695.

PETRUS MOLINAEUS. *See* PIERRE DU MOULIN

HENRY MORE

Enchiridion Ethicum, praecipua moralis philosophiae rudimenta complectens, per Henricum Morum Cantabrigiensem. Editio nova: cui accessit auctoris Epistola ad V.C. Amsterdam: 1679. BPL (Prince).

"Jn^{s} Leveretti 6° 4^{i} 1689 pt. 3^{s}" [Leverett was then a Tutor]

"Winthrop &c. March. 8° 1693/4" [handwriting of Adam Winthrop, A.B. 1694]

"Thomas Prince Liber, Cantab. 1706 2^{s} silver" [A.B. 1707]

Doc:ris H. Mori Enchiridion Ethicum ad theses contractiores redactum in usum pupillorum. per D[ominum] J[ohannem] L[everettum]. Decris 17o 1694. HCL.

"Thomas Symmesius hunc Librum vendicat Novemb: 28. 169[ ]" [A.B. 1698]

"James Cushing 1726" [A.B. 1725]

A MS. condensation of More's Ethics by Tutor Leverett.

Compendium Moralis Phylosophiae ex Enchiridio Ethico Domini ad modum doctissimi Henrici More, S.T.D. petitū per Dom: Gul: Brattle A:M: & Collegii Harvardini Socium in usum pupillorum 1687. MS., 86 pp. [At end:] "Finis Transcrip: per Geo: Corwin 27o Janii 1699"

[Also] A System of Naturall Phylosophy in Generall by the learned and Reverend Mr Charles Morton in usum Pupillorum. MS., 52 pp. [At end:] "Transcrip: per me G: C: 2do Martii 1700"

Enchiridion Metaphysicum per Dom H: More, S.T.D. Extract: per D: G: Brattle in Usum Pupillorum. MS., 9 pp. [At end:] "Incepi & Finivi 8vo Die Junii Annoque christi 1700"

Pathologia. MS., 7 pp. [At end:] "Incepi & Finivi 17o: Junii 1700 Geo: Curwin, Quis vit Calamus," &c. MHS.

"George Corwin His Book Anno Dom 1699"

"Thomas Wm Kinston"

"These to you are our Commands send no help to ye Netherlands and of ye Treasures took by Drake, — Restitution you must make"

The preceding four MS. transcripts, all in the hand of George Curwin (A.B. 1701), are bound together. The one by Morton is an abbreviation of his Compendium Physicae (see below).

THEODORICUS MORELS LO CAMPANO (MORELLUS)

Enchiridion Oratorium, variis Latinarum vocum ceu flosculis [*sic*] interspersum, Theodorico Morels lo Campano auctore. Antwerp: 1564. HCL.

"Joseph Cooke posseseth this booke" [A.B. 1660]

"Noah Ducker"

A Latin phrase-book.

CHARLES MORTON (1627–1698)

Mr. Morton's System of Logick. MS., 20 pp. and 14 unnumbered

leaves, transcribed by Timothy Lindall (A.B. 1695), and in the same MS. book as his copy of Brattle's Compendium of Logick (see above). MHS.

Charles Morton, M.A. (Cambridge) 1652, was the head of a successful Dissenters' academy at Stoke Newington. He emigrated in 1686, and became minister of Charlestown, Fellow (1692) and Vice-President (1697) of Harvard College. The original MS. of this System was probably one of the "several manuscripts he writ for the use of his private academy" which he showed to John Dunton (2 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., II. 116). Morton also wrote a Compendium of Physics, of which William Partridge (A.B. 1689) made an extract (58 pp.) in 1687–1688. This is in one of three notebooks by Partridge now in the Yale University Library. There is there also another MS. copy of the Compendium (173 pp.), made by Nathaniel Eells (H.C. 1699), and dated by him, October 28, 1697. The MS. later belonged to his son Nathaniel (H.C. 1728). There are several eighteenth-century copies in the AAS, HCL, and MHS, some of them entitled "Mr Morton's Physics" or "Naturall Philosophy" (see under More, above), and considerably abbreviated. Apparently each student made his own MS. copy of Morton's Physics from its first introduction at Harvard (1687) until its discontinuance. It was in use certainly as late as 1723, when it was named as one of the college text-books in the report to the Overseers of Tutors Flynt, Welsteed, and Prince. See above, pp. 365–366.

PIERRE DU MOULIN (MOLINAEUS, 1568–1658)

Petri Molinei Elementa Logica. Tertia editio ab authore recognita. Paris: 1609.[a] BPL (Prince).

"Richard Saltonstallus Biblios autore"
"Nath. Saltonstall" [both A.B. 1695]

Another edition. Quarta editio. Paris: 1611.[b] AAS (Mather).

"Matheri" [n.d., but apparently in the hand of Cotton Mather]
This copy shows evidence of careful study in numerous underlinings on pp. 1–104.

Another edition. Bremen: 1622. HCL.

"Joseph Cooke me suis addidit November 7 1659" [A.B. 1660]

WOLFGANG MUSCULUS

Common Places of Christian Religion, gathered by Wolfgangus Musculus, for the use of suche as desire the knowledge of godly truthe,

translated out of Latine into Englishe. Hereunto are added two other treatises, made by the same author, one of Othes, and another of Usurye. With a moste perfect and plentifull table. London: 1563. HCL.

"John Barnard His Book 1703" [A.B. 1700]
"Johannes Barnard Ejus Liber 1703"
"After my decease I give this book to my son Theophilinu[s?] Thornton." [n.d.; seventeenth-century hand, certainly earlier than Barnard's signature.]

In Evangelistam Matthaeum Commentarii tribus tomis digesti: quibus non solum singula quae que exponuntur, sed & quid singulis Marci & Lucae differentibus locis notandum sit, diligenter expenditur. Basle: 1567. BPL (Prince).

"John Denison's Book [A.B. 1684] Nov. 8. 86 bought of Mr. [Samuel] Cobbett" [A.B. 1663]

SANTE PAGNINO

Epitome Thesauri Linguae Sanctae. Leyden: 1599. BPL (Prince).
"Joshua Moodey" [A.B. 1653]

Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae. Cologne: 1614. BPL (Prince).
"Mccarty Thō" [A.B. 1691]
"I Stevens, 1720"
See also under BIBLE, *Hebrew O.T.*

ROBERT PARKER

A Scholasticall Discourse against symbolizing with Antichrist in ceremonies, especially in the signe of the crosse. T.p. mut. Amsterdam: 1607. AAS (Mather).

"Nathaniell Cutler his Booke 1661" [A.B. 1663]
"Samuel Brackenbury His Booke 1663" [A.B. 1664]
"Alexander Nowel his Booke 1664 [1?]" [A.B. 1664]
"Sam[ll] Mathers Book 1724" [A.B. 1723]

FRANCESCO PATRIZZI (PATRITIUS, *d* 1494)

Compendiosa Epitome Commentariorum Francisci Patritii Senensis Episcopi in duas partes secta: quarum prior, novem librorum de Reipublicae Institutione atque administratione summam complec-

titur. Accedit his, de Institutione Principis Christiani ex lib. Des. Erasmi brevis collectio. Paris: 1568. BPL (Prince).

"Edmund Davie His Booke 1674" [A.B. 1674]
"John Paine"

SIMON PELGROM (PELEGROM)

Synonymorum Sylva, olim a Simone Pelegromo collecta, & alphabeto Flandrico ab eodem authore illustrata: nunc autem e Belgorum sermone in Anglicanum transfusa, & in alphabeticam ordinem redacta, per H.F. ab eodem denuo multis locis emendata, & aucta. Accesserunt huic editioni synonyma quaedam poetica, in poësi versantibus perquam necessaria. London: 1650. BPL.

"Thomas Shepard me suis addidit 1655" [A.B. 1653]
"John Holyoke his booke 1659" [A.B. 1662]
"John Locke"
"Joseph Buckingham His Book"
"D. C. Percival" "Stephen Steel"

An English-Latin phrase-book. Each English phrase is followed by a great variety of Latin phrases expressing the same idea (Plate XIV).

Another copy. AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Mather His book: 1681"
"Cottonus Matherus filius ejus hunc librum possidet"
"Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1683" [A.B. 1685]

AMANDUS POLANUS, à Polansdorf

Syntagma Logicum Aristotelico-Ramaeum cum synopsi totius logicae. Basle: 1611. Yale.

"Abraham Pierson me jure tenet 1670" [A.B. 1668]
"Dan. Brewer me Jure Tenet Cantab: Novang: Sept. 30, 1722" [A.B. 1727]

PETRUS RAMUS (PIERRE DE LA RAMÉE)

Petri Rami Arithmetica et Geometria a Lazaro Schonero emendata. T.p. mut. Frankfort: 1627.[b] AAS (Mather).

Copious notes, mainly free translations of the Latin text, in the hand of Cotton Mather.

Petri Rami Arithmeticae libri duo: Geometriae septem et viginti. A Lazaro Schonero recogniti & aucti. Frankfort: 1619. BPL (Prince).

"Prt $8^s 4^d$ of Mr. Moody, Cam. Statio. Henry Dunster" [n.d.]
"Henry Dunster Long Sq." [n.d., on back fly-leaf]
"Pret 6^s as this book is now worth. I: Walter." [n.d.]
"Increase [Walter? — name cut out] Anno Domini 1709" [probably Increase Walter, A.B. 1711]

The demonstrations are in part translated in the margins, in Dunster's hand. On p. 241 (Sig. Aa) he writes:

"This work is written out & ye reasons of ye words given in my 2^d assay 1649. Myne assay to teach Euclid & Ramus to speak English was at the first sight and reading thus written with purpose to ripen it on fuller thoughts. [Er]go many words I purpose to change w^n I find out as dayly experience teacheth better."

The Mr. Moody mentioned in the first inscription was Henry Moody, a Cambridge bookseller at the time of Dunster's residence at the university.

Other mathematical treatises by Ramus are bound in this volume. Cf. the Euclid listed above, purchased by Dunster in 1652.

P. Rami regii professoris Dialecticae libri duo. Paris: 1574.[b] MHS.

Bound in the same volume with Ramus's Rudimenta Graeca Grammaticis, and Talon's Rhetoric, which belonged to Dudley Bradstreet (A.B. 1698).

Another edition. Cum Commentariis Georgii Dounami annexis. London: 1669. HCL.

"Nicholas Sever His book 1698" [A.B. 1701]

Commentarii in P. Rami regii professoris Dialecticam, quibus ex classicis quibusque auctoribus praeceptorum Rameorum perfectio demonstratur, sensus explicatur, usus exponitur; Auctore Georgio Dounamo, logicae quondam apud Cantabrigienses praelectore, & Collegii Christi socio. Frankfort: 1610. (Plate XV.) AAS.

"Jonathan Danforth his book anno Domini 1676" [A.B. 1679]
"Grindall Rawson secretary & y^t is as good as a magistrate" [A.B. 1678]

Another copy. T.p. wanting. AAS.

"Jacobus Pierpont me suis addidit 1678" [A.B. 1681]

Another copy. T.p. wanting. HCL.

"Nicholas Sever 1698" [A.B. 1701]
"Sam Such"

Lege, Intellige, Vive. J. B: 1668.
:Pret: Bos: 2 fol. 05, 12, 0.

IOAN. HENRICI

ALSTEDII

SCIENTIARVM OMNIVM ENCYCLOPÆDIÆ

TOMVS TERTIVS

Complectens Operis Partem Quartam, Quintam, & Sextam,

QVARVM CONTENTA SEQVENS folium indicabit.

LVGDVNI,
Sumptibus IOANNIS ANTONII HVGVETAN Filij,
& MARCI ANTONII RAVAVD,
viâ Mercatoriâ ad insigne Sphæræ.

M. DC. XLIX.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

PLATE 4. (page 282)

PLATE II (page 384)

MEDVLLA
S.S. THEOLOGIÆ,

Ex Sacris literis, earumque interpretibus, extracta, & methodice disposita Per

GVILIELMVM AMESIVM

S. S. Theologiæ Doctorem ac Professorem, in illustri Frisiorum Academia quæ est Franekeræ.

In fine adjuncta est disputatio de fidei Divinæ veritate.

Editio Secunda priori longe correctior.

AMSTERODAMI,
Apud Guiljelmum Ianssonium Cæsium.
M DC XXVIII.

2/4 J. Barth
Thomas
Thomas
Cheever

Thomas Cheever
Me suis adidit
Junii 25°
1671

Johannes Burt jur Liber
Ex dono Avi Rev. Reverendi
D. Thomæ Cheever A.M.
1736.

PLATE IV (page 389)

Cotton Mather. 1676.

INSTITVTIONES THEOLOGICÆ, SEV LOCORVM COMMVNIVM CHRISTIANÆ RELIGIONIS, EX DEI VERBO, ET PRAESTANTISSIMORUM Theologorum Orthodoxo consensu expositorum, ANALYSIS:

AD LEGES METHODI Dialecticæ, Quæstionibus & Responsionibus conformata: atq; in vsum Ministerij Sacri Candidatorum, qui se ad EXAMEN *Doctrinæ subeundum parant, accommodata,*

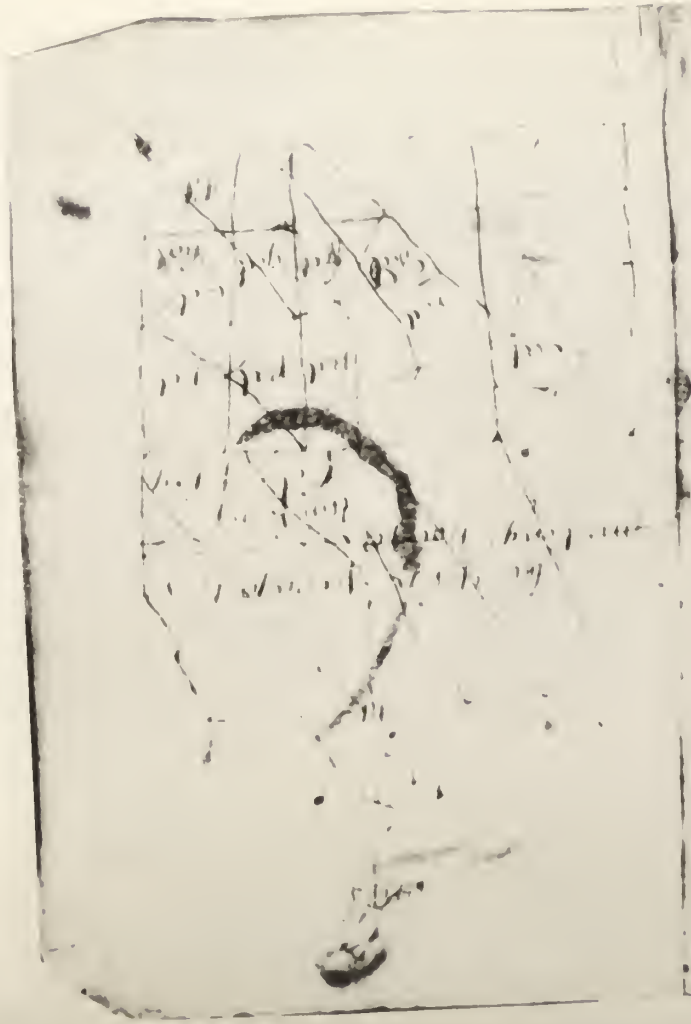
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY WORCESTER, MASS.

GVILIELMI BVCANI SS. THEOLOGIAE IN ACADEMIA LAVSANENSI Doctissimi Professoris *Operâ & Studio.*

Editio postrema, prioribus emendatior, & Dispositione generali Locorum Communium series & connexionem monstrante, auctior. Tres Indices. I. Rerum, Nominum & Verborum. II. Locorum Communium Theologicorum. III. Testimoniorum Scripturæ, quæ citantur & explicantur.

GENEVÆ, Ex TYPOGRAPHIA IACOBI STOER. M. DC. XXV.

PLATE V (page 394)



DE

OFFICIIS

MARCI TVLLII

CICERONIS LIBRI

TRES.

ITEM, DE AMICITIA. DE

Senectute: Paradoxa: & de

Somnio Scipionis

CVM INDICE IN FINE

libri adiuncto.

OMNIA, VARIIS ATQVE OPTIMIS

quibusque collatis exemplaribus diligentissimè castigata.

LONDINI,

Ex typographeio Societatis Stationariorum. 1629.

Cum Priuilegio.

PLATE VI (page 399)

OPUS PROSODICUM GRÆCVM NOVVM,

IN QVO SYLLABARVM GRÆCARVM positione, Diphthongis, & Vocabulis longis carentium,

QVANTITATES

EX ORTHODOXIS PATRIBUS, PHILOSOphis, Hiſtoricis, Oratoribus & Poetis Græcis, cum priſcis, tum recentibus, inprimisverò Epicis atq; Elegiacis, perſpicuè demonſtrantur.

VERSVS IN HOC OPERE ALLEGATI, PLERIQVE omnes Gnomologici ſunt & proverbiales, adjecta è regione Latina verſione, cum brevibus Gnomarum & Proverbiorum notis.

Singulari ſtudio concinnatum, inque lucem editum

A

PETRO COELEMANNO, Pædagogii illuſtris, quod Stetini Pomeraniæ eſt, quondam Conrectore.

FRANCOFURTI,
Apud Viduam JONAE ROSAE
M DC II

PLATE VII (page 401)

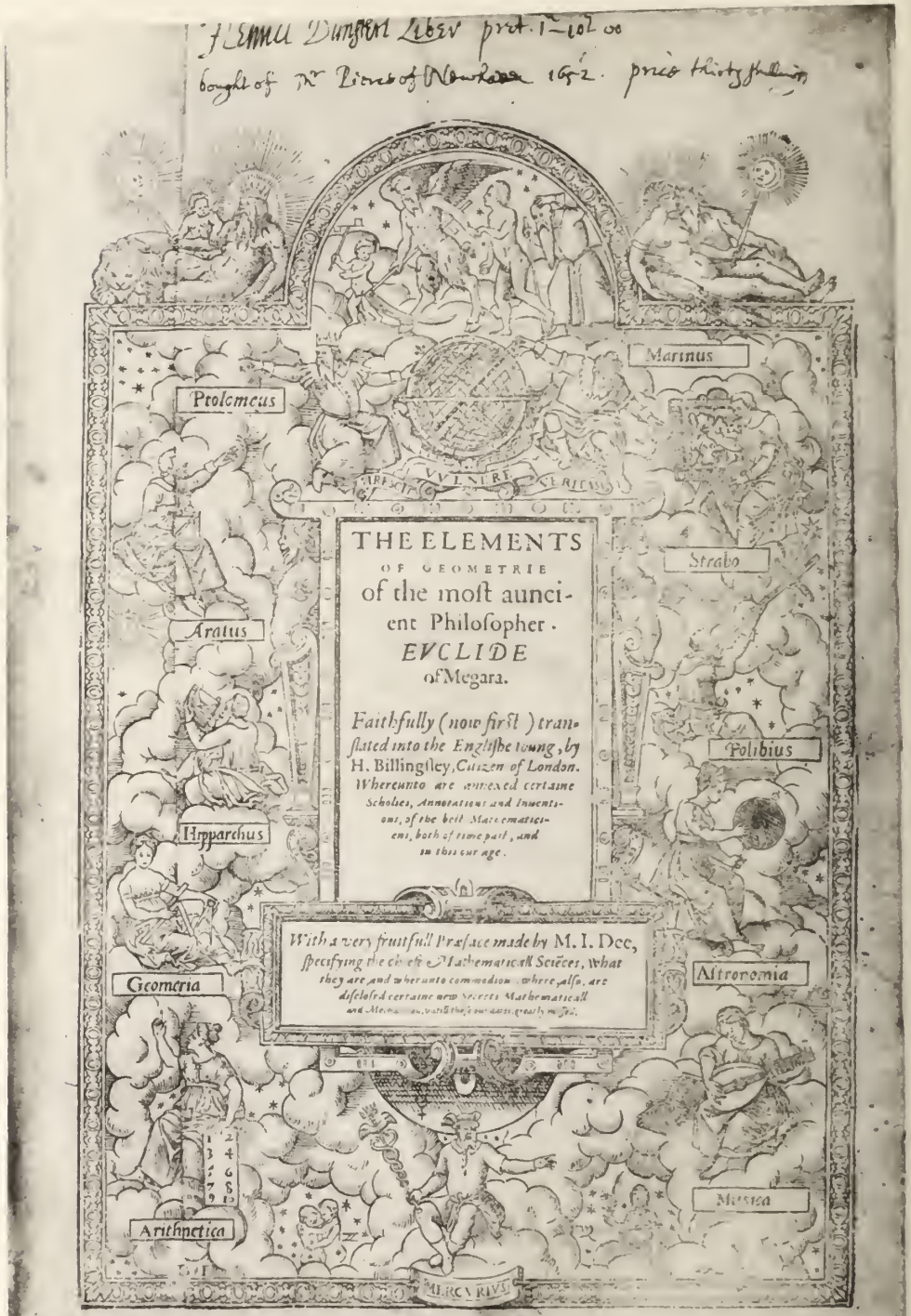


PLATE VIII (page 404)

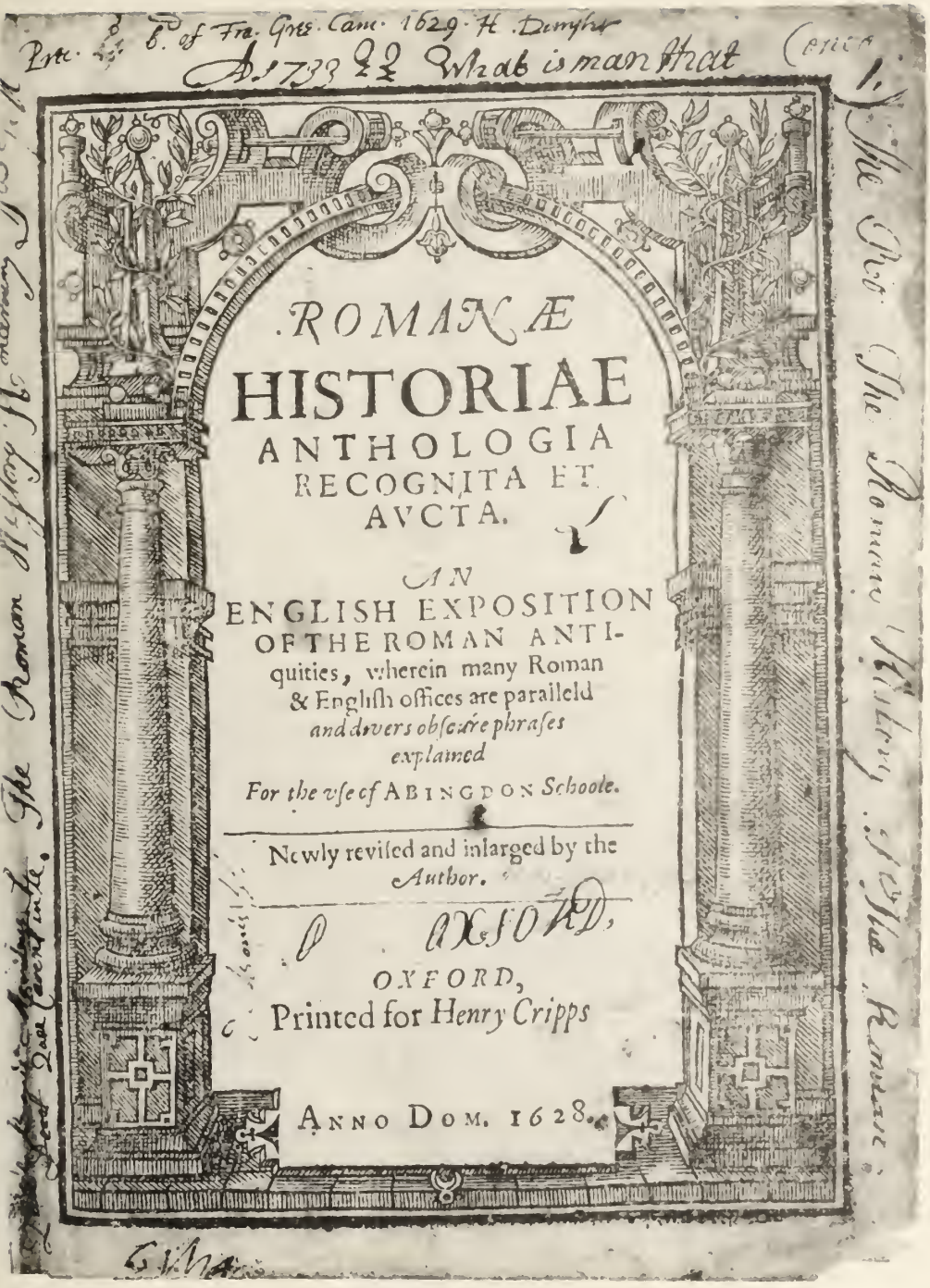


PLATE IX (page 407)

ADRIANI HEEREBOORD.

Professoris (dum Viveret) in Academia Patria Philosophi Ordinarii,

MELETEMATA PHILOSOPHICA;

in quibus.

Pleræque res METAPHYSICÆ ventilantur, tota ETHICA κατασκευαστικῶς καὶ ἀνασκευαστικῶς explicatur, universa PHYSICA per Theoremata & Commentarios exponitur, summa rerum LOGICARUM per Disputationes traditur.

Editio ultima, prioribus multò emendatior: cui, præter sexaginta tres Ethicas atque aliquot Miscellaneas disputationes,

Accedunt

Philosophia Naturalis cum novis commentariis & Pneumatica.

AMERICAN ... SOCIETY WORCEST

NEOMAGI,

Ex Officinâ ANDREÆ AB HOOGENHUYSEN.

M DC LXV.

PLATE X (page 408)

SYSTEMA
LOGICÆ,
TRIBVS LIBRIS
ADORNATUM,
PLENIORE PRÆCEPTORVM METHODO,
Commentariis scriptis ad præceptorum illustrationem & collationem cum doctrina Aristotelis, atque aliorum, tum veterum, tum recentium Logicorum sententiis, ac disputationibus.

BARTHOLOMÆO KECKERMANNO
Dantiscano, Philosophiæ in Gymnasio patrio Professore.

EDITIO VLTIMA, PRIORIBVS
correctior
CUM RERUM ET VERBORUM INDICE
locupletissimo

FRANCOFVRTI
Apud IOANNEM STOCKEL.
M DC. XXVIII
Cum Gratia & Privilegio S. Cæsar. Majest. ad dec.

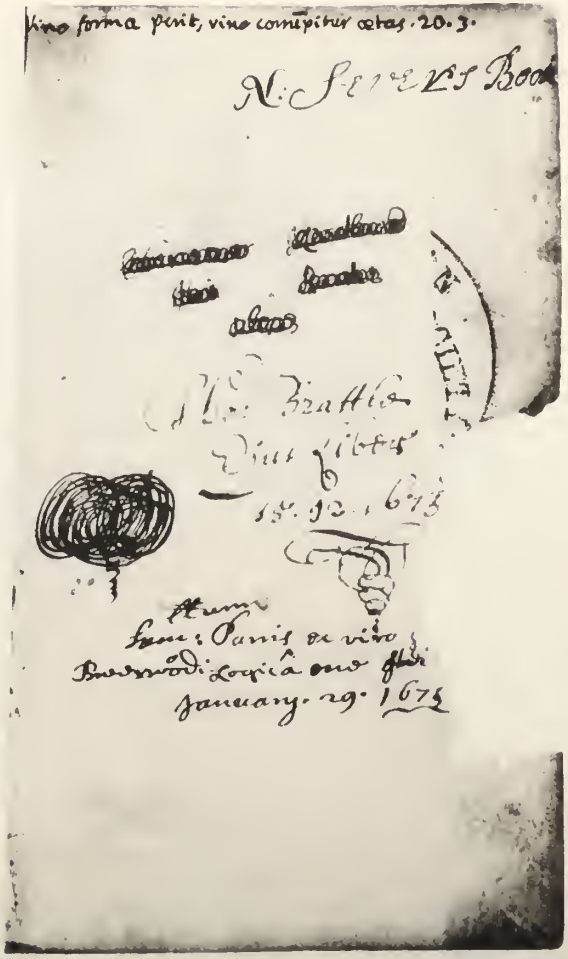
IOANNIS MAGIRI
PHYSIOLOGIÆ
PERIPATETICÆ
Libri Sex,
Cum
COMMENTARIIS,
in quibus
PRÆCEPTA ILLIVS PERSPICVE, ERVDITEQVE EXPLICANTVR, & ex optimis quibusvis Peripateticæ Philosophiæ Interpretibus, Platone, Aristotele, Zabarella, Archangelo Mercenario, Thoma Erasto, Iacobo Schegkio, Scaligero, Vico Mercurio, Gontareno Cardinale, Hermolao Barbaro, Francisco Patritio, & aliis disceptantur.

Accessit
CASPARI BARTHOLINI
Malmogii Dani
ENCHIRIDION METAPHYSICVM EX PHILOSOPHORVM Coryphæi ARISTOTELIS, optimorumq; eius interpretum monumentis adornatum

Editio sexta VVittebergensi melior & notis auctior

Cum S. Cæs. Maiest. Gratia & Priuilegio
FRANCOFVRTI,
Impensis Petri Musculi & Ruperti Pistorii, è Typographeo MATTHIÆ BECKERI.
ANNO M DC X

PLATE XI (pages 413, 417)



JOHANNIS MACCOVII
SS. Theol D. & Profeſſoris.

DISTINCTIONES

ET

Regulæ Theologicæ ac Philoſophicæ.

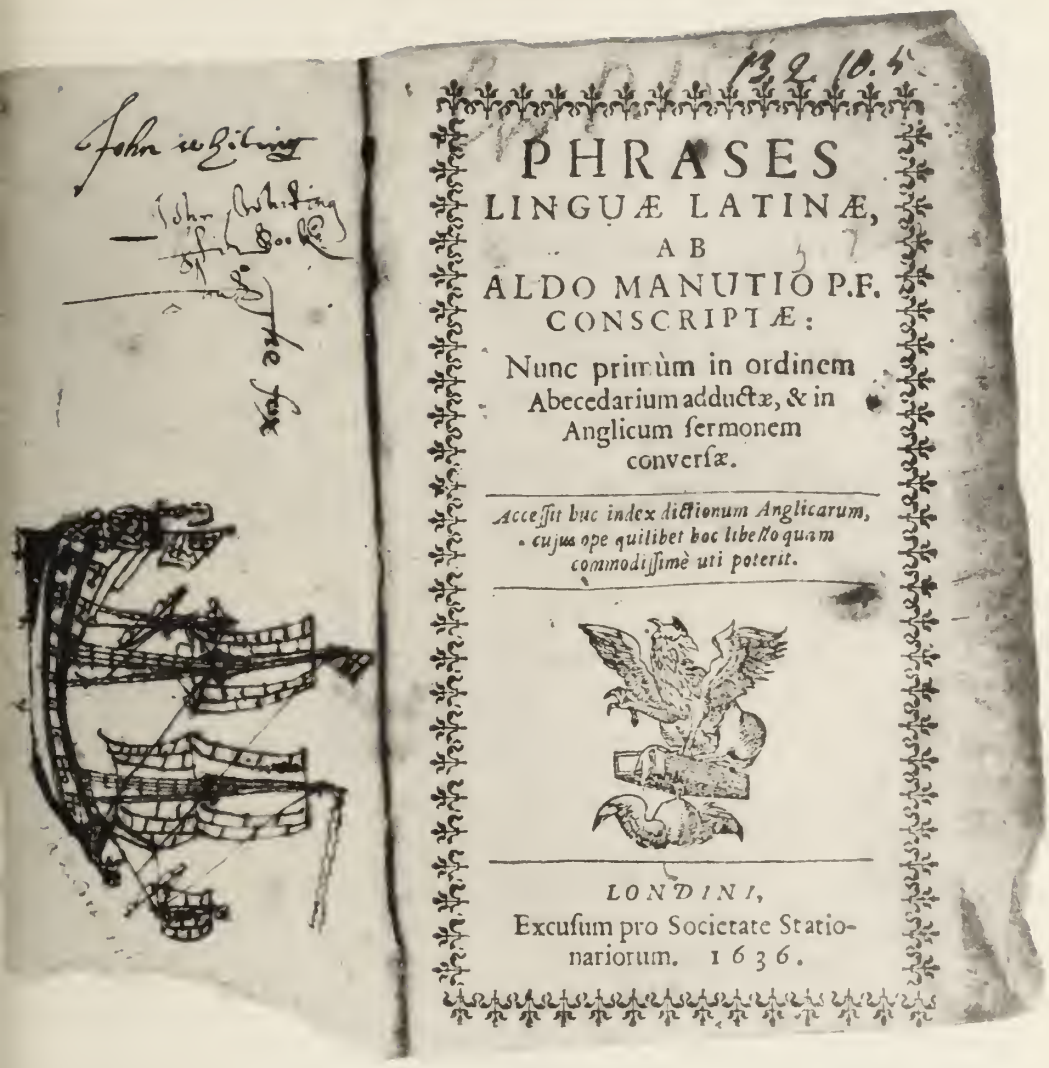
Editæ Operâ ac Studiô

NICOLAI ARNOLDÆ,
SS. Theol. D. & Profeſſoris in
Academiâ Franekernâ.

OXONIÆ,

Ex Officina Typographica HEN. HALL,
Impenſis ROBERTI BLAGRAVII
Bibliopol. *Oxon*, M. DC. LVI.

PLATE XII (page 416)



PHRASES
LINGUÆ LATINÆ,
AB
ALDO MANUTIO P.F.
CONSCRIPTÆ:
Nunc primùm in ordinem
Abecedarium adductæ, & in
Anglicum sermonem
conversæ.

Accessit huc index dictionum Anglicarum, cujus ope quilibet hoc libello quam commodissimè uti poterit.

LONDINI,
Excusum pro Societate Stationariorum. 1636.

PLATE XIII (page 418)

to save my life, I lost my horse.

Amisso equo quasi, ut vitæ consuleretin, ut ei adessem præsenti periculo, ut periculum vitarem minime dubium, ad hostes equum misi, immisi, admisi, incitavi, laxatis habenis hostem versus impuli.

a sawsege, vide **Pudding.**

a scab, or scabbednesse.

Scabies, Psora
λέπρα, Herpigo
Asperitas, Scabredo
Scabritia, Scabrities
Impetigo. Luchen
λιχὴν, Porrigo
Fœdatio cutis
Exulceratio pruriens
Mentagra mentum occupans scabies
Herpeta.
Sicca scabies, quæ volatica, & à nonnullis ignis sacer creditur, **wildfire**, solet faciem, & loca vicina occupare
Morphea, Ulcerosus.

a scaffold, a stage.

Theatrum
Spectaculum
Scena, σκήνη
Amphitheatrum, & proscenium, seu Orchestra, locus ante & circa theatrum, vel in medio theatro, ubi actores & histriones sua proferunt, ubi & Mimi, ac cæteri ludii varios ludos ac gesticulationes edere solent.
¶ Agere, revitare, ædere fabulam, comœdiam διδάσκειν ἢ καταδιδάσκειν
Edere spectacula, **to play a Play.**
θεατριζειν
Exhibere Eunuchum, Trinummum
Joculares ludos in scenis depromere
Ludos facere, Plaut. Vide **Stage-players.**

scarnesse, or penury.

Penuria, Ægestas
Inopia, Raritas
Caritas, Indigentia
Defectus, Carentia
Sterilitas.

to let a scape, vide **Fart.**

scarcity of victuals, vide **Dearty.**

to scarifie, vide **to box.**

to scatter, to cast abroad or asunder.

Jactare, Dirimere
Disjicere, Spargere
Dilapare, διασκεδάζειν
Dispergere, Turbare
Disturbare, Differre
Diducere, Distrahere.

a school, or a place of exercise and learning.

Schola, σχολὴ
Studium triviale
Studium privatum
φροντιστήριον
Ludus literarius, scholasticus
Palæstra ludus
Diatriba
παιδοτριβεῖον,
Et metaphoricè hujusmodi schola vocatur, phrontisterium φροντιστήριον, Pistrimum, Curarum ergastulum.
¶ Carnificina minis verberibusque horrisona
Vide de similibus plura in dictione, **University.**

to put forth to school, vide **to learn without book.**

a schoolmaster.

Præceptor, Institutor puerorum
παιδοτρίβης, Literator
Magister, Ludimagister
Rudis puritiæ formator, doctus, integer
Didascalus
Ludimagister literarii
Institutor, Præceptor literarius
Orbilius, plagosus, nodoso verbere torvus, **a hard Master.**
Hypodidascalus, subdoctor, **an under schoolmaster, or Usher.**
¶ Trivialis magister, à triviis
Indoctus magister
Grammatista, vel tes, literator, **a Grammarian schoolmaster, a thier halfpenny teacher, a smatterer in Grammar.**
Diobolares habens auditores
Magistellus
Magisterculus: quæ postrema in indoctos ironicè torqueri pollunt
Pædotriba,
Pædotribes, παιδοτρίβης.

the chief schoolmaster, the principall head of a Colledge.

Gymnasiarches seu Gymnasiarcha
Gymnastica dignitate præfulgens
Moderator cœtus scholastici, gymnasii, ludi
Archididascalus
ἀρχιδιδάσκαλος
Præfectus ordinis scholastici, quem ἀρχιγύμναστα vulgus nominat, vel Scholarcham
Præfecturam agens gymnasticam
Moderator Academiæ, **the Chancellor of the University or in his absence the Vicechancellor.**
Rector Academiæ, quem clavarii (quos vulgus bedellios vocat) præcedunt cum clavis argenteis.

to goe to school.

Frequentare, visitare ludum literarium
ἀνέχεσθαι εἰς τὸ σχολεῖον
Sub præceptore literarum stipendia facere, Subire ferulam
Ferula manum subdere, subducere
Sub ferula militare
In ludo literario versari
Nomen in literariam militiam dare.

Scholars, vide **Young scholars.**

to slander, to defame one, to backbite, to report ill.

Vitio dare, Criminari
Vellicare, Metaph.
In vitio ponere
Rodere alicujus famam
Verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto

ore lacerare, Cic.
Furta & libidines objicere
Infligere turpitudinem sempiternam alicui, apud eundem
Laudem alicujus proterere criminibus, Carpere
Oblatrare, Obtrudere
Obstrepere, Obstrepere
Debacchari, Desævire, Grassari usque ad ravim.
Inferre crimen, infamiam
Incurrere in alterius famam, vel damnum, apud Cic.
Confare alicui infamiam
Offundere dedecus, scelus aliquod
Carbone notare
Abominandis probris afficere
Inurere notam turpitudinis, **to put to shame.**
Contumeliam facere in aliquem
Infamare, Vituperare
Contumeliam intorquere, imponere, dicere, facere
Tanta turpitudine Autonoeam laberactare virtutem
Blasphemo calamo aliquem notare, incusare
Perstrepere ignominia, ignominiis
In contumeliam agere
Probra ad fatigationem ingerere
Contumelia insequi
Dehonestare, Dehonorare
Improbare, Reprehendere
Sugillare, Traducere
Intimulare, Notare
Damnare, Culpare, Detractare
Diffamare, Obloqui, Maledicere
Derogare, Detrahere,

Mordicare
Irrogare & infligere ignominiam
Ignominia notare, quod Græcis est, ἀτιμάζειν
¶ Infamiam flagrare, est summa infamia laborare
Vituperari
Diffamari, Laborare fama
Improbari, male audire, **to have an evill name or report.**

slandred wrongfully.

Dolco te immerentem convitio jactatum, exagitatum, vexatum, male acceptum.
Angor animo, quod ignominia tuleris nulla tua culpa
Quod ignominia tibi sit allata immerenti, quod ignominiose tis tractatus, ignominia tis afflictus nullo tuo merito.

a slanderer, a backbiter, a detractor, an ill reporter.

Detractor, Delator, Detractator
Sibilator, Susurro, Susurrator
Hominum famam imminuens
Detractator, ἀντιστράτηγος
Famicida, Sycophanta
Infectator, Vituperator
Maledicus, Maledax
Detractus, Nasutus
Nasutulus, Obtrectator
Vitigilator, vel Vitiligator
Cavillator, Sucillator
Criminator, Obtrectillator
Archilochium terens
Archilochus, Vitupero, onis

Morbo

WILHELMI SCHICKARDI

OROLOGIVM HEBRÆVM,

SIVE

Consilium, quomodo sancta lingua spacio xxiv. horarum, a totidem collegis, seu eorundem semisse sufficienter apprehendi queat,

Septies comprobatum, & impressum iam quantâ fieri potuit diligentiâ.

Quum priùs

Ab innumeris mathematicis mendis emendatum,
Ab aliquâ breviloquij obscuritate annotatiunculis elucidatum,
Et lexici compendium ad justum pene dictionarium exauctum fuisset

A N. H. S T. D.

Nae vide

Nae vide

LONDINI

Typis THOMÆ PAILE

Venit apud Philemonem Stephanum, & Christophorum Meredith, *sub leone aur. in D.* Paulj *Cœmiterio; quorum impensis excusum fuit.* 1 6 3 9.

Value 1 Dol.

COMMENTARII

IN P. RAMI

REGII PROFESSORIS DIALECTICAM, QUIBUS EXCLASSICIS QUIBUSQUE AUCTORIBUS præceptorum Rameorum perfectio demonstratur, sensus explicatur, usus exponitur;

AVCTORE

GEORGIO DOUNAMO,

Logicæ quondam apud Cantabrigienses prælectore, & Collegii Christi socio.

Jo Jonathan Danforth his book anno Domini

Cum Gratia & Privilegio S. Cæs. Majest. ad decennium.

FRANCOFVRTI

Ex Calcographia Wolffgangi Richteri, Impensis omnium hæredum Nicolai Bassæi.

M. DC. X. 142

AMERICAN ... SOCIETY. WORCESTER, MASS.

PLATE XV (pages 424, 427)

IVLII CÆSARIS SCALIGERI EXOTERICARVM EXERCITATIONVM

LIBER XV.

DE

SVBTILITATE,

AD

HIERONYMVM CARDANVM.

In fine duo sunt INDICES: *prior breuissculus, continens sententias nobiliores: alter opulentissimus, pene omnia complectens.*

Cum Gratia & Priuileg. S. Rom. Imp. Vicarij ad an. XII.

HANOVIÆ,

Typis Wechelianis, apud Danielem & Davidem Aubrios, & Clementem Schleichium.

ANNO MDC XX.

PLATE XVI (page 426)

Rudimenta Graeca e P. Rami grammaticis praecipue collecta a Bernardo Salignaco Burdegalensi Scholae Waldeccianae in civitate Corbach conrectore. London: 1581. MHS.

"[Dudley] Bradstreet anno Sæculi Messiæ MDCXCIV" [A.B. 1698]

Via Regia ad Geometriam. The Way to Geometry. Being necessary and usefull, for Astronomers. Geographers. Land-meaters. Sea-men. Engineers. Architecks. Carpenters. Paynters. Carvers, &c. Written in Latine by Peter Ramus, and now translated and much enlarged by the learned Mr. William Bedwell. Diagrams. London: 1636. HCL.

"Wm Brimsmead his book" [Class of 1655]

"Elisha Cooke me jure tenet. Præstat tacere quam loqui." [A.B. 1657]

"Joseph Cooke me suis addidit November 3 1659" [A.B. 1660]

"John Wadloe his booke"

CHRISTIAN RAVIS (RAUE)

A Generall Grammar for the ready attaining of the Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and the Ethopic languages. By Christian Ravis of Berlin. Tables, and frontispiece portrait of author. London: 1650. Library of Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

"Johannis Leveretti e Libris s[uis] Ex Dono Domini Samm Haugh 1 June " "J^{no} Leverett's Booke 1679" [A.B. 1680]

"A[biel] Holmes" [A.B. Yale 1783; A.M. Harvard and Yale 1792]

This book was evidently given to John Leverett when a Junior Sophister by Samuel Hough, who died June 25, 1679. It also bears the bookplate of Edward Everett, and the signatures of William W. Greenough, 1836, and of our late associate Henry H. Edes, who left it to this Society.

HCL also has a copy, as has the BPL (Prince); while the latter has in addition a copy of the 1649 edition.

ALEXANDER RICHARDSON

The Logicians School-Master: or, a comment upon Ramus Logick, by Mr. Alexander Richardson, sometime of Queenes Colledge in Cambridge. Whereunto are added, his prelections on Ramus his Grammer; Taleus his Rhetorick; also his notes on Physics, Ethicks, Astronomy, Medicine, and Opticks. Never before published. London: 1657. HCL.

"Dominus Davenport Eius Liber ut probat obsequium"
"Addington Davenport his booke 1691" [A.B. 1689] "Byles"

Another copy (at AAS), containing no signatures of the seventeenth century, is thus qualified by a scornful student in 1753:

"The Author's knowledge sure was great,
But it is grown now out of date"

WILLIAM ROBERTSON

Phraseologia Generalis; a full, large, and general phrase book. Cambridge: 1681. Chester N. Greenough, Esq.

"Jonathan Belcher His Book Anno Domini 1698/9" [A.B. 1699]
"Jonathan Belcher [ ] Pretiū.12"
"Benjamin Wadsworth's Book. February 11. 1767"
"This Book Belongs To the Revd Mr John Wadsworth of Canterbury In the Custody of James Sproull Anno Domini 1769/4°"

SALLUST

C. Sallustii Crispi Coniuratio Catilinae, Bellum Iugurthinum, Historiarum libri à Ludovico Carrione collecti & restituti. Portii Latronis declamatio in Catilinam. Adversariae Sallustii & Ciceronis, incerto auctore. Cum scholiis Aldi Manutii. Geneva: 1626. AAS (Mather).

"I[ncrease] M[ather]"
"Joseph Gerrish his booke 1668" [A.B. 1669]
"Joh. Olliver" "James Cary who gave me to [ ]"

ROBERT SANDERSON

Logicae Artis Compendium. 3rd edition. Oxford: 1631. MHS.

"B^{n} Wadsworth 92/3" [A.B. 1690]

JOSEPH SCALIGER. *See* BIBLE, *Greek N.T.*

JULIUS CAESAR SCALIGER

Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri exotericarum exercitationum liber XV de Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum. Hanover: 1620. (Plate XVI.) HCL.

"Samuel Bellingham 1643" [A.B. 1642]
"Joshua Hobart [A.B. 1650] ex dono: S:B."

Bellingham's signature is the earliest dated one of a Harvard student in the present list.

There is a copy of the Lyons, 1615, edition in the Mather library at the AAS.

JOHANNES SCAPULA

Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Novum. London: 1637. BPL (Prince).

"Joshua Moodey 1650" [A.B. 1653]

Scapula's Lexicon was much used, if we may judge by the number of surviving copies. HCL alone possesses eight.

WILHELM SCHICKARD

Wilhelmi Schickardi Horologium Hebraeum, sive consilium, quomodo sancta lingua spacio XXIV horarum a totidem collegis sufficienter apprehendi queat. London: 1639. AAS (Mather).

"Cottonus Matherus E D[ono] P[atris] 1674" [A.B. 1678]

Another copy. (Plate XV.) HCL.

"Nehemiah Ambrose his booke Cost 2^{s}" [A.B. 1653]

"Johannis Cottoni Liber 1686" [A.B. 1681]

Another edition. Ab aliquot collegiis sufficienter apprehendi queat. Iam saepius comprobatum & ad exemplar quintae editionis Lipsiensis de anno 1633 diligenter non sine mendarum sublatione recusum. Franeker: 1646. MHS.

"Daniell Mason: his book" [A.B. 1666]

"John Harriman me jure tenet Anno Dom: 1663 feb: 15th" [A.B. 1667]

"D. Bradstreet's Book" [A.B. 1698]

Another edition. Editio ultima, prioribus omnibus accuratior, plenior & ad usum tyronum accommodatior. Utrecht: 1661.[a] MHS.

"Leonard Hoare" [A.B. 1650; book bought, of course, after 1661]

"Johannes Cotton"

"Crescentius Matherus" "Cotton Mather" "Byles"

"Bo^{t} at the sale of Dr Byles' Lybrary"

Another edition. Editio ultima. London: n.d. BPL (Prince).

"peleg wisewalle his Book anno domini 1699" [A.B. 1702]

"Thomæ Prince Cantab. 1703" [A.B. 1707]

"Nathaniel Fisher" [A.B. 1706] "Nathan Prince" [A.B. 1718]

"Samuel Payson" [A.B. 1716]

On pp. 183, 198: "Nicholas Drew" "Wainwright."

"T Prince Corderius Americanus Cheever Scholæ" [Cf. Cotton Mather's funeral sermon on Cheever, Corderius Americanus, 1708.]

CORNELIS VAN SCHOON

Terentius Christianus, sive comoediae duae Terentiano stylo conscripta ad usum scholarum. Tobaeus. Juditha. Pseudostratiotes. Autore Corn. Schonaeo. Cambridge: 1632. AAS (Mather).

"Cottonus Matherus E D[ono] P[atris] 1675" [A.B. 1678]
"Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1680" [A.B. 1685]

ANTONIUS VAN SCHORE

De Phrasibus Linguae Latinae. Basle: 1550. AAS (Mather).

"Cottoni Matheri Liber" [A.B. 1678]
"Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1682" [A.B. 1685]
"Samuelis Matheri Liber"
Title-page mutilated. Title from Van de Aaa's Woordenboek.

KORNELIS SCHREVEL (SCHREVELIUS)

Lexicon Manuale Graeco-Latinum, & Latino-Graecum. London: 1663. BPL (Prince).

"Samuel Sewall Huius Libri possessor 1674" [A.B. 1671]
"Samuel Sewall Martii 8. 1681/2"
"Joseph Sewall His Book May 25 1703" [A.B. 1707]
"Thomas Cornish"
This very widely used lexicon first appeared in 1661, and was reprinted as late as 1822.
For another Schrevel item, see under HESIOD, above.

JOHN SHARP

Cursus Theologicus, in quo controversiae inter nos et pontificos pertractantur. Authore D. M. Johanne Scharpio Scotobritanno, Andreapolitano, professore in Academia apud Dienses. Geneva: 1628. AAS (Mather).

"Cotton Matheri Liber, 1681" [A.B. 1678]

ARCHIBALD SIMSON

Hieroglyphica Animalium terrestrium, volatilium, natatilium, reptilium, insectorum, vegetivorum, metallorum, lapidum &c quae in Scripturis Sacris inveniuntur. Opus contextum per Archibaldum Simsonum Dalkethensis ecclesiae pastorem. Edinburgh: 1622. AAS (Mather).

"Cottonus Matherus 1674" [A.B. 1678]
"Nathaniel Mather 1681" [A.B. 1685]
A sort of Presbyterian bestiary.

SOPHOCLES

Sophoclis Tragoediae VII. [Ajax Flagellifer, Electra, Œdipus Tyrannus, Antigone, Œdipus Colonnus, Trachiniae, Philoctetes.] Heidelberg: 1597. BPL (Prince).

"John Leuerett Ejus Liber 22 Septēbri 1676" [A.B. 1680]
Bookplate: "John Leverett 1677"
Greek text, with Latin translation by Vitus Winsemius and notes by Gul. Cantezus.

ROBERT STEPHEN. *See* BIBLE, *Greek N.T.*

FRANCISCO SUAREZ

Metaphysicarum Disputationum, in quibus et universa naturalis theologia ordinate traditur, et quaestiones ad omnes duodecim Aristotelis libros pertinentes, accuratè disputantur tomi duo. 2 vols. in one. Venice: 1605. HCL.

"Joseph Cooke me suis addidit July 29 1660" [A.B. 1660]

HENRY SWINBURNE

A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Wils, very profitable to be understood of all the subjects of this realme of England, desirous to know whether, whereof, and how, they may make their testaments. By Henry Swinburne, sometime Judge of the Prerogative Court of Yorke. London: 1640. MHS.

"Thomas Brattle's Book 11th May 1676" [A.B. 1676]
"William Brattle" [A.B. 1680]

SYNOPSIS Purioris Theologiae disputationibus LII comprehensa, ac conscripta per J. Polyandrum, A. Ravetum, A. Walaeum, A. Thysium. Leyden: 1652. MHS.

"Thomæ Shepardi Liber 21, 3°. 1677" [A.B. 1676]
"Eduardi Paisoni Liber ex dono superscripti quondā possessoris 1677" [A.B. 1677] "Pret $3^{s}6^{d}$"
"Sam^{ll} Paison 1714" [A.B. 1716]
The title-page of this copy is mutilated. The title as given above is from the British Museum Catalogue. A series of student disputations at Leyden, presided over by the theologians mentioned.

JOHANNES TALASIUS

Epitome Gymnasii Logici: i.e., de usu & exercitatione logicae artis, disputatio philosophica; proposita ad publicam & placidam συζήτησιν, in praelustri Nassariorum Herbornaea, sub praesidio Johannis-Henrici Alstedii, a Johanne Talasio Reichardivilleno Bipontino. Herborn: 1610. MHS.

Bound with a copy of Alsted's Pastor Conformatus, inscribed by Increase Mather in 1655.

OMER TALON (TALAEUS)

Audomari Talaei Rhetorica e P. Rami praelectionibus observata. Frankfort: 1579. MHS.

Bound with Ramus's Dialectics and Greek Grammar in a volume which is inscribed by Dudley Bradstreet (A.B. 1698).

TERENCE

Pub. Terentii Comoediae sex, ex recensione Heinsiana: cum annotationibus T. Farnabii et M. C[asauboni]. London: 1651. AAS (Mather).

"Crescentius Matherus" [not his youthful hand]
"Cottonus Matherus 1677" [A.B. 1678]
This copy, the title-page of which is mutilated, contains the Andria, Eunuchus, Heautontimorumenos, Adelphi, Phormio, and Hecyra.

JOHANNES RAVISIUS TEXTOR (JEAN TIXIER DE RAVISY, *c* 1480–1524)

Epithetorum Io. Ravisii Textoris Epitome, ex Hadr. Junii Medici recognitione. Accesserunt ejusdem Ravisii Synonyma Poëtica. London: 1642. AAS (Mather).

"Cottoni Matheri Liber 1674" [A.B. 1678]
"Samuel [Mather]" "John Quirk" "I.Q."
"I.Q." stamped on outside of each cover

Officinae Ioannis Ravisii Textoris epitome. [Also] Cornucopiae J. Rav. Textoris epitome. Geneva: 1626. AAS (Mather).

"Cottonus Matherus his book"
"Nathanielis Matheri liber 1682" [A.B. 1685]
The Epitome comprises two volumes, a classical dictionary and an encyclopaedia; the Cornucopia is a brief encyclopaedia of natural history.

JOHANNES THADDAEUS

Ioh: Thaddaej Conciljatorium Biblicum. Engraved t.p., and portrait of author. Amsterdam: n.d. BPL (Prince).

"Jn° Norton ejus liber 1668" [A.B. 1671]

Handwriting exercises in back.

CLEMENS TIMPLER

Logici Systematis [libri V]. T.p. wanting. This is the running title. Preface signed at Steinfurth, 1612, by Clemens Timplerus, "Philosophiae in illustri Arnoldino Steinfurtensi Professor." 898 pp. AAS

"John Wibornus (?) est huius Liber verus possessor" [probably John Wyborne, temporary student, class of 1661. Cf. Sibley, I. 578; our Publications, XVII. 275.]

"Jno Richardson's book 1664" [A.B. 1666]

"Jonathan Pierpont verus est hujus libri possessor" [A.B. 1685]

TREMELLIUS. *See* BIBLE, *Latin O.T.*

WILLIAM TWISSE

Of the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, as still in force to binde Christians delivered by way of answer to the translator of Doctor Prideaux his lecture, concerning the doctrine of the Sabbath. London: 1641. MHS.

"John Cotton his Book 10. 3. 73" [A.B. 1657 or 1678]

"Theoph. Cottons Booke Decemb. 12, 1701" [A.B. 1701]

Vindiciae Gratiae Potestatis, ac Providentiae Dei. Hoc est, examen libelli Perkinsiani de praedestinationis modo et ordine. Autore Gulielmo Twisso. Amsterdam: 1632.[b] HCL.

"This book I borrowed of my Aunt Flint, and all these. Alting's comon places, Jeane's Scholastick Divinity. Another Fol: of Doctore Twise's Works. Voetius his Divinity. Another of Alting's Works in 4to Borrowed ye 15: 9th: 1687"

The only student of that date with an "Aunt Flint" who was a clergyman's widow, was Henry Newman (A.B. 1687), who was then beginning his study for a second degree, and for the ministry. "Aunt Flint" was Mary (Willet), widow of Josiah Flynt (A.B. 1664), and mother of Tutor Flynt. The book was presented to the HCL by Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer.

JOHN UDALL

Key of the Holy Tongue, wherein is conteined, first the Hebrew grammar out of P. M. Martinius. Englished by I. Udall. Leyden: 1593. NYPL.

"William Stoughton" [A.B. 1650]

"Increase Mather" [A.B. 1656]

Also in John Harvard's Library, see our Publications, XXI. 225. The Grammar is that of Petrus Martinius of Navarre.

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI (1500–1562)

[Works:] Defensio de Eucharistiae Sacramento. Commentaries on Genesis, Kings, Judges, Samuel, Romans, and Corinthians. 7 vols. Basle and Zurich: 1565–1579. AAS (Mather).

"Cottoni Matheri Liber 1681" in each volume [A.B. 1678]

WILLIAM WALKER

Phraseologia Anglo-Latina or, phrases of the English and Latin tongue: together with Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina or, a collection of English and Latin proverbs. Engraved t.p. London: 1672. AAS (Mather).

"Creseentius Matherus"

"Cottonus Matherus E D[ono] P[atris] 1675" [A.B. 1678]

"Nathanielis Matheri Liber 1682" [A.B. 1685]

"Samuel Mather"

MARCUS FRIEDRICH WENDELIN (1584–1652)

Contemplationum Physicarum Sect. I. Physiologia Generalis, de principijs & affectionibus corporis naturalis. Autore Marco Friderico Wendelino. Hanover: 1625. HCL.

"Sr Danforth [Samuel, A.B. 1683] Henry Gibbs" [A.B. 1685; both in same hand]

"Henry Gibbs Booke dono Georgii C [ ]"

"Eben^{z} Sweetser Ejus Liber Sep^{br} 3 1718"

"Jesse Thomas His Book 1760"

Another edition. Cambridge: 1648. AAS.

"Thomas Swan Ejus Liber 1687" [A.B. 1689]

"Peter Ruek Book Anno Christi 1688/9" [A.B. 1685]

"Henrieus Swan me inter suos numerat Anno Dominij 1696" [A.B. 1698]

"George Lamb His Booke ex dono Thomas Swan 1698"

Logicae Institutiones tironum adolescentum captui accomodatae. Autore Marco Friderico Wendelino Gymnasii Anhaltini rectore. Ed. novissima. Amsterdam: 1654. HCL.

"Joseph Cooke me suis addidit July 1659" [A.B. 1660]
Bookplate: "Elisha Cooke. His Book 1693" [A.B. 1697]
"Desire gorham is my name
and with my pen i rit the same
and if i colde a ritten better
i wolde a mended eueri leter"

WESTMINSTER GREEK GRAMMAR. *See* WILLIAM CAMDEN

VINCENT WING (1619–1668)

Astronomia Britannica: in qua per novam, concinnioremque methodum, hi quinque tractatus traduntur. 1. Logistica astronomica. II. Trigonometria. III. Doctrina sphaerica. IV. Theoria planetarum super hypothesi Copernicana. V. Tabulae novae astronomicae, congruentes cum observationibus Tychonis Brahaei. Authore Vincentio Wing, Mathem. Illustrated. London: 1669. HCL.

"Grindall Rawson me suis addidit novembris 23^{d} 1677" [A.B. 1678]
"Johanni Leveretto vendidit July 28, 1681" [A.B. 1680]
"Samuel Danforthus [A.B. 1683] a [Nehemiah] Waltero [A.B. 1684], emit Decemb 1 26, 1683 Quid libri sine Lecture"

Astronomia Instaurata: a new compendious restauration of astronomie in four parts. London: 1656.[a]

Harmonicon Coeleste: an absolute and entire piece of astronomie. Grounded upon the most rationall hypothesis yet constituted, and compared with the best observations that are extant, especially those of Tycho Brahe. By Vincent Wing, Philomathemat. London: 1651. HCL.

"Brackenbury Astra petit" [A.B. 1664]
"Lege, Intellige, Vive J. B. 1670" [Joseph Browne, A.B. 1666]
"John Gore 1704 pre: 6^{s}" [A.B. 1702]
"Edwardus Holyoke me jure tenet" [A.B. 1705]
These two books are bound in the same volume. Both are works on practical astronomy, with tables for navigation, compiling almanacs, etc. The volume contains many signatures later than that of Holyoke.

JOHANNES WOLLEBIUS (1536–1626)

The Abridgment of Christian Divinitie, exactly and methodically compiled. By John Wollebius, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Basil. Faithfully translated into English by Alexander Ross. London: 1650. MHS.

"John Taylor His book 1700" [A.B. 1699]
"E. Parkman 1722" [A.B. 1721]

SIR HENRY WOTTON (1568–1639)

Reliquiae Wottonianae. Or a collection of lives, letters, poems, with characters of sundry personages by the curious pensil of Sr Henry Wotton K^t^. London: 1651. MHS.

"John Richardson" [A.B. 1666]
"John Winthrop His Book 1698" [A.B. 1700]
This is the first edition of this work.

GIROLAMO ZANCHI (1516–1590)

Hieronymi Zanchii de Operibus Dei intra spacium sex dierum creatis opus. Neustadt: 1602. HCL.

"Thomas MacCarty pret 1690" [A.B. 1691]
"John Barnard 1703" [A.B. 1700]
Also in John Harvard's Library. See our Publications, XXI. 227.

Operum Theologicorum D. Hieronymi Zanchi, tomus primus. De tribus elohim aeterno Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, uno eodemque Jehova. Libri tredecim, pars prior, in qua, tota orthodoxa de hoc magno mysterio doctrina, ex Sacrarum Literarum fontibus, explicatur, & confirmatur. Additi sunt indices quinque. n.p.: 1613. BPL (Prince).

"John Sparhawk His Book 1692" [A.B. 1689]
"T. Prince 1713/4" [A.B. 1707]

LIST OF AUTHORS BY SUBJECTS

The arrangement of groups I–V in this list follows in general the order of studies and exercises given above: I. The study and analysis of the Bible. II. The principles of divinity and Christianity. III. The tongues. IV. Auxiliary studies: the arts and philosophies, history and

politics. V. Exposition and defence. Following these groups are the encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and lexicons. Only the name of the author is given for each title. Detailed information as to the books themselves is to be found in the list of titles by authors, above, pp. 383–434.

I. The Bible: Study and Analysis.

(1) Texts. Besides the well-known Bible of President Dunster, now in the Harvard College Library, nineteen examples of the whole or of parts of the Bible owned by students of the seventeenth century have been found. Of these, thirteen are dated; three are "probables"; and three are "possibles." These include the Old Testament in Hebrew (except the books of Ezra and Daniel, which are in "Chaldee"); the Pentateuch and the Psalms, also in Hebrew; and versions of the Old and New Testaments in Greek and Latin. Aside from the Polyglott Bible owned by Nathaniel Mather in 1693, no student-owned example thus far discovered contains the Syriac version of the New Testament.

(2) Commentaries: logical analysis. See under Ames, Bythner, Garthwait, Herlin, Musculus, Thaddaeus, Twisse, and Vermigli.

II. Principles of Divinity.

(1) Divinity catechetical: no texts have been identified.[1]

(2) Theology: doctrinal and polemic. See under Alsted, Ames, Brochmand, Buchan, Calvin, Chytraeus, Durand, Jeans, du Jon, Maccovius, Sharpe, Twisse, Vermigli, Wolleb, and Zanchi.

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[1] One can only guess at the text used in this subject. It is not improbable that it was a rather elementary catechism in Latin, such as Alexander Nowell's Christianae Pietatis Prima Institutio. His three Latin catechisms—the smaller (1572), the middle and the larger (both 1570) — were the most widely used school manuals for religious instruction in England in the seventeenth century. The one named above is the middle catechism; it was translated into English by Thomas Norton in 1572, and into Greek by William Whitaker in 1573. The Greek version was frequently used as a reader, introductory to or parallel with the Greek New Testament, and it may be the Greek Catechism referred to in the list of 1723. In its Latin form it would have been suitable for the Saturday morning exercise named in the Order of Studies of 1642. One might expect that it would be supplanted by the Westminster Catechism upon the publication of that document in 1647 and its adoption in the Cambridge Platform of 1648. However, no copy of either catechism identified with Harvard in the seventeenth century has been found.

If "divinity catecheticall" was of a more advanced type, Buchan's Institutiones Theologiae (1625) may have been used as a text. It is in the catechetical form. Two copies have been identified, and four others, not autographed, are in HCL.

(3) Theology: practical. See under Alsted, Ames, and Dickson.
(4) Commonplaces. See under Maccovius and Musculus.

III. The Tongues.

(1) Latin.[1]
  (a) Grammar.[2] See under Despautère.
  (b) Phrase-books. See below under Rhetoric.
  (c) Literature.[3] See under Cicero, Florus, Sallust, van Schoon, and Terence.[4]

(2) Greek.
  (a) Grammar. See under Camden,[5] Clenardus, and Ramus.
  (b) Phrase-books. See under Chatard and Comenius.
  (c) Literature.[6] See under Crespin, Hesiod, Homer, Isocrates, and Sophocles.

(3) Hebrew.
  (a) Grammar. See under Buxtorf, du Jon, Ravis,[7] Schickard, and Udall.[8]
  (b) Literature. See above under Bible, texts.

(4) Chaldee (Aramaic).
  (a) Grammar. See under Buxtorf, Bythner, and Ravis.
  (b) Literature. See Biblia Hebraica (Books of Ezra and Daniel).

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[1] Latin does not appear as a separate subject at Harvard until 1723, and then only as a review of Virgil and Cicero in the freshman year.

[2] Lily's Latin Grammar was the text prescribed by English law for use in grammar (i.e., preparatory) schools of that time.

[3] See also Bibles in Latin in the list by authors.

[4] There is no evidence that these classics were used as texts in any college classes, although several are dated during the owner's college residence. The practice of reviewing Cicero in the freshman year may have been begun as early as 1654 when the four-year course for the A.B. was introduced. Hence certain books from the last years of the preparatory school may also have been used in college.

[5] The books by Camden are also known as the Westminster Greek Grammar.

[6] See also Bibles in Greek in the list by authors.

[7] President Dunster, in a letter to Ravis (1648), speaks of using Ravis's Orthographiae Hebraeae Delineatio, and "yor Hebrew sheet Grammar, wth yor Conjugationall, Hebrew Table." Ravis's "Hebrew sheet Grammar" may have been included in his Generall Grammar. Dunster refers also to notes on Udall, sent to him by Ravis. J. Chaplin, Life of Henry Dunster, pp. 271–275.

[8] Udall's Key of the Holy Tongue may well have been the Hebrew grammar earliest in use at Harvard, but Schickard's Horologium seems to have been the favorite from about 1660 to 1722. No less than five copies are in the dated list, and several others are in the libraries examined.

(5) Syriac.

(a) Grammar. See under Ravis.

(b) Literature. Trostius, Syriac Version of the New Testament.[1]

IV. The Arts and Philosophies.

(1) Logic. See under Ames, Beurhaus, Brattle, Burgersdicius, Downame, Goclenius, Heereboord, Hippius, Keckermann, Milton, Morton, du Moulin, Polanus, Ramus, Richardson, Sanderson, Talasius, and Timpler.

(2) Physics. See under Aristotle, Bartholin, Burgersdicius, Comenius, Galtrucius, Heereboord, Hippius, Magirus, Morton, and Wendelin.

(3) Nature of plants. No separate work on this subject has been identified, but chapters iv–vi of the fourth Book of Magirus's Physiologia probably indicate the character of the study. These chapters are entitled: "De stirpium natura in genere"; "De quibusdam stirpium affectionibus"; "De plantarum partibus." Aristotle's De Plantis is quoted throughout.

(4) Metaphysics. See under Bartholin, Burgersdicius, Carpenter, Descartes, Gassendi, Heereboord, G. Jack, and Maccovius.

(5) Ethics. See under Aristotle, Eustache de St. Paul, Heereboord, Magirus, and More.

(6) Politics. No seventeenth-century text-book on politics has been found. Several copies of Aristotle's Politics, evidently imported into Massachusetts before 1700, have been examined, but none can be identified with Harvard. The subject is treated in the second volume of Keckermann's Works (1614), and in Patrizzi's Compendiosa Epitome. It appears, however, that politics, as such, received little, if any, attention in the programme of the seventeenth century.

(7) History. See under Godwyn.

(8) Chronology. See under Alsted, Baillie, and Langius.

(9) Geography.[2] See under Heylyn.

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[1] No student's copy of this version has been found. It is one of the four texts suggested, but not explicitly named, in the Order of Studies of 1642.

[2] Geography as a study first appears in the list of 1723; but it may well have been introduced before 1701. The elaborate work of Heylyn could scarcely have been used as a text, however. The texts of Patrick Gordon and Morden, of which several unautographed and undated copies are in HCL, were more probably the ones chosen.

(10) Mathematics. See under Keckermann, whose Cursus Philosophici Encyclopaedia also contains sections on arithmetic, geometry, optics, and geography.

(11) Arithmetic.[1] See under Ramus.

(12) Geometry. See under Euclid and Ramus.

(13) Astronomy. See under Gassendi, Longberg, Maestlin, and Wing.

V. Exposition and Defense of the Bible: Theory and Practice.

(1) Rhetoric: principles. See under Talon.

(2) Composition: examples and helps.[2] See under "Carmina Proverbialia," Aphthonius, Buchler, Despautère, Draxe, Erasmus, Fundanus, T. Jack, Lycosthenes, Manuzzio, Pelegrom, van Schore, Textor, and Walker.

(3) Declamation: specimens and technique. See under "Conciones et Orationes," Clarke, and Morels lo Campano.

(4) Disputation: specimens and technique.[3] See under Farley, Heereboord,[4] and Suarez.

(5) Commonplaces. See under Principles of Divinity, above.

VI. Encyclopaedias, Dictionaries, Lexicons. See under Alsted, Avenarius, "Clavis Homerica," "Dictionarie," Buxtorf, Godwyn, Keckermann, Martini, Scapula, Schrevel, and Textor.

Mr. LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO presented a paper entitled:

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S OWN COPIES OF HIS HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY

About a year ago I heaved the sigh of relief and satisfaction that is apt to accompany the completion of a long piece of work. In the dim past I had promised to edit Thomas Hutchinson's History of

[1] No seventeenth-century student's dated copy of any arithmetic has been found. Arithmetic must, however, have had a place in the programme since it is mentioned explicitly in all editions of the College Laws throughout this period in connection with the requirements for the A.M. degree.

[2] Phrase-books and models were constantly used in exercises in prose and verse, and in the composition of declamations and disputations.

[3] A very full treatment of the technique of disputation is given in Keckermann, Opera Omnia, I. chap. vii. There is an English version of this in Colyer Meriwether, Our Colonial Curriculum, chap. vii.

[4] Heereboord's Meletemata was probably used in this connection, since it is devoted mainly to specimens of disputation in metaphysics, logic, ethics, and physics.

Massachusetts-Bay for the Harvard University Press, and now apparently the copy was ready for the printer. The texts of the three editions that came out in the eighteenth century had been collated and the variations carefully noted. The hundreds of individuals, great and small, whose names appear in the three volumes of Hutchinson's work had been identified or elaborated upon in footnotes which, it was hoped, the prospective reader might find useful and perhaps interesting. An editor's introduction had been put on paper, and a memoir of Hutchinson was being prepared. In the future lurked the unpleasant prospect of making an index to the work, but that chore of chores must wait, of course, until the page proof began to come in. Apparently the thing was practically ready to go to the press. Then a disturbing but rather stimulating rumor reached my ears.

A gentleman in New Jersey, who had bought what he supposed to be an original manuscript of a chapter of Volume III, wrote Mr. Harold Murdock that Williams College claimed to have the whole manuscript of that volume. This was interesting, for up to that time I had not supposed that the manuscript of any part of Hutchinson's work was in existence, except that mud-stained draft of Volume II which survived the destruction of Hutchinson's Boston mansion in August, 1765, and is now preserved in the archives at the State House. As the third volume was published in 1828, almost a half-century after the death of the author, it seemed not unlikely that the original manuscript might contain material that Hutchinson's grandson had chosen to omit in the printed version. The Governor had been rather frank in his character sketches of James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, Joseph Hawley, John Adams, and John Hancock. Who could say that other Revolutionary worthies had not been treated with even more frankness in the manuscript? I wrote to Williamstown and asked if the rumor were true. The reply was prompt and exciting: the Chapin Library possessed not only the original manuscript of Volume III but also Hutchinson's own copies of the first two volumes with the author's corrections noted in the margins; furthermore, the pages of the latter were interleaved here and there with additional text and notes in Hutchinson's own hand. It was not long before I was on my way to Williamstown.

When the first two volumes were laid before me in the Chapin Library, my first feeling was one of dismay. Governor Hutchinson,

when revising his work, had used the London edition (1765 and 1768) as his base. I had used the Boston edition (1764 and 1767) as my base. Fortunately the paging of the two editions is practically identical; but the texts show variations, and after much thought I had decided that the Boston edition was the more accurate. 'Tis true, the author had corrected a few errors before the London edition was printed; but the English printer had added a number of errors of his own, and I had reasoned that it was best to go back to the original edition for a firm foundation. I am still inclined to believe that Hutchinson would have done just that if copies of the Boston edition were to be had. Perhaps they were obtainable, but as he made his revision while in exile in England, it is more likely that he was obliged to use the London edition, as that was the only one to be procured on that side of the Atlantic. However that may have been, the only thing for me to do was to transfer all my notes to the second edition, delete some, and change others until they fitted into the Hutchinsonian scheme. I shall pass over the details of this process, but I am happy to say that it proved to be a much less arduous piece of work than I had anticipated.

In the decade or more that had elapsed since the publication of Volumes I and II, what had Hutchinson unearthed that he wished to include in his final revision? That was the really important question. The first striking addition was a footnote relating to the Plymouth Company. As his authority the author cites not Bradford's History but the Book of Records of the Council of Plymouth, a source which presumably he had discovered after coming to England. As the note is not long, and as the incident he mentions was new to me, I venture to quote it here:

> This Company was not fully satisfied with a Charter from *the King* and in the year 1622 had determined to apply to *Parliament* for a confirmation or for a new Grant. In case of a judicial proceeding it might be made a question whether *the King* had not exceeded his prerogative and complaint was actually made in Parliament against this Charter as a Monopoly which the King had not authority to grant; but the authority of Parliament, the supreme legislative power, is not to be called in question in a judicial process, and that power only which made the grant can annull or reassume it. A doubt arose whether a new Charter from the Parliament would not occasion the proceedings of the Company during the two

years they had acted under a Charter from the King to be called in question, and this stopped the application.

Most of the manuscript additions to the first hundred pages of Volume I consist of sidelights on various individuals mentioned in the text: who Roger Conant was; where Samuel Fuller, of the Plymouth Colony, was before he came to New England; a line or two on Lady Moody; more on Sir Richard Saltonstall, whose family, according to Hutchinson, "was of Killingley, Yorkshire, in England, and flourished there several ages"; a glimpse of the early life of Increase Nowell, one of the Assistants of the Bay Company; an apparently irrelevant note that "Vincent Potter came to Boston but returned to England and was one of the King's Judges." Much if not all of this information has become available for us through other channels; but to Hutchinson it appears to have been new and precious, and he took pains to incorporate it in his final revision.

Of these personal notes not the least interesting concerns John Davenport, one of the founders of New Haven. Where Hutchinson discovered the document which he quotes I have been unable to ascertain. Very likely it is in print somewhere today, but I have not found it referred to in any life or sketch of Davenport. That it was a delight to Hutchinson is clear. His note begins thus:

> Dr. Mather in the life of this Mr. Davenport takes notice of his fleeing to Holland about the year 1633 and that he did not succeed there, because he declined baptizing children whose parents or sureties were ignorant or scandalous. But there is a passage in a letter from Archbishop Laud to Vossius Feb. 24 (O.S.), 1633, which if the Doctor had seen he would not have omitted mentioning.

Then follows a quotation from Laud's letter to Vossius, professor of history at Amsterdam. It is in Latin; and, what is more, it is in that unusual variety of Latin which Laud took pleasure in using when writing to his associates. It was sure to make them reach for their glossaries. I shall not quote it in the original, but shall substitute a translation which Professors Birdsall and Wild, of Williams College, were so kind as to construct for me. It runs thus:

> I have very recently seen your letters to Goffe, etc. It is sheer imagination to assume that the Bishops of England wish to extend their jurisdiction over your churches. That does not occur to them even in their

sleep. Davenport, who at least possesses a poetic imagination, is romancing if he says this. For our most serene highness the King desires that neither his merchants nor others of his subjects grant preferment to Forbes or to any other like him in the English Church. Therefore when Forbes was dismissed, Goffe — to whom you have written — a learned man and discreet spokesman of our faith — was substituted for him by the votes of every one. What has this to do with your churches? But since that workshop reeks of Davenport, you shall have evidence of the man in his relations with us. Three years ago, more or less, he was tried in my presence when I was Bishop of London, etc. If as a traitor to his church and to the Reformed Church he is the more acceptable to your Amsterdam congregation, then may he enjoy his good fortune, and may you enjoy him!

When rereading what he had published concerning the history of the first fifteen years of the Bay Colony, Hutchinson inserted in the text a commentary upon the course of government and described a local incident to illustrate his point. The new material is this:

The magistrates and executive courts were vigilant in suppressing all offences against the authority of Government. Persons were tried and punished every term for disrespectful words of particular magistrates as well as of the legislative and executive courts. The Town of Hingham had chosen Bozoune Allen for their Captain and presented him to the General Court for confirmation, which it seems was not obtained during the session. Some of the inhabitants of Hingham were offended by the delay and used expressions concerning the liberty of an English free born subject which were judged derogatory to the authority of the General Court, for which they were convened before a magistrate and required to give bond to appear before a quarter court, which they refused to do and were committed to prison. They then petitioned the general court for a hearing before them as being a matter which concerned the liberty of the people, the peace of the churches and the glory of God, which would be made to appear; but the petition was dismissed and the petitioners fined 100*s*. When the Marshall came to Hingham to levy the fines, Mr. Peter Hubbard[1] the minister of the town desired to see his warrant and pronounced it insufficient, not being in his Majesty's name to whom he had been sworn, and added that they had sent to England for advice and expected an answer, that he looked upon the government as no more than a corporation in England without power to put men to death by virtue

[1] Peter Hobart.

of the patent or to do some other things they did. For this he was tried and found guilty of uttering divers speeches tending to sedition and contempt of the government contrary to the law of God and peace and welfare of the country, and the Court fined him twenty pounds and required him to enter into bonds with sureties for keeping the peace, etc. This looks like severity, though it seems necessary and that they could not otherwise have supported their authority.

Another interesting commentary on our ancestors was added to the text where it treats of the condition of the churches about 1670:

Separations and divisions in churches and religious societies [wrote Hutchinson] are liable to subdivisions *ad infinitum*, and it argues the perverseness of human nature, that the fiercest disputes and the strongest alienations are often caused by a difference of sentiment upon a single, and perhaps an immaterial, tenet only; and if the separatist renounces the tenet, he oftener joins to a Society from which he has differed in many other and more material points than to that from which he separated. Thus, in New England, a Baptist who separated from the Congregational churches on the point of Infant Baptism only, if he renounces the tenet, generally goes over to the Episcopal church, rather than to the Congregational from which he had separated.

One or two new passages in the text undoubtedly reflect the comments of readers. For instance, in the History as printed Hutchinson had given this instance of the privation endured by an early settler in 1630 and of his gratitude for such sustenance as he was able to obtain: "A good man, who had asked his neighbour to a dish of clams, after dinner returned thanks to God who had given them to suck of the abundance of the seas and of treasure hid in the sands." Why this passage called for a footnote is not clear, but I infer that some reader in England (presumably one who had never tasted steamed clams) was perplexed by the reference to "treasure hid in the sands." However that may have been, in revising the text Hutchinson added the following explanatory footnote: "Alluding to the clams which ly buried in the sands. Clams are not common in England. I have seen them at Manning Wee. Upon enquiry I was informed at the Inn that poor people sometimes digged them up for food." I gather, too, that the author's list of certain early New England sinners, their delinquencies, and the ways in which the culprits were punished had been a bright spot to more than one valiant reader who got as far as page 436

of Volume I. Accordingly Hutchinson saw fit to reward others who might progress to that extent by adding for their edification and entertainment a few more examples. I shall quote but two: "George Palmer, having committed folly with Margery Ruggs through her allurement, because he confessed voluntarily, was only set in the stocks." "Margery Ruggs for inticing and alluring George Palmer was censured to be severely whipped."

The corrections and additions for Volume II, which covers the period from 1691 to 1750, are comparatively few. In my transcripts they occupy only nine pages of longhand against eighty-seven for Volume I. It is conceivable that the author wearied of his task of revision by the time he reached this point; but knowing the conscientious thoroughness with which Hutchinson carried out any undertaking to which he had set his hand, I am inclined to attribute the diminution to another cause. The first volume, as originally written, was an experiment. The author had never before attempted the writing of history. His chief purpose was to put on paper the events of the first sixty years of the life of the Bay Colony. I think it will be agreed that the result was very dry reading. After the volume was printed, he received friendly and helpful criticism of his style, notably from Ezra Stiles, a future president of Yale College. Stiles, and probably other readers, told him that his narrative lacked life and that the book would be more enjoyable if the author made comments of his own upon the characters and careers of the central figures.[1] Hutchinson appears to have taken this advice; certainly the second volume shows improvement over the first. Consequently, when he began to revise Volume II, he found little that needed to be done. His only addition that calls for remark here concerns the composition of the Council under the new charter. That body consisted of twenty-eight members, elected by the House of Representatives, and it took the place of the Assistants under the old charter. Hutchinson's comment takes the form of a footnote and runs as follows:

> While the heads of the charter were under the consideration of the Board of Trade, a vote passed that Board, determining that the Deputy Governor and Secretary should be *ex officio* of the Council.

[1] Stiles's letter and Hutchinson's reply are printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 162–164.

It is difficult to account for the number of 28. Lycurgus, as Plutarch tells us, pitched upon the same number for his Senators also, and made the even number of 30 in all.

For the sake of clarity, Hutchinson should have said that the twenty-eight senators plus the two kings made the total number thirty. To his mind, therefore, it was entirely clear that those who drafted the charter of 1691 intended that the Council should consist of twenty-eight elected members plus the lieutenant-governor and the secretary *ex officio*, making a total of thirty as was the case in ancient Greece. In the third volume, as printed, there are elaborate footnotes to this effect;[1] but the point about the deputy-governor being *ex officio* a member of the Council meant so much to Thomas Hutchinson that he mentioned it here as well. He was still suffering from a burning memory of his exclusion from the Council in 1767, when he claimed his seat as of right because he was the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts-Bay — and was denied it.[2]

Finally we come to the manuscript of Volume III. How much does it contain that was not published by Hutchinson's grandson in 1828? The answer is: almost nothing. A careful collation with the printed version brings to light many minor variations, but none of any importance. Though the copy that went to the printer was considerably touched up by the editor of 1828, who appears to have liked his own phraseology and spelling better than that of his distinguished ancestor, the sense and substance of the original were not essentially changed. There is, however, one interesting sentence in Hutchinson's hand, which was not printed and was not intended to be printed. At the top of the page where the author began his enlivening sketches of James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, Joseph Hawley, John Adams, and John Hancock, Hutchinson — with that caution that was characteristic of him throughout his career — penned the following words: "Here may be inserted in the body, if thought proper, as follows."

So far I have been unable to estimate the importance or unimportance of Hutchinson's additions to his work when looked at as contributions to our knowledge of the history of Massachusetts. But whatever the ultimate appraisal may be, it is at least pleasant to re-

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[1] Pp. 174 and 176.

[2] History of Massachusetts-Bay, III. 174–176.

flect that within the boundaries of our state there is preserved — and well preserved — Governor Hutchinson's final revision of his History of Massachusetts-Bay.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read a paper entitled:

A YARN ABOUT PAUL DUDLEY

At the end of his interesting sketch of Paul Dudley, written for the continuation of Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Mr. Clifford K. Shipton said: "Much has been quoted against the character of Paul Dudley, largely from prejudiced sources." No better illustration of the truth of this remark could be adduced than the story which follows.

The famous "Speech of Miss Polly Baker" first appeared, so far as is known, in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1747.[1] Though its authorship was apparently never publicly admitted by Franklin, its attribution to him may be accepted with confidence.[2] In the same issue was printed —

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[1] XVII. 175–176.

[2] Sydney George Fisher asserted in 1898 that "One number of the *Gazette* contained Franklin's famous 'Speech of Polly Baker'" (True Benjamin Franklin, p. 139); but in 1905 the late Albert H. Smyth, a better authority, wrote: "The mystery surrounding the authorship and first publication of the 'Speech' remains an impenetrable mystery. The style is altogether Franklinian, and the story seems unquestionably to have been written by him, but I have searched *The Pennsylvania Gazette* in vain for it. It is not there." (Writings of Benjamin Franklin, x. 464 note.) Jefferson reached Paris on August 6, 1784, and Franklin left Passy on July 12, 1785. In a letter dated January 12, 1819, Jefferson related the following story of the Abbé Raynal which, he asserted, "The Doctor told me at Paris:"

"The Doctor & Silas Deane were in conversation one day at Passy on the numerous errors in the Abbe's *Histoire des deux Indes*, when he happened to step in. After the usual salutations, Silas Deane said to him 'The Doctor and myself Abbe, were just speaking of the errors of fact into which you have been led in your history.' 'Oh no, Sir,' said the Abbe, 'that is impossible. I took the greatest care not to insert a single fact, for which I had not the most unquestionable authority.' 'Why,' says Deane, 'there is the story of Polly Baker, and the eloquent apology you have put into her mouth, when brought before a court of Massachusetts to suffer punishment under a law, which you cite, for having had a bastard. I know there never was such a law in Massachusetts.' 'Be assured,' said the Abbe, 'you are mistaken, and that that is a true story. I do not immediately recollect indeed the particular information on which I quote it, but I am certain that I had for it unquestionable authority.' Doctor Franklin who had been for some

An EPIGRAM.

THE vainly anxious *Myra* leaves *
To passive judges her complaints:
Her cause wou'd awe them, were they knaves;
Her eyes wou'd bribe them, were they saints.

* *This may suit the beautiful* Polly Baker.[1]

In the issue for May, 1747, appeared the following:

Mr URBAN,

THE note to the Epigram on *Mira, p.* 194, was very aptly added, for when I was in *New England,* in the year 1745, I had the pleasure of seeing the celebrated *Polly Baker,* who was then, though near 60 years of age, a comely woman, and the wife of *Paul Dudley,* Esq; of *Roxbury,* about two miles from *Boston,* who marry'd her and had 15 children by her. I send you this information, because it has been insinuated, that the speech publish'd in her name, was entirely fictitious; that it could not be the speech of any woman (in which many females for different reasons concur) but was entirely the invention of some Templer or Garretteer.

It must be noted that it is the custom in this country,[2] for young persons between whom there is a courtship, or treaty of marriage, to lye together, the woman having her petticoats on, and the man his breeches, and afterwards, if they do not fall out, they confess the covenant at church, in the midst of the congregation, and to the minister, who declares the marriage legal; and if any thing criminal has been acted, orders a punishment accordingly, sometimes of forty stripes save one.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

WILLIAM SMITH [3]

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time shaking with unrestrained laughter at the Abbe's confidence in his authority for that tale, said, 'I will tell you, Abbe, the origin of that story. When I was a printer and editor of a newspaper, we were sometimes slack of news, and to amuse our customers, I used to fill up our vacant columns with anecdotes, and fables, and fancies of my own, and this of Polly Baker is a story of my making, on one of those occasions.' The Abbe without the least disconcert, exclaimed with a laugh, 'Oh, very well, Doctor, I had rather relate your stories than other men's truths.' " Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. P. L. Ford, x.121 note.

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, XVII. 194.

[2] This is the earliest reference to the custom of bundling, though not mentioned by that name, that I remember to have seen. Under the name of *tarrying* the Reverend Andrew Burnaby, who travelled in this country in 1759 and 1760, described the custom in his Travels (1775), pp. 83–84.

[3] Gentleman's Magazine, XVII. 211.

In the issue for June, 1747, was printed this communication:

Mr URBAN, *June* 1, 1747.

THE author of the letter in your Magazine for *May*, sign'd *William Smith*, is egregiously imposed upon; for 'tis well known, that *Paul Dudley*, Esq; never acted in any judicial capacity in *Connecticut*, but is chief justice of the province where he has always resided, and has been long married to a daughter of the late Gov. WINTHROP,[1] by whom he never had any children.

As they are of very good families, and he is one of the first rank in the country, 'tis pity their names should be ignorantly or wantonly used in support of a fictitious speech.

The scurrilous description of the customs of young persons, if in use at all, is among the very lowest sort of people only.

Yours, &c. L. AMERICANUS [2]

Finally, in the same magazine for July, 1748, appeared this humble apology:

WHEREAS, thro' the wicked contrivance of one *William Smith*, we unwarily publish'd in our Magazine for May 1747, a letter sign'd by him, which we are now fully sensible contains a most groundless, vile and injurious slander and imputation upon the Hon. *Paul Dudley*, Esq; his Majesty's chief justice of the province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, the principal province in *New England;* and his lady, a person of the most unblemish'd reputation, and remarkable during her whole life for her great modesty, virtue, and other amiable qualities: And whereas the said *William Smith* hath since absconded, so that he cannot lawfully be punish'd for his malicious and gross abuse, we being desirous that all possible reparation should be made in this case, do hereby publickly confess our great concern that we should suffer ourselves to be imposed upon, and become the means of publishing so great a calamity, and ask pardon of Mr *Dudley* and his lady for the same.

And whereas the said letter also contains a base and scandalous aspersion upon the inhabitants of the aforesaid province, by representing their customs in points of marriage as extremely irregular and indecent, con-

[1] Fitz John Winthrop (1639–1707), Governor of Connecticut. "L. Americanus" was astray in his genealogy. Paul Dudley married Lucy, daughter of John (1648–1708) and Elizabeth (Norton) Wainwright, of Ipswich, and had several children, all of whom died in infancy. Paul Dudley's sister Ann married John Winthrop (1681–1747; H.C. 1700), F.R.S., who was a son of Fitz John Winthrop's brother Wait Winthrop (1642–1717).

[2] Gentleman's Magazine, XVII. 295.

trary to the truth and to the standing laws of that province, approved by the king in council, we ask pardon of the said province for having publish'd the same.[1]

That, so far as I am aware, was the wind-up of the yarn. One would like to know the identity of "William Smith," if only for the purpose of paying tribute to an imagination so vivid as to cause him to see, state the age, describe the appearance, and name the husband of a woman who had never existed in the flesh. And who was "L. Americanus"? He could not have been Dudley's brother-in-law John Winthrop, then living in England (though he died August 1, 1747), for he would not have blundered about Dudley's wife. The apology submitted in July, 1748, was so abject as to suggest that Paul Dudley himself took legal steps.

The Editor presented by title, on behalf of Mr. Robert F. Seybolt, a communication entitled:

STUDENT LIBRARIES AT HARVARD, 1763–1764

Shortly after the fire of January 24, 1764, the residents of Harvard Hall, members of the classes 1765–1767, filed with the General Court inventories of their losses, with petitions for reimbursement. The records indicate that these appraisals were treated as just claims on the "publick treasury," and that allowances were made to the "sufferers." Naturally the students listed all their belongings, the usual miscellanea of books, wearing apparel, furniture, cooking utensils, and other objects.[2] Of particular interest are the books, which reflect the programme of studies and the reading of leisure hours.

For the most part the entries in the lists are unsatisfactory: the names of authors are omitted, or the titles are incorrectly cited. Often, too, the abbreviated titles do not indicate the character of the books. For the purpose of repairing the records so that they may reveal more clearly the nature of student reading and study of the period, complete bibliographical citations are necessary.

In attempting to supply these, I have purposely omitted such books

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, XVIII. 332.

[2] The records, preserved in Mass. Archives, LVIII, have been reproduced by Mr. F. Apthorp Foster in the Publications of this Society, XIV. 2–43. My paper is merely a footnote to Mr. Foster's.

as Johnson's Dictionary and Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, since they are referred to by their undergraduate owners in such a way as to need no further identification. Of the remainder all but two titles have been identified. In arranging the bibliographical material for them I have pooled the titles that appear in fourteen of the fifteen inventories and have listed them alphabetically by authors in so far as the authors are known. It has not seemed necessary to give the dates of all the editions of these books, and I have given only that of the earliest that could be discovered. Furthermore, I have made no attempt to supply titles for such entries as "Virgil," "Tully," "greek and Latin grammars," "Hebrew Psalter," "Greek Testament," "Two Psalm Books," or "An Accidence," except where the exact edition used is indicated.

By way of summarizing the titles which follow and the others which are not given here, it is interesting to point out that Virgil is mentioned 22 times; the Bible, 18; Cicero, 17; Greek grammars, 14; books on logic, 13; Latin grammars, 12; Greek and Latin Testaments, 11 each; Hebrew Psalters, rhetorics, Greek catechisms, and Greek lexicons, 9 each; Clarke's Corderius, Wollebius's Compendium, and geographies, 8 each; Homer and Latin lexicons, 7 each; the Psalms, 6; Caesar's Commentaries, Euclid, and Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, 5 each. With the exception of the lexicons these were texts, and they indicate the nature of the programme of studies which obtained throughout the eighteenth century. Of the list as a whole only a few titles could be classed as "light reading" — the voyages, "6 Plays,"[1] and various periodicals; but it is not likely that students who owned novels or other books regarded as unsuitable for undergraduates would have placed such books in their inventories.

Freeholder.

JOSEPH ADDISON. The Free-Holder, or political essays. London, 1715–16.

Whole Duty of Mann.

RICHARD ALLESTREE. The Whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all, but especially the meanest reader. London, 1677.

[1] Listed by Stephen Hall. See our Publications, XIV. 30.

Confutation of the Arians.

Arianisme Confuted without Dispute, by an historical scheme of the material object, of salvifick faith showing by what progresses its terms have become thro the various peroids [*sic*] of divine dispensation more explicit. London, 1720.

Travels of 14 Eng. Men to Jeru^{m}.

T. B. The Travels of Fourteen Englishmen, in 1669, from Scanderoon to Tripoly, Joppa, Ramah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, the River Jordan, the Lake of Sodom and Gemorrah. London, 1683.

Baileys Dictionary.
Baileys Exercise.
Polyanthea.

Nathan Bailey. An Universal Etymological English Dictionary. 2 vols. London, 1731.

Nathan Bailey. English and Latin Exercises for Schoolboys, to translate into Latin systematically, comprising all the rules of grammar. London, 1706.

Nathan Bailey. Polyanthea, a Famous Collection of Commonplaces in alphabetical order, made first by Domini Nani de Mirabella [Venice, 1507], of great service to orators, preachers, &c of the lower class. 2 vols. London, 1731.

Italian Convert.

Nicolas Balbani. The Italian Convert, newes from Italy, of a second Moses; or, the life of Galeacius Carracciolus the noble Marquess of Vico. Containing the story of his admirable conversion from popery, forsaking a rich marquesdome for the gospels sake. London, 1639.

Barnard's Sermons on ye Imperfection of ye Creature &c.

John Barnard. The Imperfection of the Creature, and the excellency of the divine commandment. Boston, 1747.

Berry Street Sermons.

Berry-Street Sermons, being a collection of discourses on the principal heads of the Christian religion. 2 vols. London, 1758.

The Cadet.

SAMUEL BEVER. The Cadet; a military treatise. London, 1756.

Boyer's French Grammar.

ABEL BOYER. The Compleat French Master. London, 1694.

Boyle's Voyages.

ROBERT BOYLE. The Voyages and Adventures of Captain R[obert] B[oyle]. 2nd edition. London, 1728.

Brattles Logicks.

See above, p. 393.

Burgersdic[s] Logic.

See above, p. 172.

Hebrew Bucstorf.

Buxtorf Lexicon.

JOHANN BUXTORF. Biblia Hebraea, cum utraque Masora et Targum. 3 vols. Basel, 1618–19.

JOHANN BUXTORF. See above, p. 396.

Hebrew Bethny.

VICTOR BYTHNER. Lingua Eruditorum. Hoc est, nova et methodica institutio linguae sanctae usui eorum quibus fontes Israëlis plenè intelligere, & ex illis limpidissimas acquas haurire, curae cordique est, accommodata. Oxford, 1638.

Castalio's Dial[s].

SÉBASTIEN CHÂTEILLON. Dialogorum Sacrorum ad linguam et mores puerorum formandos libri IV. Antwerp, 1552.

Doc[t] Chauncey's Dudleian Lectures.

CHARLES CHAUNCY. The Validity of Presbyterian Ordination Asserted and Maintained. A discourse delivered at the anniversary Dudleian-lecture at Harvard-College in Cambridge, in New-England, May 12, 1762. Boston, 1762.

Cicero Delp.[1]

M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes. Interpretatione et notis illustravit C. [de Hallot] de Merouville; ad usum Delphini. 3 vols. Paris, 1684.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae ad Familiares; interpretatione et notis illustravit P. Quartier; in usum Delphini. Paris, 1685.

Select Fables of Æsop by Clerk.

H. Clarke. Fabulae Aesopi Selectae. With an English translation. Boston, 1787. 10th edition. London, 1789.[2]

2 Clark's Corderius's.

Clarks Erasmus.

Clark's Introduction.

Justin's History by Clerk.

John Clarke. Corderii Colloquiorum Centuria Selecta; or, a select century of Cordery's colloquies, with an English translation as literal as possible, designed for the use of beginners of the Latin tongue. London, 1718.

John Clarke. Erasmi Colloquia Selecta. With an English translation. London, 1720.

John Clarke. An Introduction to the Making of Latin, comprising the substance of Latin syntax. London, 1740.

John Clarke. Justini Historiae Philippicae; cum versione Anglica. London, 1759.

Coles Dictionary.

Elisha Coles. A Dictionary, English-Latin and Latin-English. London, 1677.

Cooper's D° [Sermon] on Titus 2. 6.

William Cooper. Serious Exhortations Address'd to Young Men. A sermon preached on the Lord's Day, May 14, 1732. Boston, 1732.

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[1] The Delphin editions: a set of Latin classics for the use of the dauphin ("ad usum delphini"), son of Louis XIV.

[2] I have been unable to locate an edition which could have been used at the time of the fire.

2 Observations on the Classicks.

GISBERT CUPER. Observationum Libri III; on different Greek and Latin authors. Utrecht, 1670.[1]

Dares' Trojan War.

DICTYS CRETENSIS and DARES PHRYGIUS. De Bello Trojano. London, 1702.

2 Setts of Precept^r.

ROBERT DODSLEY. The Preceptor: containing a general course of education. 2 vols. London, 1748.

Drake's Voyages.

The Voyages of Sir F[rancis] D[rake] into the West Indies, and round about the world. London, 1683.

Dugards Rhetorick.

Select Dialogues of Lucian by Dugard.

WILLIAM DUGARD. See above, p. 365, note 2.

WILLIAM DUGARD. Luciani; Dialogorum Selectorum Libri Duo. London, 1685.

Edwards on the Affections.

JONATHAN EDWARDS. A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections. Boston, 1746.

Erskins Gospel Sonnits.

RALPH ERSKINE. Gospel Sonnets; or, Spiritual Songs. 2nd edition. Edinburgh, 1726.

Farnaby & Dugard's Rhetor^c.

THOMAS FARNABY. Index Rhetoricus scholis et institutioni tenerioris aetatis accommodatus. Cui adjiciuntur formulae oratoriae. London, 1633. (For Dugard, see above.)

Fisher's Arithmetick.

GEORGE FISHER. Cocker's Arithmetick Corrected. London, 1725. (43rd edition of Cocker's Arithmetic.)

[1] A fourth Book was published at Deventer in 1678.

Mr Flavils Method of Grace.

JOHN FLAVEL. The Method of Grace, in bringing home the eternal redemption, contrived by the Father, and accomplished by the Son through the effectual application of the Spirit unto God's elect. London, 1680.

The Sin & Folly of unlawful Pleasures, A Sermon.

JAMES FORDYCE. The Folly, Infamy and Misery of Unlawful Pleasure. Edinburgh, 1760.

Gordens Geographical Grammar.

PATRICK GORDON. Geography Anatomized; or, a compleat geographical grammar. London, 1693.

Gravesand's Mathl Elements.

WILLEM JACOB'S GRAVESANDE. Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy, confirmed by experiments, or an introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. 2 vols. London, 1720.

Spiritual Warfare a new Book.

ANDREW GRAY. The Spiritual Warfare; or, some sermons concerning the nature of mortification, together with the right exercise & spiritual advantages thereof. Edinburgh, 1671.

Nomen Clator.

FRANCIS GREGORY. Nomenclatura Brevis Anglo-Latino-Graeca in usum scholarum. Together with examples of the five declensions of nouns, with the words in propria quae Maribus, and quae genus, reduced to each declension. London, 1675.

Guthrie's Tryal of Int. in X.

Guthree on Tully.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE. A Short Treatise of the Christian's Great Interest, divided into two parts; the first whereof containeth the trial of a saving interest in Christ. Edinburgh, 1659.

WILLIAM GUTHRIE. M. T. Cicero de Oratore; or, his three dialogues upon the character and qualifications of an orator. Translated into English. London, 1742.

The Tea Table.

ELIZA HAYWOOD. The Tea-Table, or a conversation between some polite persons of both sexes at a lady's visiting day. London, 1725.

Hedericus'es Lexicon.

BENJAMIN HEDERICH. Lexicon Manuale Graecum. London, 1722.

Hill's Lexicon.

JOSEPH HILL. This is an edition of Schrevel's Lexicon. See above, p. 428.

Horace Delp.'

Opera cum interp. et notis P. Rodellii, ad usum Delphini. London, 1690.

Opera cum notis L. Desprez in usum Delphini. London, 1699.

Hutchinson's Xenophontis de Cyri &c.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON (1698–1769). De Cyri Institutione Libri Octo. Oxford, 1727.

Aristocles Syst of Morality.

[SAMUEL JOHNSON (1696–1772)]. Ethices Elementa: or the first principles of moral philosophy. By Aristocles. Boston, 1746.

Kennett's Roman Antiquities.

BASIL KENNET. Romae Antiquae Notitia, or the antiquities of Rome. London, 1696.

King's Heathen Gods.

WILLIAM KING. An Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes, necessary for the understanding of the ancient poets. London, 1710.

Gentleman's Library.

[ANDREW KIPPIS and others.] The Library: or, moral and critical magazine. By a Society of Gentlemen. 2 vols. London, 1761.

Seneca's Morals Englishd.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE. Seneca's Morals by Way of Abstract. 5th edition. London, 1613.

Lillies Grammar.

WILLIAM LILY. A Shorte Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used; compyled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intende to attayne the knowledge of the Latine tongue. London, 1577.

Littlton's Diction^{y} Eng. & Lat. 4to.

ADAM LITTLETON. Linguae Latinae Liber Dictionarius Quadripartitus. London, 1678.

Philosophic Solitude; a poem.

[WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.] Philosophic Solitude: or, choices of a rural life. A poem. By a gentleman educated at Yale College. New York, 1747.

Martin's Philosoph^{l} Grammar.

BENJAMIN MARTIN. The Philosophical Grammar; being a view of the present state of experimental physiology, or natural philosophy. London, 1735.

Mason on self Knowledge.

JOHN MASON. Self-knowledge. A treatise, shewing the nature and benefit of that important science, and the way to attain it. London, 1745.

Maul's Sermon on moral Virtue, a Book against it & a Vindication of Sa^{d} Sermon.

Milner's Greek Grammar.

JOHN MILNER. A Practical Grammar of the Greek Tongue. London, 1740.

Monies's Grammar.

JUDAH MONIS. Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet. A grammar of the Hebrew tongue, published more especially for the use of the

students of Harvard-College at Cambridge in New England. Boston, 1735.

Life of Czar.

JOHN MOTTLEY. The History of the Life of Peter I. Emperor of Russia. 3 vols. London, 1739.

Oldfield's Logick.

JOSHUA OLDFIELD. An Essay towards the Improvement of Reason; in the pursuit of learning and conduct of life. London, 1707.

Origin of Human Soul.

An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, its origin, properties and faculties &c. London, 1750.

Otis on Prosodia.

JAMES OTIS (1725–1783). The Rudiments of Latin Prosody; with a dissertation on letters, and the principles of harmony, in poetic and prosaic composition. Boston, 1760.

Owen on ye Divine Original of the Scriptures.

JOHN OWEN (1616–1683). Of the Divine Originall, Authority, Self-evidencing Light, and Power of the Scriptures. Oxford, 1659.

Ozels Logick.

JOHN OZELL. Logic, or the Art of Thinking. London, 1717.

Pasor's Lexicon in N^w^ Test^m^.

See above, p. 135.

Pomfrett's Poems.

JOHN POMFRET. Poems upon Several Occasions. London, 1699.

Quakerism display'd.

Reusneri heroica Symbola.

NIKOLAUS REUSNER. Symbola Heroica Imperatorum et Caesarum Romanorum. London, 1618.

3 Grammars by Robinson Monis[1] & Sewall.

THOMAS ROBINSON (ROBERTSON). Lillies Rules Construed. Whereunto are added T. Robinson's [Robertson's] Heteroclites, the Latin syntaxis and Qui Mihi. London, 1642.

STEPHEN SEWALL. An Hebrew Grammar. Boston, 1763.

Rollin's ancient History wth Maps.

Rollin's Belles Lettres.

CHARLES ROLLIN. The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians. 2nd edition. 10 vols. London, 1738–40.

CHARLES ROLLIN. The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres. 3rd edition. 2 vols. London, 1742.

Schiekards Grammar.

WILHELM SCHICKARD. Institutiones Linguae Ebraeae, noviter recognitae et auctae. Jena, 1647.

2^{d} & 3^{d} Vol Sherlock's Serm.

THOMAS SHERLOCK. Several Discourses Preached at the Temple Church. 4 vols. 2nd ed. London, Oxford, 1754–58.

Smith's Theory of moral Sentiments.

ADAM SMITH. The Theory of Moral Sentiments. London, 1759.

Sylvanus' Homer.

GEORGIUS SYLVANUS. Homeri Iliados liber primus. London, 1685.

Tate and Brady's psalms.

NAHUM TATE and NICHOLAS BRADY. A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches. London, 1704.

Textor's D^{o} [Epistles].

JOHANNES RAVISIUS TEXTOR. Epistolae. Paris, 1549.

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[1] For Monis, see above, p. 457.

Trap on Virgil.

JOSEPH TRAPP. The Aeneis of Virgil, translated into English verse. 2 vols. London, 1718–20. 2nd edition, 3 vols. London, 1735.

Duke of Buckingham's Works.

GEORGE VILLIERS, 2nd Duke of Buckingham. Works. London, 1704–5.

Vinson's Catechism.

See Thomas Vincent, above, p. 169.

Virgil in usum.

P. V. M. opera; illustravit Ruaeus in usum Delphini. 2 vols. Paris, 1722.

The Mariners Compass.

ANDREW WAKELEY. The Mariner's Compass Rectified: containing tables for the hours of the day. 3rd ed. London, 1684.

Various prospects of Mankind, Providence &c[a].

ROBERT WALLACE. Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature and Providence. London, 1761.

Ward's Mathematicks.

JOHN WARD. The Young Mathematician's Guide; being a plain and easie introduction to the mathematicks. London, 1709. 7th ed., London, 1740: "To which is now first added, a supplement, containing the history of logarithms, and an index."

Wats's Astronomy.
Watts' Logic & Improvement of the Mind 2 Volumes.
Watts' Strength & Weakness of hum[n] Reason.

ISAAC WATTS. The Knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth Made Easy, or the first principles of astronomy and geography explain'd by the use of globes and maps, etc. London, 1726.

ISAAC WATTS. Logick: or the right use of reason in the inquiry after truth. London, 1725.

News from the Moon.

A Review of the State of the *Britiſh Nation*, Vol. 7. Numb. 14. Page 53.

TUESDAY, May 2. 1710.

I Suppoſe Every body, that know any thing of the Author of this Paper, knows, That when he having ſome Years ago Travell'd a Long Journey, and was carry'd up into the Lunar World in a well known Engine, contriv'd for Elevations for our famous *High Church* Men, and which was Call'd a *Conſolidator*; at his return he gave the World ſome account of his Curious Obſervations— But one Story he never yet told, and which ſeems reſerv'd to the preſent occaſion. — Be it Known to you all then, that the Laſt time I happen'd to be travelling to the World in the

FIRST PAGE OF NEWS FROM THE MOON

Isaac Watts. The Improvement of the Mind; or, a supplement to the art of logick. London, 1711.

Isaac Watts. The Strength and Weakness of Human Reason. London, 1731.

Westminster Ditto [Grammar].

See above, p. 397, under Camden.

New-England's Lamentations.

John White (*c* 1677–1760). New England's Lamentations under these three heads. The decay of the power of godliness; the danger of Arminian principles; the declining state of our church-order, government, and discipline. Boston, 1734.

A Book by Mr. Wigglesworth.

Edward Wigglesworth. The Doctrine of Reprobation Briefly Considered: being the substance of some lectures in Harvard-College. Boston, 1763.[1]

Wolebius.

See above, p. 434.

Mr. Chester N. Greenough presented the following paper:

DEFOE IN BOSTON[2]

On March 13, 1721, the Boston Gazette advertised as "just published" and "to be sold by Benjamin Gray Bookseller" a small eight-page pamphlet called "News from the Moon. A Review of the State of the British Nation, Vol. 7, Numb. 14. Page 53. Tuesday, May 2, 1710." At the January meeting, 1910, of this Society, our late associate Andrew McFarland Davis submitted this pamphlet to a very careful examination, but felt that there remained "several

[1] This was the latest work by Wigglesworth, and one likely to have been read by students of 1763–64. The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter, July 28, 1763, announces that it was "This Day Publish'd."

[2] An attempt at a partial solution of Mr. Davis's "Bibliographical Puzzle" (our Publications, xiii. 2–15).

questions for future settlement by the bibliographers engaged in the study of Defoe's works."

The main questions proposed by Mr. Davis were: (1) the possibility of an Edinburgh edition of the seventh volume of Defoe's Review and its relation to the London issues of that volume; (2) the identity of the printer of News from the Moon, conjecturally supposed to be James Franklin; (3) the relation of News from the Moon to certain other writings and certain events of that period. Let us, in that order, consider these three topics.

I

Following the specifications on the first page of News from the Moon, Mr. Davis asked the authorities of the British Museum to send him a copy of Volume VII, No. 14, of Defoe's Review, and indicated the nature of the subject-matter which he naturally expected to find in that number. He was told that the number which he required was not No. 14, dated Tuesday, May 2, 1710, and paged 53–56, but No. 15, dated Saturday, April 29, 1710, and paged 57–60. Mr. Davis was naturally puzzled at these discrepancies. However, with the assistance of our associate Albert Matthews, and with the aid of an incomplete run of the seventh volume of the Review owned by the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Davis made what was, in view of the inaccessibility of much of the material involved, a brilliant conjecture. That there was an Edinburgh edition of the sixth volume of Defoe's Review had long been known.[1] Mr. Davis and Mr. Matthews thought, though they were unable to prove, that there might have been an Edinburgh edition of the seventh volume, or of a portion of that volume, and that such a volume might contain a number that would correspond in subject-matter, date, numbering, and pagination with News from the Moon.

The conjecture was correct: the first thirty-five numbers, at least, of the seventh volume of the Review exist in an issue which in respect to numbering, pagination, and dates, and to a certain extent in subject-matter and typography, are unlike the London issue. One of these numbers corresponds exactly (except for minute details in

[1] William Lee, Daniel Defoe: His Life and Recently Discovered Writings (1869), I. 155.

Vol. VII. [53] Numb. 14.

A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE BRITISH NATION.

Tuesday, May 2. 1710.

I Suppose, every Body, that knows any thing of the Author of this Paper, knows, that when he having some Years ago travell'd a long Journey, and was carry'd up into the Lunar World in a well known Engine, contriv'd for Elevations by our Famous *High-Church* Men, and which was call'd a *Conſolidator*; at his Return he gave the World some Account of his curious Obſervations—But one Story he never yet told, and which ſeems reſerv'd to the preſent Occaſion.

Be it known to you all then, That the laſt time I happen'd to be travelling to the World in the Moon, as I was paſſing thro' a great City about my lawful Occaſions——*What my Buſineſs was there, is nothing to any Body.* But I found the People in a great Hurry, dragging a poor *Taylor* away to one of their Courts of Juſtice ——*Lord have Mercy upon the poor Man!* thought I, what will become of him? For he look'd to me juſt as an *Engliſh Preſbyterian* would do, if he were got into the Hands of the *High-Church* Rabble; (*viz.*) Like a Man that expected to be murther'd by them.

Being mightily concern'd, you may be ſure, to ſee the poor Man us'd thus, *I enquir'd who he was*, and what was the Crime for which he was thus treated —I met with many Relations differing from one another about him, *for the People there tell the ſame Story a great many*

phrasing) with News from the Moon. Let us call these thirty-five numbers the Edinburgh issue of the Review, though probably it was printed in London. The Library of the University of Texas, which has these Edinburgh issues, very kindly supplied a photostat of the number that was reprinted in News from the Moon and a few essential facts concerning the other thirty-four numbers. Although this discovery is not of startling importance, it is perhaps better that, since the question was raised by a member of this Society, the answer should not be made by an outsider.

Careful examination would almost certainly reveal some marked differences between the relation of the London to the Edinburgh issues of Volume VI and the relation of the London to the Edinburgh issues of the first thirty-five numbers of Volume VII.

We know that Defoe was in Scotland during much, if not all, of the latter part of the period (from the end of March, 1709, to the end of February, 1710) covered by Volume VI. He was in Scotland by September 13, 1709.[1] He was in northern Scotland when he wrote the Edinburgh issue of Review, No. 73 (September 22). In No. 84 (Edinburgh, October 18) he says (p. 33, last sentence): "I am writing this paper in Scotland, where I could look out of my Window, and see the Fields standing full of the Shocks of Corn." He was in Scotland when he wrote the Edinburgh issue of No. 95 (November 12). At the end of December (London No. 115) a parcel of Reviews from Edinburgh missed the Wednesday post and did not arrive until Friday, December 30; therefore there was no London issue of Thursday, December 29. On January 28, 1710, the Review (Edinburgh No. 128) announced that the author was "leaving Scotland for a time." Thus Defoe probably remained in Scotland from early September, 1709, until almost the end of January, 1710 — the period, roughly, from No. 70 to No. 128 of the Edinburgh issue. In March, 1710, Defoe was apparently in London: the material of his Edinburgh No. 142 (March 2) had been published in London on February 25; on March 8, he wrote to Stanhope offering to appear at any time as a witness against Sacheverell.[2] The late appearance of the Edinburgh Nos. 147, 148, and 149 was explained in the paper as due to

[1] "The Author of this Paper now at Edinburgh" (Review, VI, London No. 70).

[2] The letter is reprinted in Earl Stanhope's History of England (1872 ed.), II. 292–293.

the fact that the letters "which bring the printed copies from England" had gone astray. The notice spoke of the author as one "who lives so remote."

In the early days of the seventh volume, that is, between April 1 and June 20, 1710, Defoe seems to have been in London. There are letters from Defoe dated from London on April 7 and on June 17; and passages in the Review of April 13, June 1, and June 8 imply, to say the least, that he was then in the city or near at hand.

Of these thirty-five numbers it would seem that London No. 6 corresponds to nothing in the Edinburgh series and that Edinburgh No. 35 corresponds to nothing in the London series. With these two exceptions, the contents seem to be substantially the same. Nos. 1–5 of the two issues correspond in subject-matter. London Nos. 7–35 correspond to Edinburgh Nos. 6–34. And after No. 35 the Edinburgh issues seem not to exist.

So far as the text may be regarded as conclusive, one could not confidently say whether the Boston printer of News from the Moon followed the London or the Edinburgh issue. Disregarding punctuation, italics, and the like (as the Boston printer obviously did), there are thirty-three variations between the Boston reprint and the two other versions. In thirty-one of these, both the London and the Edinburgh issue differ from the Boston reprint, though not from each other. In one instance the Boston reprint follows the Edinburgh issue, which differs from the London issue. And in one instance the Boston reprint follows the London issue, which differs from the Edinburgh issue. In each of these last two cases the Boston reprint avoids a trifling typographical error (*Gases* for *Cases*, *trangress* for *transgress*) which either the London or the Edinburgh printer had committed.[1]

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[1] A complete list of the variants is attempted below:

News from the Moon	Review, Vol. VII, No. 14 (Tuesday, May 2, 1710, Edinburgh)	Review, Vol. VII, No. 15 (Saturday, April 29, 1710, London)
P. 1, l. 7: for	by	by
P. 2, l. 5: their court	one of their courts	one of their courts
P. 2, ll. 20–21: with several	with the several	with the several
P. 2, l. 27: &	and	and
P. 3, ll. 2–3: the Drunkard	a Drunkard	a Drunkard
P. 3, l. 9: Streets	Street	Street

But since the Boston reprint agrees with the Edinburgh issue in date, number, and pagination, and thus differs from the London issue in each of those points, we may confidently say that the Boston printer followed the Edinburgh issue.

II

Who printed News from the Moon? Its date of publication seems approximately fixed by the advertisement which, on March 13, 1721, declares it to have been then "just published." The place

P. 3, ll. 16–17: There are Strict Laws, any Taylor making [*sic*]	[same]	[same]
P. 3, l. 18: &	and	and
P. 3, l. 19: Transgress	transgress	trangress
P. 4, l. 20: panting	Painting	Painting
P. 4, ll. 23–24: One said, *that's at me*	One said, d . . . m the Dog, *that's at me*	[same as Edin.]
P. 4, l. 28: That's such	That such	That such
P. 5, l. 1: L ——	L —— d	L —— d
P. 5, ll. 4–5: it was far	far was it	far was it
P. 5, l. 5: the poor Author	the poor Author	tht poor Author
P. 5, l. 12: had bespoke	bespoke	bespoke
P. 5, l. 16: ones Eye-sight	one Eye-sight	one Eye-sight
P. 5, ll. 29–30: along the Streets	about Streets	about Streets
P. 5, l. 30: such Cases	such Gases	such Cases
P. 6, ll. 7–8: Prince Nobility	prime Nobility	prime Nobility
P. 6, l. 9: *D —— 's*	*Dog's*	*Dog's*
P. 6, l. 11: begins	began	began
P. 6, l. 14: your Neighbour	my Neighbour	my Neighbour
P. 6, ll. 20–21: Lordship, and if	Lordship, you Dog, and if	Lordship, you Dog and if
P. 6, l. 27: in order to sent	in order to send	in order to send
P. 7, l. 1: *That —— has*	*That Dog has*	*That Dog has*
P. 7, l. 7: *was made for*	*was for*	*was for*
P. 7, l. 27: &	and	and
P. 7, l. 29: &	and	and
P. 8 [omitted]	C. Did you make it for a *Representer*, or Character-Coat? T. Yes Sir.	[same as Edin.]
P. 8, l. 31: Their Guilt	Their own Guilt	Their own Guilt
P. 8, l. 35: to the 114 Gentlemen	to 114 Gentlemen	to 114 Gentlemen
P. 8, l. 39: Every one	Every Man	Every Man

of publication is assumed to have been Boston because it was advertised there, it was to be had of a Boston bookseller, and it seems to concern Massachusetts affairs. The printer is often assumed to have been James Franklin. The Brinley Catalogue, No. 1441, attributes the work, questioningly, to him.[1] Charles Evans (American Bibliography, I. 302) describes the pamphlet as "[Boston: Printed by J. Franklin. 1721.]" The form of the entry would seem to indicate certainty about all three of the facts recorded. Mr. Ford definitely declares James Franklin to have been the printer.[2] But none of these give their evidence. Mr. Davis suggests[3] that "the specific attribution to the press of J. Franklin may have been the result of a careful examination of the font of type and the various ornaments used in the pamphlet." Feeling that judgment on the basis of type was too technical for me to indulge in, I have wholly ignored that phase of the subject. It is greatly to be desired that some expert should tell us, if he can, who printed the pamphlets that, like News from the Moon, bear no printer's name but obviously concern Massachusetts affairs at a time when disputes were warm and the press was sharply watched.

I have, however, collected a little evidence based on the printer's ornaments that appear on the first page — except for that there is no title-page — of News from the Moon; and I present that evidence briefly, for whatever it may be worth to some later investigator more learned in the details of printing.

The ornaments in question[4] were used in books and pamphlets printed at London from 1711 on. The Critical Specimen, which is a satirical little pamphlet aimed at John Dennis, has them on its title-page. But unfortunately the printer's name is not given: "London: printed in the Year, 1711" is all that the title-page tells us. In 1714, there were two editions, both bearing these ornaments, of Churchill's Annals, both "printed for S[arah] Popping at the Black Raven in Pater-Noster-Row; and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster." The work leans strongly to the Whig side, praising Marlborough's "Glorious Actions both in the Field and Cabinet."

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[1] The conjecture is presumably that of J. Hammond Trumbull.

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., LVII. 340.

[3] Our Publications, XIII. 14.

[4] See the reproduction opposite p. 461.

In the same year (1714) John Dennis published Whigg Loyalty, which was "Printed by T. Warner near Ludgate," and which uses the ornaments. And in 1716 we have them in Samuel Rosewell's "The Protestant Dissenters Hopes from the Present Government. Freely Declar'd. And the Grounds that support them. . . . London: Printed and sold by *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane*, *J. Harrison* at the *Royal-Exchange*, *S. Boulter* at *Charing-Cross*, and *T. Fox* in *Westminster Hall*."[1]

Of works printed in Boston which make use of these ornaments and which bear the imprint of James Franklin, I find:

1718. Increase Mather and others, Sermon, Charge, etc., at Thomas Prince's Ordination. Boston: printed by J. Franklin for S. Gerrish. HCL.

1719. Richard Bernard, The Isle of Man. Boston: reprinted by J. Franklin for B. Eliot. Harvard-Andover.

1720. A Letter from One in the Country. Boston: J. Franklin for D. Henchman. MHS.[2]

(Date doubtful). Nathan Bailey, Preliminary Exercises on the Most Easy and Fundamental Rules of Syntaxis, English and Latin. Boston: printed by J. Franklin for D. Henchman. HCL (imperfect).

Of works printed in Boston which made use of these ornaments and which bear the names of other printers than James Franklin, there are, at least, the following:

1718. Increase Mather, A Sermon Preached at Roxbury, October 29, 1718. When Mr. Thomas Walter Was Ordained. Boston: printed by S. Kneeland for J. Edwards. HCL.

1719. An Addition to the Present Melancholy Circumstances of the Province Considered. Boston: printed by S. Kneeland for B. Gray and J. Edwards. MHS.[3]

1720. [Oliver Noyes?],[4] A Letter from a Gentleman, containing some remarks upon the several answers given unto Mr. Colman's entituled, The Distressed State of the Town of Boston. Boston: printed by S. Kneeland for Nicholas Boone, Benjamin Gray, and John Edwards. BPL.[5]

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[1] The first of these works is in my own possession; the others are in the Harvard College Library.

[2] Title-page reproduced in facsimile, showing the ornaments, in Andrew McF. Davis, Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 415.

[3] Facsimile reproduction, showing ornaments, in id., I. 367.

[4] Mr. Davis's conjecture, id., II. 18.

[5] Facsimile reproduction of title-page, showing ornaments, in id., II. 3.

1720. A Vindication of the Remarks of one in the country upon The Distressed State of Boston, from some exceptions made against 'em in a letter to Mr. Colman. Boston: printed by S. Kneeland for D. Henchman. BPL.[1]

1721. [Cotton Mather], The World Alarm'd. Boston: printed by B. Green for S. Gerrish. MHS.

1721. Cotton Mather, The Accomplish'd Singer. Boston: printed by B. Green for S. Gerrish. HCL.

1724. Thomas Foxcroft, God's Face Set against an Incorrigible People. Boston: printed by B. Green for John Eliot. HCL.

1726. Thomas Foxcroft, Ministers, Spiritual Parents. A sermon preach'd at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. John Lowell. Boston: printed by B. Green for Samuel Gerrish. HCL.

Of works printed (or supposed to have been printed) in Boston which make use of these ornaments and which bear the name of no printer, there are, at least, the following:

1720. Some Proposals to Benefit the Province. Boston: printed for and sold by Benj. Eliot. AAS.[2]

1721. [John Wise?], A Friendly Check, from a Kind Relation, to the Chief Cannoneer, founded on a late information, dated N.E. Castle-William, 1720,21. MHS.[3]

1721. [John Wise], A Word of Comfort to A Melancholy Country; or the bank of credit fairly defended. By Amicus Patriae. Boston. HCL.

1722. [Cotton Mather], The Minister. Boston. HCL.

1724. [Edward Wigglesworth], Sober Remarks on A Modest Proof of the Order and Government Settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church. 2nd ed. Boston. Printed for Samuel Gerrish. HCL.

1725/6. The Explanatory Charter Granted to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay Anno 1725. MHS.

(N.d.). A Letter from the Author of the Postscript of the defence of a book, entituled, A Modest Proof of Church Government, &c. to Jonathan Dickinson, author of the remarks on that postscript. HCL.

From these few titles — four by James Franklin, four by Samuel Kneeland, four by Bartholomew Green, and seven by unknown print-

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[1] Davis (Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 41–42) conjecturally ascribes the authorship to the Reverend Edward Wigglesworth. Facsimile of title-page, showing ornaments, in id., II. 19.

[2] First page, showing ornaments, reproduced in facsimile in id., II. 97.

[3] First page, showing ornaments, reproduced in facsimile in id., II. 245.

A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE British Nation.

VOL. VI.

PREFACE.

I Am come now to the Conclusion of the Sixth Volume of this Work; tho' like a teeming Woman, I have thought every Volume should be the last —— Where it will end now, and when, God only knows, and Time only will discover; *as for me*, I know nothing of it.

This particular Paper, tho' written at the End of the Work, carries the Title of the Preface, more because it is placed by the Bookseller at the Frontispiece, than that it is any thing of an Introduction to the Volume; for it is really written at the Close of the Whole, and its Subject very particular.

We have had a most distracting turbulent Time for the last two Months of this Year, occasion'd by the Prosecution and Defence of a *High-Flying* Clergy-man, who has undertaken, *in the Teeth* of the very Parliament *as well as of the Nation*, to justifie and defend the exploded ridiculous Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*.

HALF-TITLE OF DEFOE'S REVIEW, VOLUME VI, EDINBURGH ISSUE

ers — no positive conclusion can be drawn. As matters stand, the assumption that James Franklin printed News from the Moon, in so far as that assumption is based on the use of certain printer's ornaments, seems unsafe.

The Boston Athenaeum has a copy of the Edinburgh issue of Defoe's Review, Vol. VI, which bears upon its half-title the autograph of "J. Franklin,"[1] as well as the inscription "Andrew Craigies Book 1756."[2] The "J. Franklin" of the Athenaeum volume may be James Franklin, or his father Josiah,[3] or his brother John, who was postmaster of Boston when he died. No authentic autograph of James Franklin seems to be known. The Athenaeum signature bears a fairly close resemblance — especially in the flourish at the end — to the autograph of John Franklin that is reproduced in Winsor's Memorial History of Boston (II. 271). Furthermore, Andrew Craigie seems to mean by his inscription that he acquired the book in 1756. It was on Friday, January 30, 1756, that John Franklin died.[4] In its issues of August 5 and August 12, 1756, the Boston News-Letter advertises for sale on August 12 "A large and valuable Collection of BOOKS belonging to the Estate of Mr. John Franklin, late of Boston, Gentleman, deceased." These facts seem to take us rather far toward establishing John Franklin's ownership for some period ending in 1756.[5] It is possible that John Franklin acquired the book from James Franklin, who died in February, 1735,[6] and still more likely that James may have had the use, if not the ownership, of it. One would very much like to know if John Franklin's books included any of those mentioned in the notice of the Courant's "office library" in 1722. To whatever extent he did possess such books, there might

[1] See the illustration opposite, where the lines in the original by which the signature has been crossed out are not reproduced.

[2] Andrew Craigie, by the way, advertises his own wares in the Boston News-Letter of May 27, 1756.

[3] For his autograph, see Winsor's Memorial History of Boston, II. 271.

[4] Boston News-Letter, February 5, 1756 (p. 3, column 2).

[5] John Franklin's ownership, if this really is his autograph, may — since the autograph appears not on a fly-leaf but on the page which contains the half-title of Vol. VI and the beginning of its preface — date from 1709 or 1710. The Preface ends with the words "Edinburgh. Printed in the Year MDCCIX." The final number (153) of Vol. VI is dated March 18, 1710, which means not 1710/11, but 1709/10.

[6] Dictionary of American Biography; New England Historical and Genealogical Register (XI. 19), gives 1733.

seem to be a fair chance that this Athenaeum copy of the Review was in the possession of James Franklin before passing through John Franklin's hands to those of Andrew Craigie. Certainly, if this book did belong, as early as 1721, to James Franklin or his brother John, there would seem to be some possibility that that person also possessed other numbers of the Review and that the chances of James Franklin's having printed News from the Moon had thereby been somewhat strengthened.

But the present state of the evidence does not seem to permit any settlement of that interesting question.

III

Perhaps the most difficult question that Mr. Davis asked, or at least the one that takes longest to answer, was that concerning the relation of News from the Moon to the controversies of 1720–1721 in Massachusetts. "... It has been supposed to have had some connection with the legislative controversies of that time," says Mr. Davis.[1] The Brinley Catalogue, No. 1441, calls it "a satire aimed, apparently, at the House of Representatives, for their proceedings against the publisher and printer of 'New News from Robinson Cruso's Island.'" Evans[2] calls it "a burlesque on the prosecution of Benjamin Gray for ordering the printing of 'A Letter to an Eminent Clergy-man.'" Mr. Ford[3] regards it as "a burlesque on the trial of a fellow printer." Mr. Davis found that News from the Moon "does not deal with the currency."[4] He amended the explanation in the Brinley Catalogue because he did not find that there were any proceedings in the matter of New News from Robinson Cruso's Island.[5] And at the end of his article (p. 15) he wrote: "The question, How could a reprint of an article by Defoe be of value in the polemics of that day? remains still a mystery." And again: "How then could it be possible that the general public could appreciate the application of Defoe's satire to a new situation sufficiently to justify its republication?"

Before we attempt to answer these questions, the reader must be warned not to expect too much: we are not at all likely to find

[1] Our Publications, XIII. 3.
[2] American Bibliography, I. 302.
[3] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., LVII. 340.
[4] Our Publications, XIII. 3, note 1.
[5] Id., pp. 12–13.

that News from the Moon fits into the Boston situation of 1721 in the way that the final piece of a picture puzzle fits, completing an interdependent series of fragments that cry out for the final piece and leave no place for any additional fragment or for any fragment of another shape. For such an exact fit is hardly to be found in the original Review, though in that case the whole was the work of a single writer. It is hardly to be found in the case of the Spectator, where, though there were several contributors, the editorship was wholly in the hands of a single man. Certainly it could not be expected in the case of a very considerable body of books, pamphlets, and periodical essays, by various authors, representing a warfare that was waged on several fronts at once.

Moreover, we must always remember that News from the Moon was not written to apply to the Boston situation of 1721: it was a reprint of a pamphlet intended to apply to the English situation of 1710. And it was virtually a literal reprint of that pamphlet. The detail of "114" men, for example, which in the original Review seems to have had a definite significance, the details of "Lord A——" and "Mr. H——d" and "a Lord Bishop" and so on, which could have had specific personal application in England, are reprinted in the Boston pamphlet, though they could have had no specific American application. If the notion of substituting local hits in place of such details as these ever crossed the mind of the Boston printer, he doubtless rejected the idea because he thought that it might prove convenient to be able to point out certain details in News from the Moon which, he might plausibly say, could not by any stretch of the imagination be interpreted in terms of Massachusetts dignitaries.

It will be enough, therefore, if in answer to Mr. Davis's questions we can discern some purpose that may make reasonable, in a general way, the action of the person — let us call him the printer — who, about March, 1721, introduced Defoe's pamphlet to his Boston readers.

Just what does News from the Moon[1] contain? It is the story

[1] It is reprinted in full in Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 266–270; the number of the Review from which it is taken is reprinted in our Publications, XIII. 6–10. I have used a photostat of News from the Moon kindly furnished me by the New York Public Library, the fortunate possessor of the only known copy.

of a tailor (i.e., an author) who is put on trial for making a coat (i.e., a piece of writing which takes the measure of a certain man or group of men) that is thought by certain persons to fit them and not to represent them correctly. This coat is called, in the language of the world in the moon, "a *Thocacterraca*, in *English*, a *Representer* or a Character Coat."

For convenience, let us in the remainder of our short summary of News from the Moon use the words "author" and "character" instead of "tailor" and "character coat." The author, then, is questioned by the authorities about his purpose in writing a certain "character." In his defense he alleges that a "character" made for one man may fit, or seem to fit, another, and sometimes a great many. This is partly because the kind of people who are liable to satirical representation are, at least in the country of the moon, very much alike. And it is especially true because there are some men who, when they read a "character," cannot help trying to make it fit them, whether it will or no. They even go so far as to distort the natural meaning of the "character" to see if they can make it fit them. Thus, in the case of Defoe's Review, when the author happened "to be Pointing out the Character of a State Mountebank, a City Hero, a Coward to his Cause, a Fool, a Knave, and a Deserter of his Friends . . . One said, . . . *that's at me;* another, *that's at me;* and the like; . . . when far was it from the Thoughts of that poor Author, to do any of these Gentlemen so much Honour."

All this, pleads Defoe, is very hard on the poor author, because a "character" is "made to represent him that it represents." The writer's design is not to fit an individual, but simply to write a "character"; if it fits many individuals, the writer cannot help that.

Having completed his bold defense, which is much more vivid and effective than can be shown by any summary, the tailor, far from showing any desire to mend his ways, "threw the Coat down in the middle of the Hall," and the pamphlet ends there.

The key-word in this account of News from the Moon is the word "character." But, before we attempt to define the "character" and outline its history in England up to the year 1721, it will be well to inquire into Defoe's purpose in writing for his Review a paper on this subject.

The paper in question (Review, VII, No. 14 in the Edinburgh

issue) appeared late in April, 1710.[1] In the preface to his seventh volume, Defoe, who was of course an ardent supporter of a free press, writes as follows about the imminent tax upon periodicals:

If such a Design goes on, it will soon appear whether it be a Proposal to raise Money, or a Design to crush and suppress the Papers themselves; if it be the first, it may really answer the End, there being as I have Calculated it, above two Hundred Thousand single Papers publish'd every Week in this Nation, and a light Tax would raise a considerable Summ, and yet not check the Thing; but if it be a Design to suppress the Papers, it will be seen by their laying on such a Rate, as will disable the Printing them.

Defoe prophesies that if the Tories do succeed in stopping the opposition press, such an event will have a result contrary to expectation:

the stopping the Press will be the opening the Mouth, and the Diminution of Printing will be the Encrease of Writing, in which the Liberty is tenfold, because no Authors can be found out, or Punished if they are; and this made King *Ch*[*arles*] *II.* say, and he understood those Things very well, That the Licenser of the Press did more harm than good, and that if every one was left to Print what they would, there would be less Treason spread about, and fewer Pasquinades — And I take up[on] me to say, that let them stop the Press when they will — What is wanting in Pamphlet, will be made up in Lampoon.

In the first paper of Volume VII (March 28, 1710), Defoe writes that he is very sorry to start a new volume by opening the highly controversial subject of Dr. Sacheverell.[2] But "there is no Help for it, we must either defend our Cause, or give our Cause up." He is "satisfied, the Cause of Liberty is the Cause of Truth; and it is from

[1] April 29 (No. 15) in the London issue; May 2 in the Edinburgh issue.

[2] The impeachment of Sacheverell in 1710 was one of the worst blunders on the part of the Whigs and one of the causes of their loss of power in that year. Sacheverell's famous sermon of November 5, 1709, had taken the extreme High Tory attitude toward the Dissenters, as Defoe had pretended to do in his Shortest Way. But although Sacheverell had been offensive enough in setting forth "the Heinous Malignity, Enormous Guilt, and Folly of this Prodigious Sin of False Brotherhood," and in his remarks on "such wilely Volpones" had quite clearly aimed at a great Whig minister, to allow him to become a martyr was bad judgment, as the Whigs discovered too late. For accounts of the episode, see Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century (American ed.), I. 55ff.; C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, II. 379–381.

this Principle only" that he opposes "the High-Church Darling Dr. Sacheverell," and does it "in the Teeth of his Mob, when his Cause would be thought Rising, and when [he sees] Men that pretend to be for Revolution-Principles, cow'd and afraid." Defoe has nothing to say to the man Sacheverell himself: "it is the Temper of insulting the Laws, and preaching up Tyranny: 'tis this I oppose, and this I will oppose, if the Tyrant were an Emperor."

Having thus thrown down the gauntlet, Defoe carried on his warfare bitterly against Sacheverell and his Tory supporters, boldly denouncing individuals and not sparing the Lord Mayor or certain aldermen. In No. 5 (April 6, 1710, in the London issue) we find him incorrigibly continuing the little joke[1] that had once sent him to the pillory: "we Tories and High-Flyers," he writes, propose certain fundamental changes in the English government, of which one project is: "We will cause the Articles of the late Union, and the unhappy Settlement of the pretended Succession, which are so contrary to the true Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience, to be laid before our most free Parliament, in order to be repeal'd in a legal Way."

In a series of some half-dozen numbers[2] he attacked the extreme Tories in one of those well-sustained allegories of which he was a master, and represented their army and his own drawn up in battle.

The Enemies Army have in their first Line the *High-Church* in the Center, a Party of select *Domino-Dominoques* on their Right, and the Mob on the Left. In their second Line *Non-jurors* in the Center, *Papists* on their Right, and the *Pretender* with his Mercenaries on their Left; and two Bodies of *Tackers* and *Bigotts* make the reserves. *The Army they fight against* . . . [has the Commons of Britain in the Center] the QUEEN and the Nobility on the Right Wing . . . and all fighting under the Command of that Old General CONSTITUTION.[3]

Such boldness could hardly go unnoticed or unpunished. That it was noticed appears clearly enough from the diary kept by that outspoken Tory and Oxford antiquary, Thomas Hearne, whose entry for March 6, 1710, not only shows the violent feeling against

[1] That is, pretending, as he had done in The Shortest Way with the Dissenters (1702), to be one of the extreme Tories, whose ecclesiastical policies he detested.

[2] Nos. 9–12, 14.

[3] No. 12.

the Whigs at the time of Sacheverell's trial, but specifically mentions the Review as one of the principal offenders.[1]

To what extent Defoe's bold attack was unpunished we cannot be sure. Punishment by the national government would perhaps not be expected, for the Whigs were still in power. But censorship of the press had to be reckoned with, and there were also the City authorities to consider.[2]

We have Defoe's definite statement[3] that the Tories had tried every possible method of suppressing his paper and that they had urged both the government and the grand jury to take action. "Great Endeavours have been us'd to stifle and suppress this Paper; . . . sometimes they carry it to *this* Grand-Jury to get it presented, sometimes to *that;* sometimes the Government is sollicited to discourage and silence it."[4] We have also his word[5] that his enemies had seized the issue of April 25, 1710, and had so thoroughly intimidated his printer, Matthews, that Defoe changed to John Baker, whose

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[1] "The Whiggs and all the Party may by this time see the ill Consequences of the Doctrine advanced by them of the Original of Government's being from the People, and their chief Writers, such as Hoadly, the Review, Kennett &c. ought to be punish'd with the utmost Rigour for maintaining such arguments as give the People a Power of taking up arms, when they shall think fit. If these Gentlemen could have been found out they had without all doubt felt the Effects of their Doctrine. The Mob would have either torn them in Pieces, or made them undergo very great Disgraces." Hearne's Collections, Oxford Historical Society, II. 355.

See also Hearne's diary for April 10, 1710 (II. 371), in regard to an alleged slander against Dr. Sacheverell which "the scandalous, abominable, Author of the Paper call'd ye Review has most maliciously asserted and publish'd in Print."

The force of the two passages cited above is increased when we remember Hearne's very low opinion of Sacheverell as a person. His diary for October 11, 1710 (III. 65), shows that he regarded Sacheverell as a "conceited and ignorant and impudent" man, "who, whatever good he may accidentally produce, is certainly a Rascal & Knave himself."

[2] Sacheverell's famous sermon (The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church and State, delivered November 5, 1709, and published in the same year) was inscribed to the Lord Mayor, who was said, though he denied the fact, to have urged its publication.

[3] Review, No. 13 (London issue), April 25, 1710.

[4] Id.

[5] "Their last . . . Shift has been to tamper with the Publishers and Dispensers of it [the Review]. . . . We have now . . . put it into Hands, that will not be bias'd, terrify'd, or any way prevail'd upon to keep it back; and from henceforward, this Paper will be publish'd by Mr. Baker, as is printed at the Bottom in the usual Place." (Id.)

imprint appears beginning with No. 13. Careful students[1] of Defoe's life and of the Review have not been able to discover that he was actually brought to trial or even summoned to appear for examination by the Common Council. But his sweeping statement that his enemies had tried every way to silence him may well mean that he had been so summoned. Furthermore, there is a curious detail in Review, VII, No. 14 (London issue), which must be dwelt on for a moment. In the course of that paper (and therefore in News from the Moon) we learn that the poor tailor was seized and carried "into a great Assembly of that City," which assembly "is call'd in their Language the *Momonciculoc:* I will not pretend to Knowledge enough in the Lunar Language to translate — Some think, it may resemble a *Common Council.*" Then, "of a sudden," various persons began to complain that "*the Coat is made for me,*" until, "to be short with my Story, no less than 114 of them challeng'd the poor Man for bringing this Coat out to expose them in particular."

Why *one hundred and fourteen?* As has already been pointed out, Defoe had less to fear from the Government than from the authorities of London. In a case of this sort the City would naturally act through the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and the common councilmen, who together constituted the Court of Common Council. If, therefore, this body numbered one hundred and fourteen men, we have a fact of considerable interest. Consulting the standard contemporary authority, John Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia: or, the Present State of Great Britain for the year 1710 (pp. 630–632), we find that this body did in that year number exactly 114 men.[2]

Taking all the evidence together, there is therefore a distinct possibility that Defoe may have come up before the City authorities and that the dialogue between the tailor and his questioners may

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[1] My colleague Mr. Theodore F. M. Newton, who is engaged upon what bids fair to be the definitive study of Defoe's Review, has given me valuable help here. He it was who pointed out the significance of the "114" men, a nice little mystery which I could not have solved for myself.

[2] According to the work of the same title for 1708, the civil government in that year was composed of the same number of men (pp. 686–688); the same source for 1711 gives the number as only ninety-seven (pp. 360–362). Chamberlayne's Angliae Notitia: or, the Present State of England for 1707 gives a total of 113 (pp. 644–648).

to some degree represent Defoe's version of an actual hearing.[1] Even if this possibility be disregarded, we may fairly enough say that anyone in Boston in 1721 who knew Defoe's Review would more or less fully have realized that this periodical and its author represented Nonconformity, active resentment of intolerance, freedom of the press, and advanced ideas in general, to say nothing of such vigorous, informal, and prolific journalism as could hardly be found anywhere else in the world.[2]

However significant it may have proved to examine Defoe's possible reasons for printing News from the Moon just when he did, it is now time to ask just what a "character" is and whether some knowledge of the ways of certain English "character"-writers before 1721 may not help us to unravel Mr. Davis's "mystery." Some years ago in examining John Dunton's use of the "character"[3] I said that the "character" was "a well recognized, prolific, popular, and influential form in English literature of the seventeenth century." More is known about the "character" now than was the case at that time (1912); but still the form may well be defined in the words of a schoolmaster named Ralph Johnson, who in 1665 published The Scholar's Guide from the Accidence to the Uni-

[1] There is a possibility that the allusion to the "114" may have been instantly recognizable, especially with the help of the expression "Common Council," to Defoe's readers. Among numbers that were familiar enough to be political rallying cries one recalls the "Forty-Five" that Wilkes made famous. Then there is the toast to "The Massachusetts Ninety-two," which was drunk (as the thirty-third toast) at a dinner in Philadelphia, in 1769, to commemorate Paoli's birthday. (Our Publications, xxvi. 191.) And probably other instances could be collected.

[2] The Boston Public Library has an almost complete set of the Review, except Vol. iii. There are a few selections in George A. Aitken, Later Stuart Tracts, pp. 221–280. A complete facsimile reprint of the work is proposed by the Facsimile Text Society.

[3] Our Publications, xiv. 213ff. Those who find the explanation of the "character" too meagre as given here are referred to that earlier article, and especially to pages 232–236. For still further details see: for bibliography, Gwendolen Murphy, A Bibliography of English Character-Books, 1608–1700 (1925); for texts, Henry Morley, Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century (1891); Gwendolen Murphy, A Cabinet of Characters (1925; with a good introductory essay); David Nichol Smith, Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century (1920; with a good introductory essay on the Clarendon type of character); for the classical roots of the character, G. S. Gordon, "Theophrastus and his English Imitators," in English Literature and the Classics (1912).

versity.[1] Johnson there (p. 15) defines the "character" as "a witty and facetious description of the nature and qualities of some person, or sort of people." In his rules for making of "characters"[2] Johnson emphasizes the selection, as subjects, of those sorts of men whom one would naturally treat with a considerable degree of disapproval; the delineation of their reprehensible natures by a series of "tart nipping jerks about their vices or miscarriages"; and a constant effort toward "wit and pleasantness." In the remaining pages of this article, the word "character" will, unless otherwise indicated, always be used (without quotation marks) with the meaning Johnson here gives it.

The general impression left by Johnson's definition and rules could easily be confirmed, if space permitted, by other contemporary definitions and comments, as well as by many examples. One must not, however, suppose that characters are regularly adverse or that they are necessarily of persons: they may be, and often are, favorable; and they not infrequently take for their subject such impersonal topics as a coffee-house or a prison.

Before leaving our definition of the character let us try to clarify it still further by examining the boundaries between it and the portrait, often called a character, of some individual who is named and is openly characterized. Richard Flecknoe, in the preface to his Heroick Portraits (1660), thinks that "the *Portrait* has this advantage of the *Character*, that it gives the Bodies resemblance together with the disposition of the Minde." And Sir Charles Firth,[3] comparing the portraits by Clarendon with those of Burnet, regards the latter as stronger in observation, though weaker in insight. "Clarendon's description of the exterior of the personages he mentions is usually vague," Firth observes, whereas Burnet, "notices a number of minor particulars of every kind which Clarendon neglects or disdains." Firth goes even further: he accounts for this difference by observing that Clarendon, "instead of individualising his personages

[1] The catalogue of the British Museum records a "fourth edition, corrected," in 1679. A "5th edition, corrected" (1699), was entered for publication (Arber, Term Catalogues, III. 128, 162). The Harvard College Library has the edition of 1665.

[2] Reprinted in full in our Publications, XIV. 233.

[3] Introduction (p. xli) to A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, by T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft (1907).

by noting the little peculiarities which differentiated them from other men, . . . seems to endeavour to generalise, and to reduce them all to certain universal types." Thus we may say that although portraits, as Flecknoe remarked, tend to differ from characters in being more concerned with externals, we must not forget that the extent of this difference varies greatly with the individual writer and that in the case of Clarendon's portraits this variation, in the direction of the method more typical of the impersonal character as defined by Ralph Johnson, is so great that Firth well observes that "in reading the *History of the Rebellion* one is continually reminded that the description of *imaginary*[1] types of character was a popular literary exercise in Clarendon's day." Moreover, we may well remember that portraits like Burnet's, as well as those like Clarendon's, were, in spite of Flecknoe's distinction in terminology, habitually called characters throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Between 1608, when Bishop Joseph Hall published his Characters of Virtues and Vices, and 1721, when News from the Moon appeared in Boston, there were literally thousands of characters, singly and in collections, published in England. To a certain extent one may arrange them in periods. Let us attempt to do so, always remembering that the pattern is not quite so regular as it appears in any brief summary.

From 1608 until about 1642, the essay-character flourished, after a fashion the norm of which is pretty well indicated by Ralph Johnson's definition. This is the period of Hall (1608), the Overbury group (1614), Earle (1628), and Fuller (1642), to mention only a few great names. Even in this period the character was made use of by dramatists, sermon-writers, and others, as well as by the large number of those who may fairly be called essayists. Sometimes they published essays and characters (as did Earle and Mynshul) in the same volume. Sometimes they illustrated to excess (as did Nicholas Breton) the idea of euphuistic style that was stressed in Ralph Johnson's definition.

In the period from 1660 to 1688, the pattern becomes even less distinct. There are survivals in plenty of the essay-character; there

[1] Italics mine.

are numerous examples of the type of character or portrait represented by Clarendon; there are frequent instances where the character is used by dramatists and writers of various sorts of prose treatises; and there are examples — Dryden is a notable one — of poets who write, usually with a satirical intent, characterizations in verse of individuals or of imaginary types. But — numerically, at least — the most important form of character in this period is what may be called the pamphlet-character, like Halifax's Character of a Trimmer, though that is longer, better written, and more fair-minded than most examples of its class. The pamphlet-character tends to be a justification of belief, or, much oftener, an attack upon the beliefs of others, which for greater effectiveness borrows the name and some of the hall-marks of the essay-character.[1]

In the period which begins, roughly, in 1688, when La Bruyère's Caractères first appeared, and which runs along until, in the 1740's its path can hardly be followed further because of the rise of the novel of character, we have, as before, an abundance of survivals and, out-topping them in importance, if not in numbers, a new sort of character. Of the survivals we can pause only long enough to say that they represent every variety of the character that has previously been mentioned. But with a much more entertaining kind of character that is found for the first time in this period we must deal somewhat more particularly.

Broadly speaking, the character has up to this point been a sort of composite photograph of a number of people who, though spoken of as "he" or "she," are intended to represent what is true of all Puritans, pedants, or Whigs. The subject of the character has no individual name; he rarely speaks; he is a sort of mounted specimen, who is the subject of an analysis. But in the work of such writers as La Bruyère, Ned Ward, and Addison we are now to see something quite different. The nature of this difference can best be shown by examples.

In 1628, John Earle's Microcosmographie appeared, a collection of fifty-four characters, one of which was "An Antiquary." One of the

[1] The varied manifestations of the character in this period are not well represented in any volume of selections. See, however, Gwendolen Murphy's Cabinet of Characters, especially pp. 237–334; and the Harleian Miscellany and Somers Tracts, passim (see index). Halifax's Character of a Trimmer and his other works have been admirably edited by Miss H. C. Foxcroft in two volumes (London, 1898).

sentences in this character runs thus: "He would give all the books in his study (which are rarities all), for one of the old Roman binding, or six lines of Tully in his own hand." The other thirteen sentences in the character are like this one: they all refer to the antiquary; they are all in the present tense; they all help to build up a somewhat artificially consistent picture of one whose "humor" is a love of old times and ancient objects. And the whole, despite its unity and its pleasant tone, has an air of unreality: we do not quite believe that the antiquary does these things, though we grant that if he were sufficiently alive to do anything, these are the things that he might be expected to do. Furthermore, the writer is as much outside of his subject as a historian or an essayist would be. So, though to read this character gives us a certain pleasure, it is not at all the kind of pleasure that we should take in a play by Ben Jonson or a novel by George Eliot that presented us with a pedant as one of its characters. And the pedant of Earle does not greatly tempt the reader to ask which of Earle's friends sat for the portrait.

In 1710, Joseph Addison, in the Tatler, No. 158, represented a pedant in quite a different fashion. A part of the difference lies in the fact that the paper is supposed to consist of the observations of one Isaac Bickerstaff, who, being a fictitious character, can walk right in among Addison's other characters and carry the essay well on toward a scene from a novel, whenever it suits his purpose.[1] Again, Addison's pedant has a name, "Tom Folio," which helps to enliven him. Furthermore, no inconsiderable part of the essay consists of a little scene, with conversation, between Isaac Bickerstaff and Tom Folio. "I had yesterday morning a visit from this learned ideot," Addison makes Mr. Bickerstaff say. In the course of the visit we have this very revealing dialogue, as narrated by Addison through Isaac Bickerstaff:

> Knowing that Tom had not sense enough to give up an opinion which he had once received, that I might avoid wrangling, I told him, "that Virgil possibly had his oversights as well as another author." "Ah! Mr. Bickerstaff," says he, "you would have another opinion of him, if you would read him in Daniel Heinsius's edition. I have perused him myself several times in that edition," continued he; "and after the strictest and most malicious examination, could but find two faults in him; one of them

[1] The device did not originate with Addison. Edward Ward's London Spy (1698–1700) makes less skilful use of the same method.

is in the Aeneids, where there are two commas instead of a parenthesis; and another in the third Georgic, where you may find a semicolon turned upside down." "Perhaps," said I, "these were not Virgil's faults, but those of the transcriber." "I do not design it," says Tom, "as a reflection on Virgil; on the contrary, I know that all the manuscripts reclaim against such a punctuation. Oh! Mr. Bickerstaff," says he, "what would a man give to see one simile of Virgil writ in his own hand?" I asked him which was the simile he meant; but was answered, any simile in Virgil. He then told me . . . of many amendments which are made, and not yet published; and a thousand other particulars, which I would not have my memory burdened with for a Vatican.

At length, being fully persuaded that I thoroughly admired him, and looked upon him as a prodigy of learning, he took his leave.

This technique speaks for itself, and we see at once that the old formal character is now well on its way toward the novel of character.[1]

Before we attempt to indicate the relation of News from the Moon to the situation in Massachusetts in 1721, two other questions require attention. First, to what degree was the aim of the character-writer general and to what degree was it individual? And to what degree did the reading public seek "originals" for characters, whether such originals were or were not in the mind of the writer? Second, was the character something that Massachusetts people in 1721 — Cotton Mather, for example — knew nothing about?

There is more than a little evidence that the character-writer sometimes drew the picture of an individual. Ralph Johnson, it will be remembered, defined the character as "a . . . description . . . of *some person*[2] or sort of people." "L. G.," who in 1661 published a volume of Essays and Characters, assures his readers that he does not reflect "upon any particular Person, save only in the Character of a Scandal-

[1] The technique of John Dunton in his Letters from New England is at times essentially like Addison's in the Tatler, No. 158. Observe how Dunton (see our Publications, XIV. 237) takes Thomas Fuller's abstract character of "The Good Merchant" (1642) and changes it to "Mr. Heath"; and how he takes Fuller's remark that justice to the buyer is a fundamental necessity in all trading, the neglect of which is "worse than open felony" because it is to "rob a man of his purse and never bid him stand," and makes it read: "and *I have heard him say* [italics mine] that such a Cozenage is worse than open Felony; because they rob a man of's Purse, and never bid him stand."

[2] Italics mine.

ous Minister, . . . whom I had some cause to know in the Country."[1] Richard Flecknoe's titles seem occasionally to indicate a personal application, as in "Of one that shall be namelesse," "Of a certain Nobleman," and "Of an other" (i.e., another nobleman).[2] And there are fairly numerous additional examples of this sort, not to speak of such characters as those "Of a Protector," "A Duke of Bucks," or "A true Character of the illustrious James Duke of York," where portraiture of an individual is more than implied.

Usually, however, the evidence makes rather in the direction of a generic aim for the character-writer, or, at any rate, expresses his wish to be understood as speaking of a class, not of an individual. Of his Seventy-Eight Characters (1677) Flecknoe says that "the subject of them is taken from the observations of several *Natures, Humors,* and *Dispositions;* and whilst I name no body, let no body name themselves, if they be wise." And Sir Roger L'Estrange[3] writes that "a *Character* . . . Shoots *Hail-Shot,* and *Strikes* a great many *more* than ever the *Marks-man,* either *Aim'd* at, or *Dreamt* of." Addison (in the Spectator, No. 34) begs

every particular person, who does me the honour to be a reader of this paper, never to think himself, or any of his friends or enemies, aimed at in what is said: for I promise him, never to draw a faulty character which does not fit at least a thousand people; or to publish a single paper that is not written in the spirit of benevolence, and with a love to mankind.

And to the same purpose, in No. 262, Addison writes:

I believe my Reader would still think the better of me, if he knew the Pains I am at in qualifying what I write after such a manner, that nothing may be interpreted as aimed at private Persons. For this Reason when I draw any faulty Character, I consider all those Persons to whom the Malice of the World may possibly apply it, and take care to dash it with such particular Circumstances as may prevent all such ill-natured Applications. If I write any Thing on a black Man, I run over in my Mind all the eminent Persons in the Nation who are of that Complection: When I place an imaginary Name at the Head of a Character, I examine

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[1] Gwendolen Murphy, Bibliography of English Character-Books, p. 73.

[2] These are, respectively, Nos. 39, 52, and 53 in Enigmaticall Characters (1658).

[3] In A Brief History of the Times . . . in a Preface to the Third Volume of Observators (1687). It is fair to say, however, that L'Estrange goes right on in the words quoted on p. 484 of this article.

every Syllable and Letter of it, that it may not bear any Resemblance to one that is real. I know very well the Value which every Man sets upon his Reputation, and how painful it is to be exposed to the Mirth and Derision of the Publick, and should therefore scorn to divert my Reader at the Expence of any private Man.[1]

But in spite of such protestations, a certain proportion of mankind has persisted in believing that many characters and similar portrayals were in fact aimed at, or derived from, individuals. Eustace Budgell, a cousin of Addison, prefaced his translation of the characters of Theophrastus (1714) with the observation that "Theophrastus was the *Spectator* of the age he lived in. He drew the pictures of particular men." Dr. Johnson believed that the personages introduced in the Tatler and the Spectator "were not merely ideal; they were then known, and conspicuous in various stations."[2]

In view of all this conflicting evidence, the question can never be really settled whether such a writer as those whom we have been considering copies from individuals and then corrects his results by comparison with his more or less abstract idea of the class, or whether he conceives an abstract idea and then modifies it by comparison with individuals. Often, no doubt, separate features are taken from different individuals and assembled in a portrait which cannot, without a kind of surgery to which it ought never to be subjected, be got into either of the two groups of character-portraits, which, after all, do tend to run into each other. Let us therefore take leave of this part of our subject without putting too much trust in any single witness, but with a fair degree of confidence that Sir Roger L'Estrange was not far wrong when he said:

A Character, . . . Shoots *Hail-Shot*, and *Strikes* a great many *more* than ever the *Marks-man*, either *Aim'd* at, or Dreamt of. There is a great deal of *Difference*, I know, betwixt the *Whipping* of the *Vice*, and of the *Man;* and betwixt the *Whipping* of the *Vice* for the *Man's* sake, and the *Whipping* of the *Man*, for the sake of the Vice. But be it as it will; 'tis *nonsense* to *Imagine*, that a man draws a Figure in the *Air*, and Means No body; or that he had not *some One Man* more in his Thought then *Another*, toward the *Instructing*, or the *Finishing* of the *Piece*.[3]

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[1] Cf. also Spectator, Nos. 46, 567, and 568.

[2] Lives, G. B. Hill, ed., II. 95.

[3] A Brief History of the Times.

We may, without hesitation, answer in the negative the question whether a Boston printer was giving his Massachusetts readers of 1721 too hard a task when he expected them to know enough about the character to see the more technical side of the point in News from the Moon. Let us merely outline the case.

In the first place, we know that by 1721 both the Tatler and the Spectator had reached New England. Steele had personally sent "all the Tatlers and Spectators being eleven volumes" to Yale in 1714.[1] The New England Courant began to appear in August, 1721, less than five months after News from the Moon was advertised. In No. 48 of the Courant (July 21, 1722) the "office library" is advertised, containing both the Spectator and the Guardian. It is possible that these two periodicals were not imported until after News from the Moon appeared. But one doubts that: the Spectator is from the outset so clearly a model for the Courant that one feels reasonably sure that the books had been in Boston for some little time.

At all events, there was one man in Boston who, by August, 1713, had not only heard of the Spectator and the Guardian, but who at that time recorded in his diary the hope that "perhaps, by sending some agreeable Things, to the Author of, *The Spectator*, and, *The Guardian*, there may be brought forward some Services to the best Interests in the Nation." The writer of this entry was, as it happens, Cotton Mather.[2] It is possible that Cotton Mather knew, or knew of, Defoe's Review, for it is certain that by May, 1711,[3] he had had "some epistolar Conversation with Mr. *De Foe*," and had resolved "in . . . [his] Letters unto him, [to] excite him to apply himself unto the work of collecting and publishing an History of the Persecutions which the Dissenters have undergone from the Ch[urch] of E[ngland]." Certainly the Review, and the very part of it where the original version of what was later called News from the Moon had appeared, was a work from which Mather would instantly perceive what a champion the Dissenters had in Defoe.

Putting aside conjecture, however, let us note a few solid facts. Cotton Mather had before 1721 used the word "character" fre-

[1] Thomas G. Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England, pp. 184–185.
[2] Diary, II. 227 (7 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII).
[3] Id., p. 74.

quently; had imitated an English book containing characters; and had himself written more than one work containing characters. For the sake of brevity the evidence for the first statement is given in a footnote,[1] and only a few examples are mentioned to show that Cotton Mather had found the character a fit instrument for the Lord's business, as many an English clergyman had found it before him.

Cotton Mather's Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion, Or the Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman (1691)[2] is interesting for our purpose because here and there it literally follows an English book which contains characters[3] and because it contains a character by Cotton Mather. Mather's funeral sermon on the Reverend John Baily (A Good Man Making a Good End, 1698) has as the running title of its last thirty pages "The Character of a Christian." His Desiderius (1719) may fairly be called a character also, though it is the sub-title and the framework, rather than the details, that make it one. And in Mather's Benedictus: Good Men Described, with some Character & History of Mr. Thomas Bridge (1715) the character certainly plays a part: the word is used on the title-page; the purpose of the work is declared (p. 4) to be "to set a lively Pourtraiture of a GOOD MAN before you"; and the general run of the part from the fourth to the top of the nineteenth page is that of the character as applied to the funeral elegy of the time in both England and America.

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[1] Cotton Mather frequently used the word "character" (in one or more of the meanings pertinent to this investigation) in his Diary: see, for example, II. 73 (May 16, 1711), where he resolves as he may have occasion to give "the Character" of a certain man who has injured him, still to treat him with goodness. See also id., p. 561 (October 20, 1718), where he proposes to preach a funeral sermon on the Reverend Thomas Bernard, of Andover, "and add his Character in the close of it." And, especially, see id., p. 562 (October 20, 1718), where, reviewing his own publications to see "how many Persons of Worth, a gracious God has employ'd . . . [his] poor Pen, publickly to exhibit unto the World, with an Advantageous History, or Character of them," he finds "no less than One hundred and fourteen men (whereof more than Four-score stand in the Church-History,) and above twenty Women; besides many more, who have more transiently and occasionally had an honourable Mention made of them."

[2] Reprinted: Boston, 1692; London, 1694; Boston, 1741 (fifth edition). See J. L. Sibley's bibliography (No. 29) in Harvard Graduates, III. 53.

[3] The Ladies Calling by the Author of the Whole Duty of Man (1673). For further information about this book, which John Dunton also made use of, see our Publications, XIV. 240, note 4.

If Cotton Mather's works do not more frequently contain outright characters of the more satirical and "literary" kind, it would therefore seem to be merely because he did not often employ the more secular forms of writing in which such portraiture would naturally appear.

When News from the Moon came out in March, 1721, the condition of affairs in Massachusetts was one of intensely opposed opinions, almost one of warfare, upon a number of questions.

Religious questions, as always in the early days of Massachusetts, were burning. Those who upheld the conservative side found that their ancient authority had somehow weakened. Of one among the radicals, John Wise,[1] Williston Walker writes that "he presented a new and forceful treatment of Congregationalism, . . . basing its merits . . . on the broad principles of democracy which were to be the mainspring of so much of American thought and action. In so doing he emphasized the democratic element in Congregationalism as no previous writer had done."[2] Not unnaturally, therefore, Cotton Mather thought Wise "a furious Man," and his book, though "a foolish libel," most dangerous nevertheless, because "some of our People, who are not only tenacious of their Liberties, but also more suspicious than they have cause to be of a Design in their pastors to make abridgments of them; are too much led into Temptations, by such Invectives."[3]

The small-pox was raging, and the pros and cons of inoculation were debated with great acrimony. Here, as is well known, Cotton Mather was on the liberal side. The controversy was by no means limited to those who understood the technical aspect of the matter. How it embittered the thoughts of Cotton Mather his Diary testifies: the opposition to his counsels in this matter has, he writes, "been carried on, with senseless Ignorance and raging Wickedness."[4]

Governor Shute and his legislature were violently at loggerheads over the choice of a Speaker, the freedom of the press, and other issues. Shute presently went back to England and "arraigned the

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[1] His Government of New England Churches appeared in 1717.

[2] A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States (1907 ed.), p. 211.

[3] Letter to Robert Wodrow, September 17, 1715, Diary, II. 327.

[4] Id., 659. For many other entries see index, s.v. Small-pox.

conduct of the Massachusetts assembly in a long memorial to the King," in the course of which he expressed the general belief that the people of Boston "were too much inclined to be levellers, and to give a mutinous and disorderly support to the house in its encroachments."[1]

The year 1721 also marked one of the crises in a long series of discussions about currency and banking. The merits of various banking projects were vigorously debated, so vigorously that the question of restraining the press became one of the chief issues of the moment.

As would naturally be expected, the number and importance of these questions greatly increased the amount of publication in Massachusetts and tended somewhat to change its tone. Before the year 1721 was over, the New England Courant had begun and the newer journalism had really come to Massachusetts. But some little time before that the change had already become perceptible. By March, 1721, it is fair to say that such men as in a few months were to start the New England Courant — in certain cases the very men who did start it[2] — were doing something more than merely arguing for their own views. They were attempting a more familiar style and a less formal presentation of their authorities and arguments. They were introducing various means to enliven New England pamphleteering — the imaginary dialogue, the imaginary letter, the character, and other devices of that sort.

Certain English writers, as we have seen, had for some years before 1721 been taking that line, with the result sometimes of winning a readier acceptance for their views, and sometimes with the result, no doubt, of drawing upon their heads a sharper counter-attack from their opponents or a sterner punishment from the government than would have followed had their opinions been less facetiously expressed. Swift's tone, nearly as much as his views, in A Tale of a Tub had injured his chances of advancement in the church. And Defoe had stood in the pillory partly because both friends and foes resented their slowness on the uptake when they had to make up

[1] Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, III. 174–175.

[2] See Worthington C. Ford, "Franklin's New England Courant," Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., LVII. 336–353.

their minds about his ironical Shortest Way with the Dissenters. So it may well be that some Massachusetts conservatives disapproved of the manner as well as the opinions of their opponents. In the case of Cotton Mather we have an explicit defense of his own "more Massy Way of Writing" as against the style of the coffee-house wits.[1]

Whatever its grounds, we know that resentment against the utterances of the liberals took the form not only of a host of pamphlets on the conservative side and bitter forebodings in Cotton Mather's diary, but of certain actual prosecutions. John Colman's Distressed State of the Town of Boston (April, 1720) caused his arrest and prosecution; and Benjamin Gray, a Boston bookseller, was prosecuted in 1721 for publishing A Letter to an Eminent Clergyman in the Massachusetts Bay (1720). The prosecution of Colman was dropped, but he was held under bonds until July, 1720. Gray, having declared that he meant no evil and having expressed regret, was discharged in May, 1721.[2] The cases, therefore, may be said to have gone against the conservatives. The House of Representatives, though it was willing enough to declare it "an unhappy Circumstance attending a well Regulated Government, when they have Seditious and Scandalous Papers printed and publicly Sold or Dispersed,"[3] was most unwilling to grant the governor the power of the press that he claimed as the king's representative. And Duniway, reviewing these two cases and the later case of James Franklin, writes that they mark the end "of an attempt to revive and enforce censorship in Massachusetts."[4]

Since some have regarded News from the Moon as a burlesque of one of these trials, it will be well to examine briefly the language of the charges against Colman and Gray. The former was charged with the authorship of a pamphlet containing passages "reflecting upon the Acts & Laws of the Province, & other proceedings of the Governm^t" and having "a Tendency to Disturb the Administration of the Government, as well as the Publick Peace."[5] Gray was

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[1] Manuductio (1726), pp. 44–46, as quoted by Kenneth B. Murdock, Selections from Cotton Mather, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

[2] Clyde A. Duniway, The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, pp. 90–94.

[3] Id., p. 95. [4] Id., pp. 102–103. [5] Id., p. 92.

charged with having published the pamphlet already mentioned, and with causing a certain advertisement to appear, the language of which showed contempt of the Council, whose vote of censure (declaring that the pamphlet contained "many vile, scandalous, and abusive expressions") had been printed in the newspapers.

The advertisement in question (which appeared in the Boston Gazette of March 13, 1721) reads as follows:

Just Published, The Mount Hope Packet. And News from the Moon, both to be Sold by Benjamin Gray *Bookseller, at his Shop opposite to the Brick Church, where all Gentlemen, Trades-men and others may be supply'd by Wholesail or Retail at reasonable rates, with all Letters, Postscripts, News, Dialogues, and other Pamphlets, which come out from Time to Time.*[1]

Now just what relation to all this has News from the Moon? That it is a "burlesque" of the proceedings against either Colman or Gray seems improbable. Why not take it for what it is — a perfectly clear, though perhaps disingenuous, attempt to controvert the belief that when a character-writer portrays a certain kind of person, he primarily or merely aims at an individual? If by the publication of News from the Moon the person responsible for it intended thus to lessen the objections to certain parts of recent publications, he was doing something worth while for his cause. And there are several passages in the then recent publications on the liberal side that may fairly be called characters and that probably caused personal application and resentment. The passage in Reflections upon Reflections (1720) about "one whose *Scribendi Cacoethes* has made him famous on both sides of the Atlantick"[2] is certainly a good case: it can fairly be called a character, and it would almost certainly be thought to point toward Cotton Mather. Another case, in New News from Robinson Cruso's Island (1720), is the short remark, very brief but nevertheless a character as far as it goes, about "the great DON-DAGO, the *Primate-wou'd be* of our Island," who "like the famous Dr. *S——l* has long ago *burst his Orb, and become Eccen-*

[1] It is possible that the words, "*Letters, Postscripts, News, Dialogues*" were chosen with intention and refer more or less definitely to certain publications. That would, of course, make the advertisement more objectionable. Duniway (pp. 90–91) has some interesting remarks on that sort of propaganda in what purport to be advertisements.

[2] For the whole passage see Davis, Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 118.

trick."[1] And the passage in this same pamphlet about covetousness, envy, pride, and hypocrisy[2] is also pertinent: it is not, as a whole, strictly a character, but it is at times very near it indeed, for example:

. . . *Religion* is made a *Stalking-Horse*, whereby *some Men* serve the most vile and unworthy Ends; cloaking their Designs of *Covetousness*, *Ambition*, or *Revenge*, with pretence of *Conscience* and *Zeal;* and under the specious Umbrage hereof, the most *execrable Villanies* have been acted.

It is not unreasonable to imagine that Cotton Mather regarded that as a character aimed at him.

But there is a much more striking case than any of these. John Colman's Distressed State of the Town of Boston was one of the pamphlets which caused legal proceedings, as we have seen, and which most enraged the conservatives.[3] In that pamphlet he boldly expressed dissatisfaction with many members of the House of Representatives and hoped

. . . our good Friends in the Country will consider our miserable circumstances, & send such Men to Represent them next *May* as may be Spirited for our Relief, not Sheriffs and Lawyers, who are the only Men who are benefited by the straights of their Neighbours, else I fear Ruin and Destruction will come upon us. . . .[4]

This charge, that many in the House were not men of public spirit, was taken up and flung back and forth. On April 18, 1720, the Boston News-Letter printed "The Country-Man's Answer, to a Letter Intitutled, *The Distressed State of the Town of Boston Considered.*" The writer, who is thought to have been the Reverend Edward Wigglesworth, took up Colman's challenge about the members of the House:

As to your Advice about the choice of our Representatives, which seems the main Spring and design of your Letter, we shall endeavour to choose Men of a Publick Spirit that understand and design the good of the Country in General, Men of good Substance and Interest in the Country. . . .[5]

[1] Davis Colonial Currency Reprints, p. 133. [2] Id., pp. 130–132.

[3] "A very abusive Creature," wrote Cotton Mather (Diary, II. 397) on February 2, 1717, "in whom the three parts of the Satanic Image, Pride, Malice, and Falsehood, are very conspicuous, must be pittied and pray'd for. [I. Κολμαν]." The brackets are Mather's.

[4] Davis, Colonial Currency Reprints, I. 407.

[5] The whole passage (id., 411–412) is extremely important: it helps to define the conservative type and by implication suggests the commercially unsubstantial and slightly disloyal nature, as the writer saw it, of the liberals.

On the same conservative note, the writer of A Letter from One in the Country to his Friend in Boston (1720) has his fling at Colman's stinging words. He quotes Colman's sentence about "men Spirited for our Relief," and replies: "I hope also Men of a Publick Spirit, and heartily concerned for the Welfare of their Country will be sent." The Letter from a Gentleman, "Containing some Remarks upon the Several Answers" to Colman, bears the date 1720 on its title-page and the more specific date May 16, 1720, at the end of its text. It is supposed to have been written by Dr. Oliver Noyes.[1] He likewise joins in the hope "that the several Towns will chuse to Represent 'em in the General Court, Men of a Publick Spirit," and prays God "to direct the Governour and General Court in some proper Measures for our Relief."[2] Thus the phrase "Men of a Public Spirit" was made so familiar that each successive use of it in the controversy called up the preceding arguments, in which both sides had claimed the term for themselves and denied it to their opponents.

Then came Some Proposals to Benefit the Province (1720).[3] The copy at the American Antiquarian Society bears the initials "S. S." (Samuel Sewall) and, in Sewall's handwriting, a date which is, apparently, November 9, 1720. The pamphlet is signed "F. M." Its great importance for us consists in the fact that it has a "Postscript" consisting of a pair of contrasted characters. Here we are not required to guess whether the author is consciously using the character form: he actually entitles one of them "A Character of a Publick Spirit," and the other, "A Character of a Private Spirit." The relation of those characters to the preceding controversy must have been perfectly clear. The character of a "Public Spirit" is the portrait of an ideal. The one of a "Private Spirit" is reprinted here:

A CHARACTER OF A PRIVATE SPIRIT

A Private Spirit is a selfish, narrow, contracted, little Spirit; it's the Devil form'd in us: *ye are of your father the Devil;* taking advantage from the Execution of the Divine Sanction, *viz.* (the loss of the Image of

[1] Cotton Mather (Diary, II. 607) calls him "one who has been and would still have been the greatest Hinderer of good, and Misleader and Enchanter of the People, that there was in the whole House of Representatives" (March 16, 1721).

[2] Davis, Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 16.

[3] Id., pp. 97–107.

GOD) which Satan was the author of, and is; our setting up self to be equal with or above GOD, which is Idolatry; and self, both the Idol & Medium, by which we serve the Devil: we are by him hurried with all our powers to possess Idol-self, with the profits, pleasures, and honours of this Life, and therefore substitute Religion, Reason and Nature to effect it; for while we remain in our Apostacy, we can act from no other being, nor to any higher end than self, that is the spring, and all our actions center therein, how Religious soever we be: This Self Idolatry is the Ruining of all Societies, and all Men of what Rank or Degree soever, Sacred or Civil, either Wholly or in Part are the Subjects thereof; the effects, fruits and evidences of Self, are Tyranny, Oppression, Wrath, *&c.* with all Moral and Penal evils. And frequently Hypocritical Covetous Men, makes [*sic*] the greatest show of Religion. Our All-glorious Saviour was not Wise and Holy enough for such Men, but by them most vilely and falsely contradicted, accused, persecuted and executed for one of the greatest Sinners, even when the Gentile Judge Justified Him, and wrought by all Means (save force) for His deliverance.

In view of all that had gone before, this character could easily have been so received by members of the House of Representatives and their friends as to create exactly the kind of situation that would be most effectively met by reprinting the paper from Defoe's Review. That, I believe, or something very like it, is the genesis of News from the Moon. If so, the reprinting of Defoe's clever defense is certainly no "mystery," but a notably shrewd move — pertinent,[1] entertaining, and less easily punishable than almost any other kind of counterstroke that one can imagine.

[1] For example, the "Common Council" of London was just near enough to the Governor's Council in Massachusetts, and the "114" men who composed the City government of London were just near enough to the 119 men who constituted the House of Representatives in Massachusetts in 1721–1722, to be hardly actionable but decidedly spicy.

MEMOIR

OF

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

BY

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER was elected a Corresponding Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts on March 15, 1899. Through the period of his teaching at Harvard his name was transferred to the list of Resident Members, and at the Annual Meeting of 1914 he was elected President of the Society — a post which he held for two years. A resolution adopted at the Annual Meeting of 1916 contained these memorable words: "It has been much for a society like ours to have a leader who is universally recognized as an historical scholar of the highest distinction. The influence of his learning, of his refined scholarship, of his good taste and right feeling, and of his earnest and kindly nature, has made itself felt in every department of our associated activities." When he left Cambridge and became professor *emeritus*, his name was placed again on the list of Corresponding Members, where it remained until his death at Pasadena, California, March 14, 1932, the last day of thirty-three years of continuous association with the Society. This space of a human generation, this third of a century, touches all of the four decades through which the Society has lived.

Soon after Turner came to Harvard in 1910, he wrote, in an article on "The Harvard Commission on Western History," in which he was the moving spirit: " It is necessary to recognize the fact that there is a New England vastly more extensive than that within her own sectional borders, a New England that is part of the life of the expand-

ing nation." While still a professor at Wisconsin, he had declared in the Atlantic Monthly (September, 1896): "To write of a 'Western sectionalism,' bounded on the east by the Alleghanies is, in itself, to proclaim the writer a provincial." Behind these statements, and many others in the same vein, there was a spirit so truly unsectional that both in himself and in his work he was an invaluable unifying interpreter of East and West — each to the other. In Wisconsin, in Massachusetts, in California, he was always rather a national than a local figure.

He was born at Portage, Wisconsin, November 14, 1861. Both his parents, Andrew Jackson Turner and Mary Olivia (Hanford) Turner, had come to Wisconsin from New York State. His father, commonly known as "Jack" Turner, was editor and part owner of the local newspaper of Portage, the Register. His mother was a schoolteacher. The Portage of his birth and boyhood was in itself a place that helped to make him what he was. "Here it was then," writes Professor Carl Becker, of the journalist father, "before his very eyes, the past and present curiously joined together; the frontier in many stages — virgin forests, Indian villages, lawless raftsmen, fur trade, the rough frontier town a simmering pot skillfully stirred by the descendant of Connecticut Yankees who, in every generation since the seventeenth century, had got on the 'wrong side of the hedge.'" Andrew Jackson Turner held no political position by appointment, but he was a Republican member of the Wisconsin legislature, attended the national conventions of his party, and is said to have had a hand in much of the Wisconsin legislation of his time. It is related also that the son went to the polls with his father to cast his first vote for president, but on the opposing side — which was presumably that of Cleveland against Blaine in 1884. Thus early he established himself an Independent in politics.

Portage and Madison are in adjoining counties of Wisconsin, and it was foreordained that such a youth as Turner should proceed from the high school of his native town to the State University. There he distinguished himself in debating, and won prizes for "orations" in both his junior and his senior years. At his graduation in 1884 he received "second honors." As an undergraduate he served as a reporter for the Chicago Tribune, and showed his independence when a local political boss threatened to shoot him if he printed a certain piece of

news — which he proceeded to do, and was not shot. His newspaper work continued for a year after graduation, and then he was appointed tutor in rhetoric and oratory at the University of Wisconsin, a post which he occupied through the academic years 1885–1888. One of his pupils at Wisconsin recalls as a memorable characteristic his "deep, vibrant, melodious voice," which to another sounded "not deep, but full, rich, vibrant, and musically cadenced." Like his unchangingly youthful appearance of alert vitality, the voice was something that its hearers did not forget. Comeliness of feature and form, the direct, searching, yet kindly look from clear grey-blue eyes, the impression of strength that springs from "fitness" rather than bulk, the fitness of the scholar to whom a trout-brook is no less inviting than a library — such were the physical qualities that contributed to his effectiveness as a teacher and in all the relationships of life. These are qualities that count in many directions — even, we may be sure, in such an episode of his early years as an officer of instruction at Wisconsin: there was a question about reappointing as an instructor the daughter of a certain professor; Turner championed her cause, to the extent of threatening to resign his own position if she were not reappointed, as — whether for this reason or not — she was. Something of knightliness seemed indeed to mark him without and within.

During his first period of teaching at Wisconsin he accomplished enough graduate study to receive his master's degree in 1888. Then he began at Johns Hopkins the more advanced work which won him the Ph.D. of that university in 1890. Before and after so doing, from 1889 to 1891, he was assistant professor of American history at Wisconsin. Then in turn he held, at his alma mater, the appointments of professor of history (1891–1892) and professor of American history (1892–1910). It was in 1910 that he came to Harvard, holding a foremost place among American historians and university teachers of history.

His place among historians had not been won, in 1910, by any impressive output of books. Indeed there was only one, Rise of the New West, 1819–1829 (1906), Volume 14 in Professor Hart's series, The American Nation: A History. A bibliography of his writings in Professor Carl Becker's chapter on Turner in American Masters of Social Science (1927), edited by Howard W. Odum, contains thirty

titles of publications preceding 1910, and seventeen more beginning with 1910 and ending with 1926. They were chiefly monographs, written for the benefit rather of scholars than of the general public, printed in such publications as the Johns Hopkins University Studies, the American Historical Review, the International Review, the American Journal of Sociology, and the Proceedings of historical societies, but, with all their diversity and distribution, possessing a unity of aim and method which made them clearly but portions of a single endeavor. Indeed when he came to publish his most widely known and influential book, The Frontier in American History (1920), the thirteen chapters of which it consisted were frankly described in the author's Preface as "these essays in collected form." They had all appeared before in print between 1893 and 1914, one of them in the Transactions of this Society for April, 1914. It should be added that his addiction to essays rather than books was a token of the perfectionist in him, whether as the scholar who refrained from publication until he could be reasonably sure that his "last word" was really the last, or as the artist and self-critic who would produce nothing but the best of which he felt himself capable.

It was Turner's function as an historian both to deal with the pioneer and to be a pioneer himself. In the words of Dr. Joseph Schafer, editor of the Wisconsin Magazine of History, in the September, 1931, issue of that journal, "Turner was by nature and nurture a humanist, but circumstances must have determined his choice of a specialty among the several fields of linguistics, literature, philosophy, and history, for each of which he manifested decided and apparently equal gifts." Of the determining circumstances the same writer goes on to say:

> A good many years after the death of Herbert B. Adams, Turner told, with his never-failing good taste and respectful demeanor, about a difference in judgment which had once arisen between his Hopkins historical guide and himself. Adams, in directing the research activities of graduate students, as his publications show, was largely concerned about European vestiges in American institutions. . . . He did not, however, recognize with equal clearness the genetic forces which have been operative in American life and civilization. About the time that Turner's class were ready to enter upon their active careers, Adams gave them a talk in which he stressed the point that, inasmuch as American history, both in

its origins and its progress, had been pretty well covered in existing books, the young gentlemen would be well advised to cultivate the European field. This well-intentioned suggestion Turner found himself unable to accept. . . . In fact, he seems to have been unorthodox enough to suspect that the whole subject [of our national history] would require reworking from fresh points of view and with the aid of sources which thus far had been too little considered.

So it was that he turned to the pioneers and himself became one.

The unifying idea that ran through all his work is so familiar as hardly to call for definition — the idea that from the beginning of American history until the disappearance of the frontier in approximately 1890, it was the frontier, beginning with the western outposts of the colonies and moving through the better part of three centuries towards the setting sun, that gave to our history, and to our civilization, its distinctive quality. This was obviously an idea that involved a transfer of emphasis from the political and military aspects of history to the social and economic, and called into requisition for study and interpretation a widely scattered body of record, immediate and related, which had hitherto been regarded, in large measure, as negligible for historical purposes.

From Turner's first published piece of historical writing — The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin (1889) — to his last — The United States, 1830–1850: the Nation and Its Sections, a volume that was nearly ready for its now assured publication when death put an end to his labors — he pursued his consistent course. The rewarding result was not merely a body of work remarkably integrated in purpose and method, and clearly representing an individual point of view, but also the extension of an influence which has profoundly affected the writing of history in the United States even in the generation of American historians which can no longer be called the younger. It was a significant testimony to this influence that the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, at Lexington, Kentucky, in April, 1931, devoted one of its sessions to the consideration of a paper by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, on "A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis," presented also at the American Historical Association meeting of 1932. Ascribing this theory solely to Turner, by virtue of his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in Ameri-

can History," read at the ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, in 1893, Professor Paxson declared:

> In the thirty-eight years since he promulgated this interpretation, American history has largely been re-written. No major American historian, however, has challenged Turner's theory, and the bibliography of his critics would run to less than half a page. The thesis was accepted with amazing cheerfulness. The new crops of doctors of philosophy that were just making their appearance seemed to have adopted it as a matter of course.

Another Mississippi Valley historian, Professor John D. Hicks, of the University of Wisconsin, noting that "the Turner thesis appeared at a time when Eastern historians held a virtual monopoly on the writing of American history," designated it "in a sense a revolt of the western historians against the provincial ignorance of their eastern colleagues"; and also, "in a sense, a part of that wider movement of western protest which attained full growth with the appearance of the Populist party." Turner more than thirty years before had deplored, as we have seen, the provincialism that writes of a "'Western sectionalism' bounded on the East by the Alleghanies." Here, from the westward, as if in witness to the spread and acceptance of the Turner gospel, comes the reverse deprecation of the provinciality attending an Eastern sectionalism bounded on the west by the same mountains. Master and disciple between them bring Trojan and Tyrian to a common footing.

The integration of Turner's work as an historian is well matched with that which unifies him as a man and a teacher. Perennially young, keenly interested in learning, in living, and in persons; "forever the inquirer, the questioner, the explorer," to quote again from Professor Becker, "a kind of intellectual Gentleman Adventurer." Upon his pupils how could such an one fail to exert the most stimulating of influences? "From no other man," writes — once more — Professor Becker, "did I ever get in quite the same measure that sense of watching a first-class mind at work, and not merely rehearsing for the benefit of others." The roster of his pupils who marched from his instruction into the first ranks of American historical scholarship in the generation that has followed his own is filled with eminent names. In the year of his removal from Wisconsin to Harvard, 1910,

the year also of his presidency of the American Historical Association, a collection of Essays in American History, Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner, assembled in his honor the work of the college and university professors of history, all gratefully conscious of what they owed to his teaching at Wisconsin, and passing on his influence to academic communities in Massachusetts, Louisiana, Oregon, and other states of the South and West. At Harvard, where he added distinction to the group already distinguished by the inclusion of Channing, Hart, and Haskins, he brought to a new body of undergraduates, and to graduate students from many universities drawn to Cambridge in no small measure with the specific object of "sitting under" Turner, the same quality of intellectual guidance and stimulus that had marked his teaching at Wisconsin. At Harvard he remained as professor of history from 1910 to 1924, when he became professor *emeritus*, a title which he held through his eight remaining years. It was entirely characteristic of him that a request from graduate students at Harvard that they be permitted to arrange for the painting of his portrait for the university was met by his counter-suggestion that the purchase of books for the Department of History would be a more profitable memorial; and that when a compromise was reached it took the form of his sitting casually for a crayon sketch by Alexander James, the youngest son of William James.

The final years of his life were passed first at Madison and then in California, where from 1927 to 1932 he was attached, as research associate, to the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, of which his intimate friend of many years, Max Farrand, is the director. Under the same title of research associate he had been affiliated, while still at Harvard, in 1916–1917, with the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; and in 1928–1929 he served as associate in American history at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. As the recipient of honorary degrees his name was entered on the rolls of the University of Illinois, Harvard, the Royal Frederick University, Christiania (now Oslo), and his own Wisconsin. The list of his memberships in state and other historical societies, and in learned bodies concerned with matters related to his wide range of interests, presents a formidable array. In his domestic life more than forty-two years of mutual devotion, sympathy, and happiness followed upon his marriage with

Caroline Mae Sherwood, November 27, 1889, at Kenwood (Chicago), Illinois. Two of the three children of this marriage, a son and a daughter, died, respectively, at seven and five; their older sister, Dorothy Kinsley (Mrs. John S. Main, of Madison, Wisconsin), and Mrs. Turner are the surviving members of the family.

If a personal reminiscence may be permitted, I should like to recall my visiting him in his study at the Huntington Library on a morning of early March, 1932. He was half-lying on a sort of sofa, with the pillows and posture that suggested a somewhat invalided existence. In the eight years, or thereabouts, since I had seen him he had aged in appearance no more, indeed rather less, than one must who had passed his seventieth birthday about three months before, and was known, after an operation and a slight stroke, to be in constant danger from a weakened heart. The bright intentness of his eye, the ruddy, smiling countenance were those of the Turner beloved of old by a multitude of friends. It was of his friends in the East that he wanted most to hear what I could tell him. His own remembrances came forth with an infectious merriment and quiet laughter. The details of the talk did not matter. What could not be forgotten was the impression produced by the man himself — vivid, alert, keenly interested in human beings and their thought, betraying neither pride in his own great achievement nor any disquietude that his work must be regarded as virtually done. The end, which, as he well knew, might come at any moment, was indeed near at hand. In his house at Pasadena, it came, less than a fortnight later, after a brief, serene consciousness that the hour was finally about to strike. The sense of loss which fell upon the Huntington Library and that last of several communities in which Turner had made himself rarely beloved was only the greater for the sharp realization that the loss transcended the local and was indeed national.

As I write these final words, I happen upon their confirmation in two recent declarations of Professor Bernard Faÿ: "To a foreigner Frederick Jackson Turner seems to have been the great American historian of the past fifty years." And again: "His recent death helps us to a better view of his greatness. He did, to be sure, leave a notable volume of work behind, but it is less notable than the influence he once exercised."

It may well be an enduring point of pride with the Colonial Society

of Massachusetts that it paid him the highest honor within its gift while his great work and influence were still in their fullest living flower.[1]

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[1] In reading the proof of this memoir I welcome the opportunity to add another word. The Pulitzer Prize for the best book on American history produced in 1932 was awarded, posthumously, to Frederick Jackson Turner for The Significance of Sections in American History — a collection of essays of the same nature as those which made up The Frontier in American History. The award may be regarded as a recognition not only of this particular volume, but also of the distinguished total contribution of its author to American history.

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NOTE

Places are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated.

Names of vessels are grouped under the heading ships.

Names of Indians are grouped under the heading Indians.

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